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The Letter of Love and Concord

A Revised Diplomatic Edition with
Historical and Textual Comments and
English Translation

Zaroui Pogossian



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The *Letter of Love and Concord*

The Medieval Mediterranean

Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400–1500

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The *Letter of Love and Concord*

A Revised Diplomatic Edition with Historical
and Textual Comments and English Translation

By
Zaroui Pogossian



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2010

On the Cover: The meeting of Trdat, Constantine, Sylvester and Gregory. Miniature from Matenadaran MS. 1920 fol. 183^v. With kind permission of the Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, Matenadaran, Yerevan.

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INTRODUCTION AND PRESENTATION OF THE TEXT

This study is concerned with a text known as *Letter¹ of Love and Concord between the Great Emperor Constantine and the Holy Pope Sylvester and Trdat, King of the Armenians, and Holy Gregory, the Illuminator of the Armenians*. This *Letter* was composed in the Armenian Cilician milieu, sometime in the last decade of the twelfth century. It has traditionally been repudiated as a latinophile falsification, not necessarily worthy of being examined too thoroughly. Fortunately, many contemporary scholars have abandoned this attitude, especially taking into consideration the fact that forgeries tell us much about the mentality and ideology of the time period when they were created.² The purpose of this study is to present a revised diplomatic edition of this text based on an initial full collation of 54 mss and a sample collation of 9 mss (of which 19 are maintained in the apparatus), as well as to provide a historical introduction, textual comments and to propose a likely date for its composition.

PRESENTATION OF THE TEXT

Before embarking on a historical, textual or philological analysis, it is necessary to present the text of the *Letter of Love and Concord*, dividing it into sections that will appear in the same order both in the Armenian text

¹ All abbreviations for authors/titles of sources or literature are resolved in the Bibliography, where the reader can find all the full references. The Bibliography is divided according to: Sources (Armenian, Greek or Latin); Manuscript Catalogues; Dictionaries and Secondary Literature.

'Letter' is a verbatim translation of the Armenian *t'ult'* or *gir* and has been traditionally translated this way. A better word in this context would be a *pact* of love. I have, however, kept the traditional translation for the sake of continuity and to avoid future confusion which the difference in the title may cause. All references to mss will be given according to the sigla accepted by the Association Internationale des Études Arméniennes. Cfr Coulie 2002.

² The studies of Uluhogian 2003 and Shirinian 2003, for example, have emphasised this point.

and the English translation.³ The division of the text is my interpolation into the text and is based on ‘themes’ as they appear in this text. At this point no comments will be provided.

The TD⁴ is entitled: *Letter of Love and Concord between the Great Emperor Constantine and the Holy Pope Sylvester and Trdat, King of the Armenians, and Holy Gregory, the Illuminator of the Armenians.*

1. It starts with an official proclamation of Constantine, ‘Great and August King of Kings’ that this is his ‘testament.’ Then Pope Sylvester, who is told to have powers from East to West to bind and loose, on his part states that this is also his ‘decretal.’
- 2–4. The story goes on, narrated by Constantine, about the visit of Trdat and Gregory to the holy places in the West, as well as to honour the ‘splendidly crowned’ Pope, the newly converted Emperor, and his family (his mother Helen and his children). Full of joy for such an event, Constantine and Sylvester go out to meet Trdat and Gregory with great preparations. Upon their meeting, they glorify Christ and proceed to the palace where they spend many days in bodily and spiritual feasting.
5. For the occasion, taxes are cancelled, prisoners are liberated and Gregory the Illuminator blesses the salt to be sent to the ‘the sacrificial victims,’ lest the holy sacrifice be performed in a pagan manner. Gregory’s confession of faith is proclaimed in all the churches throughout the Empire.
6. When Trdat and Gregory prepare to leave, a great assembly is convened, attended by dignitaries both from Armenian (e.g. the seventy thousand that went with Trdat) and Roman sides. Trdat and Constantine sign an official pact of alliance, having mixed ‘Christ’s blood’ in the ink, and solemnly take an oath to stay faithful to each other ‘until the end of the world.’
7. Constantine issues an edict to some eastern provinces of the Empire, which he enumerates, proclaiming that he is assigning all these territories (mainly in the East, but also in Africa) to Trdat, who is to be second only to him and the head in his stead in these lands. The governors of these provinces are to provide military assistance to Trdat in his war against Šapuh (the Persian King of Kings) and are not to contradict the orders of the Armenian King in any way.

³ There is no consistency in dividing the text into sections in the manuscript tradition. While some mss have rubricated texts, others do not. The division of the text into sections is mine. In doing so, I have followed the content of each section and tried to make the divisions as logical as possible without breaking the flow of the text.

⁴ The Armenian title of the *Letter of Love and Concord* has traditionally been abbreviated as *T’uġt’ dašanc’* (lit. *letter of covenants/pacts*). In order to introduce some variation in terms and to avoid repetition, I will use interchangeably the *Letter of Love* and TD, the Armenian abbreviation of its title. All references will be given to corresponding sections and lines as they appear in this edition.

8. The coronation of Trdat by Constantine: the latter puts a crown with 'precious gems and purls' on Trdat's head, dresses him with sea purple and, moreover, gives him his father's 'priceless belt.'
9. This episode is followed by the enumeration of exaggeratedly lavish gifts that Constantine bestows upon Trdat. His wife 'Mak'sintēs' and his sister 'Kostasia,' in their turn prepare presents for the wife and sister of Trdat, as does his son 'Kostas' for the son of Trdat, Xosrov. Luxurious presents are given also to the princes that accompanied Trdat.
10. Constantine makes territorial donations to the Armenian king. Those include the city of Bethlehem, the First Armenia and Cappadocia, which, the text clarifies, were taken away from the Armenians by Caesar Pompey. The borders of Trdat's 'proper homeland' are defined: from Mount Argaeus to Mount Ararat, from the river Gayl to the river Tigris. The Emperor asks Trdat to leave 300 warriors behind, who are named *armēnk'* [Armenians], as body guards of the Emperor.
11. A prophecy is pronounced by Constantine about the fall of the 'House of Trdat' and the 'slavery' of the Armenians under the infidels. Their salvation will come from God and they will be succoured by the offspring of Constantine. This event will take place when the relics of the Suk'iaseank' martyrs, which Constantine himself had buried, will be rediscovered.
12. The Emperor recounts all the miracles of healing that St. Gregory performed while in Rome.
13. Moreover, Trdat fought and killed a dragon and a unicorn that had appeared on the Capitoline hill and who were devastating the surrounding area. Trdat gives half of the unicorn's horn as a talisman and anti-poison to Constantine, receiving in return, a part of the relic of the True Cross which Empress Helen had brought from Jerusalem.
- 14–15. Constantine tells how Trdat narrated the story of his conversion: the tortures of St. Gregory, the martyrdom of the St. Hrip'simeank' virgins, Trdat's transformation into a wild boar, his salvation through baptism by Gregory, and the evangelical activities of St. Nunē in Georgia.
- 16–17. Constantine describes his own conversion: his *Vision of the Cross* on 'the banks of the Danube' and how by using this sign he won a victory; his falling back into paganism because of pressures from his wife, his punishment through leprosy, his healing through baptism by St. Sylvester, his submission to the will of seven Patriarchs and saints whom he enumerates as St. Sylvester, St. Gregory, St. Anthony, St. Nicholas of Myra, St. Macarius of Jerusalem, St. James of Nisibis and St. Ephrem of Urhay (Edessa).
18. All churches or monasteries are declared exempt from taxes, and Armenian and Roman inhabitants are given various tax incentives, as opposed to the non-Christian subjects of the Empire. The taxes of some categories of the population, such as the infidels, owners of mines, and merchants are specified.
19. The author of the narration switches from Constantine to Pope Sylvester. The latter, inspired by the example of Constantine, decides to honour

Gregory as well by ordaining him ‘pope, patriarch and *hayrapet*’, equal in dignity to the Sees of Rome, Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria. Gregory and his successors are told to be autocephalous and to have the right to receive their ordination from their own bishops. Besides representing the Pope in the Asian lands and having a decisive voice when electing a patriarch for the other three oriental Sees—Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria—the Armenian Catholicos is to have jurisdiction over the Churches of Georgia and Albania.

20. A miracle of light appears upon Gregory’s head during a Eucharistic celebration. Constantine falls at his feet and asks for the benediction of the world and of his Empire from the Illuminator.
21. Upon such a great proof of sanctity, the pope is eager to increase Gregory’s honours by giving him other precious gifts, such as parts of the relics of Sts. Paul and Peter and, in some mss, the left arm of Apostle Andrew, the Pope’s own vestments which he wears during the ordination rites—the mitra, the ring, the staff, and the Episcopal *orarium* or *pallium*. The enumeration of presents goes on.
22. Among territorial donations given to the Armenian Catholicos are certain holy places in Jerusalem, such as the Martyrion of St. James, a place (an altar) for the liturgy in the Church of the Resurrection (Anastasis) as well as a place on the Golgotha, on the upper part of the Dome of the Holy Sepulchre and a lantern that hangs on it.
- 23–24. To confirm the authority of Gregory, Sylvester enumerates the various holy relics that are kept in Armenia. He repeats that Gregory has authority over Armenians, Greeks, Georgians, Albanians, Syrians and Persians.
25. The closing paragraph states that this ‘edict’ was produced by the orders of Constantine and Sylvester, in Armenian and in Latin, each to be kept in respective royal chancelleries.

In order to propose some plausible hypothesis as to the purpose and time-frame of the composition of this text, it is necessary to examine the historical, religious and textual environment when it was most likely composed.

Chapter 1 will focus on the historical and religious situation in Armenian Cilicia in the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries. Chapter 2 will discuss the sources of TD: textual, oral, conceptual and historical, revealing some sources previously not mentioned by scholars, or indicating specific sections of those sources that have already been identified. Based on this analysis, as well as on the possible intentions for the creation of this false document, a plausible date for its composition will be proposed. Text-critical issues, the description of manuscripts and their relationships, as well as some reflections on the language and grammar of TD, are explained in Chapter 3. Then, a revised diplomatic edition of TD based on nineteen manuscripts is presented, followed

by an English translation. Further comments on the text, often cross-referenced to respective chapters, are provided in the footnotes of the English translation.

CHAPTER ONE

THE HISTORICAL AND RELIGIOUS SITUATION IN CILICIAN ARMENIA IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE TWELFTH AND BEGINNING OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

All scholars who have, in one way or another, dealt with the *Letter of Love and Concord* agree that it was created sometime during the Cilician period of Armenian history, that is, roughly, between the twelfth and the fourteenth centuries. In order to understand for what purpose such a document was forged in Cilician Armenia, it is imperative to have a clear idea of the country's political and religious milieu, especially the political/royal ideology developed by the ruling dynasty of the Rubenids, and the new currents of thought in contemporary ecclesiological circles.

1.1. THE HISTORICAL SITUATION

The eleventh century witnessed a large emigration of Armenians westward. Throughout the tenth century but especially in the first half of the eleventh, Armenian territories were being slowly annexed to the Byzantine Empire and the raids of Turkish tribes arriving from the East, starting in the third decade of the eleventh century, were depriving the country of its previous economic stability and well-being.¹ As a result, the

¹ Three factors played a decisive negative role in Armenia's loss of independence by its major ruling houses: internal disagreements and centrifugal tendencies of Armenian princely families, the appearance of various Turkish tribes in Asia Minor, with the eventual onslaught of the Seljuks, and the Byzantine policy of annexation of Armenian territories. Different scholars attribute different weight to each of these factors. Some of the important analyses of this historical period in Armenia are: Bartikian 1971; Dédéyan 1975; Der Nersessian 1973A; and Toumanoff 1967. The annexation of various Armenian territories by the Byzantine Empire was not necessarily condemned by all Armenians in the tenth century as it was occurring. Some viewed it as the triumphant advance of protectors of the true faith, as suggested in Thomson 1967. In her various studies, Arutjunova-Fidanjan has demonstrated that neither did tenth and early eleventh

emigration touched not only the upper classes of the society who would pursue a military or bureaucratic career at the Byzantine court, but also the mass of peasants who followed their noble lords. Many of the Armenian princes established semi-independent principalities in Cappadocia and, as the Seljuks pushed further West, in Cilicia. In fact, all of these territories had had Armenian populations long before the eleventh century, but their presence was never as compact as was the case after their mass immigration.² These Armenian principalities were theoretically vassals of the Byzantine Empire but held a large autonomy in internal affairs. From among them two major families emerged in the twelfth century: the Rubenids and the Het'umids. The former was more inclined towards gaining an independent status from the Byzantine court and uniting various Armenian princes of Cilicia under its hegemony. This policy clashed with the interests of the rival Het'umid family which continuously maintained a philo-Byzantine attitude.³ Moreover, the Rubenids also attempted to give ideological legitimacy to their attempts at strengthening their rule over all Armenians of Cilicia. The twelfth century historian Matt'ēos Urihayec'i (Matthew of Edessa) presents Prince T'oros Rubenid (the grandson of the founder of the Rubenid dynasty—Ruben) as the avenger for the blood of the last Armenian Bagratid king Gagik II. At an opportune moment, according to the historian in 1111, T'oros occupied the castle of the Mandalē brothers—the alleged murderers of Gagik but also relatives of his own wife—and ordered them to bring the

century historians object to the Byzantine Empire's eastward advance. They expressed a benevolent attitude towards Byzantium's political but not religious hegemony. These attitudes changed to extremely negative ones in the eleventh century when Armenia, left without its leading princely houses which traditionally held their own armed forces and provided military defense for their territories, became devastated by the advance of the Seljuk forces. Contemporary historians rightly or wrongly blamed Byzantium for the ensuing catastrophic events, such as the painful defeat at the Battle of Manazkert in 1071/2. Cfr Arutjunova-Fidanjan 1967. For the most recent analysis on this topic, cfr Dédéyan 2003.

² For geographical characteristics and an overview of this once Roman, then Byzantine province of Cilicia, as well as the Armenian presence here throughout centuries, cfr Alishan 1899; Mikayelyan 1952, 5–9, 12–24 for a geographical description and 25–53 for a brief history of Cilicia before the formation of Armenian Principalities on its territory.

³ There is vast literature on Cilician Armenia. I will refrain from overburdening this footnote and mention only some of the most important works. Other references can be found elsewhere in the footnotes, wherever appropriate, and in the bibliography. Some of the most important studies (chronologically) are as follows: Tournebise 1910, 168–307 for the period of our interest; Mikayelyan 1952; Der Nersessian 1973B; Sukiasyan 1969; Boase 1978, 1–33; Hamilton 1978; Halfter 1996; and Dédéyan 2003.

sword and the vestments of King Gagik to him.⁴ When these were duly brought forth T'oros and his entire army 'cried bitterly' at the sight of the last Armenian king's royal clothes. T'oros proceeded to loot the treasures of the castle, while one of the Mandalē sons committed suicide by leaping from a 'high pitched rock'. The dialogue between the other Mandalē brother and T'oros, as recounted by Urhayec'i, embodies the deeply rooted feelings of resentment among many Armenians against Byzantines, whose policy of expansion in the tenth century was believed by eleventh century historians to have weakened the military might of Armenian princes and led the way to the fall of Armenia to Seljuk forces: "You are an Armenian and we are Roman princes. How will you respond to the Roman Emperor for judging Romans?' Then T'oros was outraged and the colour of his face changed. Picking up an iron bar with a crook he violently attacked him and said, 'And who were you that killed a courageous man and an anointed King of the Armenians? And how will you respond to the Armenian nation?'"⁵ T'oros killed the man and glorified the Lord for being able 'to take revenge for the blood of Gagik, King of the Armenians'.⁶

Several details in this story reported by Matt'ēos Urhayec'i reveal the contemporary Armenian attitudes towards Byzantines, perhaps not shared by all, but certainly by many. Moreover, the episode brings forth aspects of royal ideology that are akin to concepts expressed in the *Letter of Love*, as shall be seen in Chapter 2. First, one cannot but observe the thoroughly embittered feelings of Armenians against Byzantines expressed in T'oros' outrage at their having killed an 'anointed king of Armenians'. The specific mention of 'anointment' echoes the aura of piety or even sacrality that this rite conferred upon a king.⁷ T'oros and his soldiers probably expressed the sentiments of many Armenians when they 'cried over' the vestments of King Gagik as if crying over precious relics. Moreover, to strengthen the link between this last Armenian king, Gagik II, and the Rubenids, Matthew of Edessa mentions twice in his *Chronography* that the founder of the Rubenid dynasty was a soldier in

⁴ ME 1991, 346–350. All translations from Armenian, Greek or Latin sources are mine, unless otherwise indicated.

⁵ ME 1991, 350.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ The anointment of a king may not have been initially part of the Bagratid coronation rite, but became increasingly important since the tenth century. Cfr Jones 2001/2, 341–398, esp. 360–366.

Gagik's army, while in one occasion his text, at least in some manuscripts, reads that Ruben was 'one of the sons' of Gagik.⁸ However, more than sixty years ago the armenologist Adontz demonstrated that historically there is no hard proof for the Bagratid origin of the Rubenids and that the mention of Ruben as 'one of the sons' of Gagik is almost certainly a scribal error.⁹ More recently it has been suggested that the homeland of the Rubenids was probably South-Western Armenia.¹⁰ Yet, the connection with the Bagratids survived in Armenian historical sources, such as the work of Samuēl Anec'i, and was repeated with some variations by others as well, such as Vahram Rabun, Het'um Patmič' and a short anonymous history of the Rubenids, but, significantly, not by Smbat Sparapet. The lack of this latter witness is what makes the Bagratid origin of the Rubenids even more suspect.¹¹ The fact that T'oros was hailed by his contemporaries as the avenger of Gagik's blood could legitimate his rule as the latter's spiritual heir. His brother Prince Levon I may have gone even further in trying to fashion himself as a rightful successor of the Armenian royal dynasty, and the Aršakunis at that. Analyzing a panegyric composed by Michael Italicos for Emperor John Comnenus, Bartikian has argued that Levon I had declared himself king—perhaps calling himself *basileus*—and being of Aršakuni descent. He tied a diadem around his head and wore purple shoes, for which he was bitterly mocked by the Byzantine poet.¹² Such audacity was symbolically highly charged and underlined the Armenian prince's determination to break free of Constantinopolitan subordination. In response, John Comnenus organised a military expedition to re-conquer Cilicia and Syria in 1137–1138 in which he was largely successful against all potential rivals, such as Armenians, Latins or Muslims.¹³ Levon I was terribly punished for his royal pretensions: he was taken prisoner to Constantinople with his wife

⁸ ME 1991, 350.

⁹ Adontz 1935B, 185–203, esp. 186–193.

¹⁰ Dédéyan 2003, 366–370.

¹¹ Adontz 1935B, 185–203, esp. 186–193.

¹² Evidence for this is found in a panegyric composed by Michael Italicos and dedicated to Emperor John Comnenus and his conquests in Cilicia and Syria. Bartikian 1984 points out that according to the panegyric Levon used a *diadem*, i.e. a band tied around one's head and not a crown—*stemma*—in which case he would symbolically equate himself to an emperor, too far-fetched a pretension that Levon was intelligent enough to avoid, and wore purple shoes. Moreover, he was mocked as being βασιλίσκος for having pretended to be a βασιλεὺς.

¹³ Angold 1984, 156–157.

and two of his five sons—Ruben and T'oros.¹⁴ Subsequently, Ruben was killed and Levon I was poisoned and died in exile, but the other son—T'oros—managed to escape around 1145, return to Cilicia and slowly gain control of his father's lost territories. In these re-conquests he was aided by the political situation in the Levant, since Byzantium was pre-occupied with the Second Crusade passing through its territory, while Edessa had fallen to the forces of Zengi in 1144 and this Latin principality could not be actively involved in local power politics.¹⁵ By around 1152 T'oros Rubenid had conquered most of the Cilician territory, including the cities of Tarsus, Adana, Anazarbus, Sis and Mamistra. However, by this date Byzantium had not only survived the passage of the Second Crusade through its territory, but Manuel Comnenus felt that his Empire weathered the situation with a reinforced sense of superiority over western armies and rulers.¹⁶ As a result, Byzantine armies, led by Andronicus Comnenus, hastened to retaliate and soon besieged Mamistra. In this operation members of other Armenian princely houses—particularly those of the Het'umids—fought against T'oros in the Byzantine army.¹⁷ A more serious military expedition to Cilicia was led by Manuel Comnenus himself in 1158/59, when the Emperor intended not only to curb T'oros' independence but also to punish him for the brutal plunder of Cyprus, in which the Armenian Prince had participated along with Reginald of Antioch. By humbly agreeing to be a loyal vassal of the Emperor, as well as through astute diplomatic moves, T'oros was able to make peace with Manuel and to gain his personal freedom.¹⁸ Nevertheless, his efforts to achieve full independence from the Byzantine court never ceased, and were to be continued by his brother Mleh whose overtly

¹⁴ Grigor Erec' in ME 1991, 406; Boase 1978, 11, where this author says that the Byzantine re-conquest of Cilicia was completed in 1137/8. For genealogical tables of Cilician rulers Rüd't-Collenberg 1963, Table I (Rup.) for the Rubenids.

¹⁵ Mikayelyan 1952, 110–111; Der Nersessian 1973*B*, 335–336; for the appraisal of the Byzantine political situation in this period and fears about a possible attack on Constantinople by Crusaders cfr Angold 1984, 162–164.

¹⁶ Angold 1984, 167; but the failure of the Second Crusade strengthened the feelings of resentment against the Byzantine Empire among westerners. Manuel Comnenus was blamed for having brought on this disaster by some contemporary historians and Byzantines were described as treacherous and hypocritical, cfr Ibid, 169 and Laiou 2005, esp. 28–33.

¹⁷ ME 1991, 444; Der Nersessian 1973*B*, 336; Boase 1978, 12.

¹⁸ Der Nersessian, *History*, 337 gives the date 1159; whereas Mikayelyan 1952, 115–122, indicates that Manuel's aggressive moves towards Cilicia had started already in 1158 to culminate in 1159; Boase 1978, 13 proposes 1158; Cfr also Angold 1984, 185.

pro-Moslem foreign policy and alliance with Nur ad-Din raised popular disapproval.¹⁹ After Mleh's death in 1175 his nephew Ruben ruled Cilicia. Ruben and his brother Levon, (the future king),²⁰ were sons of Step'anē (the third brother of T'oros and Mleh) who was found dead in 1164 after a feast organised by the Byzantine governor of Tarsus, Andronicus Eupobrenus.²¹ He was reputedly boiled alive, and this event kept anti-Byzantine passions high.²² While Ruben continued to strive for independence from Byzantium, it was his brother Levon, who took the rule of Cilicia in 1187, who would build on his predecessors' achievements and be destined to be crowned as King of the Armenians in 1198. The author of the *Letter of Love* had Levon in mind when describing King Trdat, as shall be discussed in Chapter 2. It is therefore appropriate to analyse the political circumstances of Levon's reign, first as prince, later as king and some aspects of royal ideology that will be found also in TD.

Soon after Levon took control of Cilicia in 1187 it was to become the only Christian state large enough in the Levant to be in a position to lend military support to Latin rulers in the East or to an imminent western campaign in the Holy Land. Only five months after his accession as the leading Rubenid Prince, Jerusalem fell to Salah al-Din²³ and the Latin states in the Eastern Mediterranean were drastically weakened. The Byzantine Empire did not fare well at this time either. During his short reign, the newly ascended Isaac II Angelos (1187–1190) was too thoroughly entangled with problems of affirming his dynasty on the imperial throne and putting down serious rebellions in the Balkans, or

¹⁹ Because of this policy Mleh is besmirched by Armenian historians, both medieval and some modern. Cfr Alishan 1888, 52–56, for an extremely unfavorable appraisal of Mleh's pro-Muslim policy. For a more balanced approach to the issue, including a critical analysis of relevant sources, cfr Mikayelyan 1952, 126–130; as well as Ter-Lévondyan 1994, 58–72; Mutaflan 1988, 400–402.

²⁰ In documents that have come down to us, Levon signed his name often in Greek as Leo followed by his name and title in Armenian: Լևոն թագաւոր Հայոց—Lewon King of the Armenians. Cfr Langlois 1863, 17–18. On the coins issued during his reign, there does not seem to have been a uniformity in spelling, thus we find versions as ԼԵՒՈՆ, ԼԵՒՆ, ԼԵՈՆ—Lewon, Lewn, Leon. Cfr Bedoukian 1962, 80. I will consistently use the transcription Levon commonly used in scholarly literature. He was the second prince of the Rubenid house with this name, thus Prince Levon II Rubenid. However, he was the first king of Cilician Armenia and it is more appropriate to call him King Levon I. Nevertheless, in secondary literature there is no consistency; Levon appears both as King Levon I or King Levon II. On this issue, cfr Schlumberger 1895.

²¹ Der Nersessian, 1973B, 337; Mikayelyan 1952, 125.

²² Boase 1978, 14.

²³ Alishan 1888, 93 for the dating.

Turcoman raids and centrifugal tendencies in Asia Minor.²⁴ The experience of the First and Second Crusades had made Byzantines increasingly weary of another similar venture, with armies or disorganised, raucous crowds crossing their territory. Besides, the constant fear that a Crusade could eventually turn against Constantinople was also in the back of their minds.²⁵ Isaac's handling of the Third Crusade, especially the disastrous passage of Frederick Barbarossa's armies through the Balkans—either because Isaac was in no effective control of these territories or because he was far from being a competent diplomat—only exasperated antagonistic feelings between Latins and Byzantines.²⁶

When Levon took control of the Rubenid principality his main concerns were the greatest Islamic ruler of the Near East—Salah al-Din—and various Turcoman tribes that periodically plundered the territory of Cilicia.²⁷ Nevertheless, Levon was quite aware that the fall of Jerusalem to Salah al-Din in 1187 strengthened his political position as a Christian state in the Levant, and receiving a crown from a Western Emperor would provide him with a formidable license in becoming an ever more important actor in the politics of the Latin states in the East.²⁸ Given these circumstances and keeping with a long tradition of independent-mindedness in his family, Levon sought to elevate his status to that of an independent king, that is, receiving a *de jure* recognition of his Principality as a Kingdom. He turned his sights to the West in an attempt at assuring his coronation by the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.²⁹

²⁴ Isaac II had to put down a second rebellion by his trusted general Alexius Branas exactly in 1187. The rebellion of Balkan chieftains Peter and Asen also occurred at this time and spread to the whole peninsula, eventually playing a significant role in Isaac's downfall in 1190. Angold 1984, 272–275.

²⁵ For a detailed overview of sources which indicate the ever-present possibility of a Crusader attack on Constantinople cfr Laiou 2005.

²⁶ For the Third Crusade, cfr Johnson, 1962, esp. 94–109 on Barbarossa's passage through the Balkans. Johnson and Laiou argue that Barbarossa had no real interest in attacking Constantinople and Charles Brand has argued that even Henry VI, who seemed to pursue an aggressive policy against Byzantium, 'was preparing for conquest of the Byzantine Empire [only] in the distant future.' Brand 1968, 194. Yet Byzantine fears of a military expedition against their state were real and the relationship between the Eastern and Western empires remained tense throughout the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries.

²⁷ Halfter 1996, 176; Mikayelyan 1952, 142–143.

²⁸ Halfter 1996, 176–177 for some further considerations on this aspect, including western attitudes to Armenians as 'brave soldiers.'

²⁹ Halfter 1996, 200, demonstrates convincingly that originally Levon's intention was to receive a crown only from the Emperor and not the Pope. It is not altogether clear why he later chose to send an embassy with a similar request to Pope Celestine III as well. It is

Pope Clement III, on the other hand, viewed Levon as a strong military leader and one who could lend valuable support to a new Crusade. The Pope wrote a particularly cordial letter to the Armenian King and Catholicos in 1189, asking their backing for the imminent army of the Crusaders.³⁰ Clement III, like his predecessors or even European historians who visited the Holy Land or lived there, may have overestimated the might and the number of Armenians who could come to the aid of the Crusaders.³¹ Yet, given the strength of Salah al-Din, who constantly threatened Levon's domains, as well as Levon's other Muslim neighbour Kilidj Arslan, the Armenian prince could support a Crusade only if he were sure of its success and if such a venture could strengthen his own position in the Levant. The promise of a crown could serve the latter purpose. In fact, according to a colophon written by Nersēs Lambronac'i, the most eminent participant of the Third Crusade—Emperor Frederick Barbarossa—had promised to crown Levon upon his arrival to Cilicia, which, however, was not to take place because of Barbarossa's death in 1190 while swimming in the Kalykadnos River (Lat. Calycadnus).³² Lambronac'i, nevertheless, translated the Rite of the royal coronation from a Latin example that he received, according to his own testimony, from Herman, Archbishop of Münster.³³

Frederick Barbarossa's death delayed Levon's coronation for eight long years and it seems natural that the Armenians should have regretted this event, especially given the fact that some of them were openly friendly to Barbarossa and his army as it crossed the Balkans. In fact, the Armeni-

quite understandable why the Pope would be interested in getting involved in the project of elevating the Armenian Prince's status, as a means of extending or strengthening his influence over this Christian state as well as counter-balancing the influence of the Western Emperor in the Levant.

³⁰ The text of this letter, preserved only in its Armenian translation, has been published in various occasions, and most recently by Ananean 1996, 201–263. On Cilicia's importance as one of the most 'vital Christian states in the Levant' at this period, cfr Der Nersessian 1973*B*, 340–341; and Halfter 1996, 171–177 for the significance attached by Pope Clement III to Armenian help in his Crusader project. Ter-Petrosyan 2007, vol. 2, 180–181, suggests that the idea to request a crown from the West in exchange for Levon's military aid during the newly planned (Third) Crusade was probably conceived after receiving this letter.

³¹ There seems to have been a common overestimation of the number of Armenians, for example, under the jurisdiction of the Armenian Catholicos. This is the case, for example, of Otto of Freising, cited in Halfter 1996, 143. On the same issue see also *Ibid*, 182.

³² Yovsepean 1951, 538.

³³ *Ibid*.

ans living in the region of Philippiopolis were accused by Greek authors as traitors for having collaborated with Barbarossa as he approached Thessaloniki.³⁴ Prince Levon, in his turn, sent delegations to Barbarossa while the latter was approaching Cilicia in order to demonstrate his good will. Yet, the situation was not that simple and diplomatic moves were just as complex. Ensuring the alliance of a strong western power stationed relatively far away—i.e. the Holy Roman Empire—at a price of a nominal vassalage could be definitely beneficial for Cilician Armenia. Yet, Levon was anxious about keeping his small domain independent from the effective control of any western or eastern ruler. Accepting a crown, and, thus, a legal dependence from Barbarossa, the strongest and most respected ruler in the West—the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire—may have turned out to be a double-edged sword. It could bring prestige in Levantine political dealings, but it could also create a possible danger of eroding or down-grading one's political independence. The German Emperor's domineering presence in the East could have justifiably caused uneasiness in the leader of a territory who constantly had to play a balancing act between strong powers that surrounded it, such as the Byzantine Empire, the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum and the Ayyubids, especially if one considers Barbarossa's alliance with Kilidj Arslan. Such may have been the political considerations—apart from an ever-present possibility that one's territories may be looted by soldiers of even an allied army—that compelled Levon to convince Barbarossa to change his route and reach Palestine without crossing Cilicia.³⁵ Moreover, Baha ad-Din ibn Shaddad claims that the contemporary Catholicos Grigor Tlay, whose residence of Hromklay was outside of Levon's rule and in the territory controlled by Salah al-Din, wrote a letter to the Sultan informing him about Barbarossa's entry into Cilicia and gave a detailed account of the state of his army before and after the Emperor's death.³⁶ Given the close relationship

³⁴ Dédéyan 2004, 183–196, esp. 192–196.

³⁵ Mikayelyan 1952, 143–148. Ter-Lévondyan 1994, 98–103. These authors rely on Muslim historians, such as abu Shama and ibn Shaddad to support this argument. Ibn Shaddad in his *Biography of Salah al-Din* includes a long letter written by Catholicos Grigor to the Ayyubid Sultan. See the note below.

³⁶ Mikayelyan 1952, 145–146; and ibn Shaddad in Nalbandyan 1965, 295–297, fully quoting the letter. Alishan 1889, 103, vehemently protested against the authenticity of these letters. Yet, other scholars have questioned this attitude and explained the purpose of the letter as a political/diplomatic move on the part of Grigor Tlay whose residence was under Salah al-Din's control. For an overview of different opinions and a balanced appraisal of the issue, cfr Halfter 1996, 176, esp. note 21 and Mnac'akanyan 1972, 57. Mutafian 1988, 166–170 provides an overview of all sources which indicate that

between Levon and the Catholicos it is unlikely that the Prince was unaware of Grigor Tlay's letter.³⁷ Thus, since the outcome of Barbarossa's exploits in the East could have had unpredictable consequences on Cilician Armenia, its ruler probably tried to prevent any undesirable outcomes by making *a priori* overtures to Salah al-Din through the Catholicos Grigor Tlay. This was simply *realpolitik*.³⁸ As it turned out, Levon's cautions were unnecessary since Barbarossa died before reaching the territories under the Prince's control.

After Barbarossa's death Levon did not give up his hopes for a royal crown. Moreover, at the turn of the twelfth century he was justified to feel one of the strongest rulers in the Near East, given the fact that all of the major rulers, such as Salah al-Din (died 1193) and Kilij Arslan (died 1192) had recently died, while Byzantium at this time had "become the 'Sick Man of Europe'".³⁹ At the end of May 1194, Levon's ambassadors visited the court of Emperor Henry VI while he was in Milan, reiterating Levon's request for a crown, and in 1195 they were received by Pope Clement III.⁴⁰ Two years later, in 1197, an embassy was sent to Constantinople headed by Nersēs Lambronac'i.⁴¹ The great theologian was charged with the mission of trying to reach a compromise regarding the union of Armenian and Byzantine churches, but he most likely per-

Armenians may have been playing a 'double game' between Salah al-Din and Frederick Barbarossa, fearing the latter's claims to 'Roman Emperorship', but appreciating his potential help against the Ayyubid Sultan Salah al-Din. According to this author we may say, with the benefit of hindsight, that the death of Barbarossa, especially because it was, shortly afterwards, followed by that of Salah al-Din in 1193, had a positive outcome for Cilician Armenia.

³⁷ A poem penned by Grigor Tlay on the fall of Jerusalem, where he lavishly praises Levon for his courage demonstrates the positive nature of their relationship at this time. Van Lint 2002, 121–142. The relationship may not have been always rosy, especially towards the end of Grigor's life (1193), as hypothesised by Mnac'akanyan in his 'Introduction' to GT 1972, 28–29.

³⁸ This opinion is further developed by Mikayelyan 1952, 147–148. Dédéyan 2004, cautiously and rightly states that the intricacies of the diplomatic correspondences between Levon, Barbarossa and Salah al-Din need further elaboration, perhaps with further examination of Arabic sources, which is beyond my own field of competence.

³⁹ Angold 1984, 284. For further details with citations from sources on Levon's growing importance in the last five years of the twelfth century cfr also Ter-Petrosyan 2007, 182–184.

⁴⁰ Halfter 1996, 193–197 for a minute discussion on dates, and Halfter 2006, 415 for the specific date of the embassy to Milan.

⁴¹ We know about Lambronac'i's visit to Constantinople from a colophon written by him. Yovsepean 1951, 602.

formed also a diplomatic mission entrusted to him by Prince Levon.⁴² Lambronac'i returned from this embassy quite disappointed, as is evident in the colophon written by him in 1197 at the end of a collection of patristic and dogmatic letters (of Armenian and Greek authors) that he intended to use in his conversations with Constantinopolitan religious and political leaders.⁴³ This disappointment is even more impressive when one considers Lambronac'i's previous admiration for Greek learning.

Interestingly, Levon was designated as king in some Armenian sources even before his coronation. Thus, a colophon of a manuscript of a *Hymnary* from 1186/87, states that it was written:

Ըստ խնդրոյ քրիստոսասէր Լևոնի արքայի Հայոց, որ կոչի Լևոն Երկրորդ
...

... upon the request of Christ-loving Levon, King of the Armenians, who is called Levon the Second ...⁴⁴

Moreover, he was called *autokrator* in a letter of Nersēs Lambronac'i addressed to him in 1195.⁴⁵

Levon's actual coronation finally took place on January 6, 1198 in the Cathedral Church of St. Sophia in Tarsus. The papal legate in charge of crowning Levon was Conrad of Wittelsbach—Archbishop of Mainz.⁴⁶

⁴² Mikayelyan 1952, 152–154.

⁴³ Yovsepean 1951, 602.

⁴⁴ Mat'evosyan 1988, 252.

⁴⁵ This is a famous and much-quoted letter where Lambronac'i defends himself against the charges of bishops from Northern Armenia who condemned his openness to influences from Latin and Greek ecclesiastical traditions as a betrayal of ancestral Armenian customs. Here Lambronac'i comments also on the various Latin habits that had become common in the court of Prince Levon II. Among others, he cites some of the new terms that had entered into the common language of the high society, such as Sir, Liege, Bail, etc. (pp. 239–241). But the more familiar Greek terminology also survived; for example, such denominations as Sebastos or Prok'simos (from pro-xenos), etc. In the title of the letter Levon is characterised as *išxoln mer ink'nakalut'eamb*—ruling [us] as an *autokrator*. NL 1865, 207–248. Cfr also Dulaurier 1869, liv. For the date of the letter Polarean 1971B, 256.

⁴⁶ Halfter 1996, 216 on the coronation of Levon as a joint action of the Papacy and the Empire, of Pope Celestine III and Emperor Henry VI, even if by January 1198 Henry VI was dead. Cfr Ibid, 189–245, for a detailed analysis of the circumstances and the dating of the event. See also Mikayelyan 1952, 156–157 and Der Nersessian, 1973B, 343, note 23, where the author discusses in detail the controversy between the dates 1199 (proposed by Alishan, accepted by Tournebize and Ormanean) and 1198 for Levon's crowning. The year 1199 is based on the testimony of the *Chronicle* attributed to Smbat Sparapet, which omits the name of Nersēs Lambronac'i as one of the participants of the ceremony. All other Armenian historians, however, indicate 1198 as the date of Levon's coronation. Moreover,

There was, however, a condition to his crown: to bring about the union between the Armenian and Roman Churches.⁴⁷

Levon's crowning left an indelible impression on contemporaries. They hailed him as the renovator of the long-lost independence of Armenians.⁴⁸ Moreover, his status was recognised both by the Holy Roman Empire and the Byzantium Empire, even if it is not altogether resolved whose crown he received first: the one from the Byzantine Emperor Alexius III Angelos, or that from Henry VI and Pope Celestine III. Sources are not consistent on this issue. Thus, one contemporary colophon written in 1198 in the Catholical residence of Hromklay speaks only about a crown sent by the Byzantine Court:

... սա միայն ստացաւ զաւգոստական զծիրանափայլ պատմունճանն և ընկալաւ աւծուծս որպէս զմեծն Տրդատ, կամակցութեամբ արիական ազգին Յունաց, բերեալ նմա նշան զխաչանիշ թագն: Եւ նորա պատուասիրաբար կոչեցեալ զհոգևոր տէր Գրիգորիոս, զի երթիցէ և աւծցէ զնա սրբարար և մաքրագործակ մեռնուն և պսակեցէ զգլուխն խաչանշան դրոշմաւ:

... he [Levon] was the only one to obtain the august purple mantle and receive anointment as the Great Trdat, by the concordant will of the brave nation of Greeks, who brought him a crown with a cross. And he [Levon], in an honourable manner, called the spiritual lord Grigorios, in order that he may go and anoint him with the holy and purifying *miwron*⁴⁹ and crown his head with the cross-shaped sign.⁵⁰

in a colophon Nersēs Lambronac'i (who died in July 1198) wrote about the coronation of the Rubenid Prince, thus confirming that it did take place in the year 1198. Halfter (as quoted above) came to the same conclusion based on a detailed chronological analysis of Conrad's itinerary in Italy and in the East, using mainly western sources. Later, however, he accepted 1199 based on the work of Prinzing-Schmidt on the Lemberg Evangelium, cfr Halfter 2006, p. 408 note 34. The latest analysis on the issue is that of Ter-Petrosyan 2007, vol. 1, 399 where he favours 1198 dating. I have accepted this conclusion and indicated 1198 as the date of Levon's coronation.

⁴⁷ The religious background of this union and reactions to it are treated in the next section (1.2) of this chapter.

⁴⁸ Alishan 1889, 95 quotes various contemporary Armenian historians, even if not always giving their names or exact sources where he found these quotations. This author himself continues in the long Armenian tradition of veneration for Levon, as Alishan compares Levon to the greatest rulers of his time, Frederick Barbarossa and Salah al-Din, *ibid.*, 97. For the most recent analysis of the subject cfr Ter-Petrosyan 2007, 200–201.

⁴⁹ *Miwron* is a transcription of Greek μύρον or μύρων, in Armenian, as in Greek, signifying the holy oil, the oil of chrismation, used for ritual rites, such as baptism, ordination of priests, etc. Cfr NBH, 252.

⁵⁰ Mat'evosyan 1988, 293. This colophon is written in a manuscript containing *Commentaries on the General Epistles* by Sargis Šnorhali, reprinted from Alishan 1901, 441–448. Hac'uni 1924, 234–238 describes the Cilician crown, which usually was adorned

This brief colophon has much interesting data on the coronation of Levon. First of all, it only talks about a Byzantine crown and implies that the coronation was performed only by the Armenian Catholicos. Moreover, the ordination rite described here has similarities with a late (at least since the tenth century) Bagratid investiture ceremony, especially the ceremony of anointing the king by the current Armenian Catholicos and the placing of a crown on his head by the Catholicos. The colophon also mentions a purple mantle and a crown sent by the Byzantine Emperor to Levon, which echoes the dressing of the Bagratid King Ašot II in purple clothes upon his visit to the Byzantine capital in 945.⁵¹ Moreover, in the *Letter of Love* Constantine the Great presents a purple mantle to Trdat. The author of the colophon found it natural to compare the first Christian Armenian King Trdat with Levon, who ‘renewed’ the long-lost kingdom of the Armenians. He was not the only one to make such allusions. A few years earlier, Nersēs Lambronac’i in his famous letter to Levon, (where he justified himself for his openness to other ecclesiastical traditions as well as indicated various foreign influences evident in the court of Levon), again called on Levon to follow the example of such pious kings as ‘David and Joseph, Constantine and Trdat’.⁵² In his *Lamentation on the Fall of Jerusalem*, Grigor Tlay lauds profusely Levon’s military successes, comparing him to Alexander the Great, the hero Hayk—the legendary forefather of the Armenian nation—King Trdat, and King Artasēs.⁵³ Such comparisons were significant for the developing royal ideology in the Armenian Cilician Kingdom. They reflect efforts of the representatives of the Rubenid house to find more ancient origins and a direct royal connection of their founder, Ruben, to previous Armenian royal dynasties. A starting point was to claim that Ruben’s grandson T’oros took revenge for

with pearls and precious stones, while the one sent from the Byzantine court had also a cross on it. Evans 1997, 485–507, even if treating a later period than the rule of Levon I, has established, based on a study of royal portraits, that while originally royal portraits and attire both in Greater Armenia and later on also in Cilicia bore strong eastern influences, art historical evidence from the middle of the 13th century points to a long-lasting influence of ‘Byzantine imagery as the ultimate symbol of authority’. In one case she could identify a Byzantine crown worn by Queen Keran, in a ms. of a Gospel from 1272 (J2563), while the origin of the crowns for the King and the children, all depicted in the same ms, remain uncertain. She brings forth many other examples of Armenian princes with attire or poses typical of Byzantine portraits.

⁵¹ Cowe 1992B; Jones 2001/2, 360–366. For the use of purple and its ideology, cfr. Chapter 2, pp. 67–70.

⁵² NL 1865, 247.

⁵³ GT 1972, 308–310.

the last Bagratid King Gagik's death, as mentioned above, which would serve as a proof that the two houses were related. As such, then, the Rubenids could make the most of this relationship and claim their origins from King David of Israel, the forefather of the Bagratid dynasty according to tradition.⁵⁴

The details of Levon's crowning found in Kirakos Ganjakec'i's *History of the Armenians* are different. Although not stating it explicitly, this historian seems to imply that the Byzantine crown was sent only after Emperor Alexius III Angelos had become aware that a Latin crown was imminent. He supposedly pronounced these words when sending the crown: 'Do not put on your head the crown [sent from] Rome, but [the one sent by] us, since you are closer to us than to Rome'.⁵⁵ Smbat Sparapet, on the other hand, mentions that the Byzantine crown arrived in 1196, before the embassy of Nersēs Lambronac'i to Constantinople, but this is unlikely.⁵⁶ The importance of having received two crowns was emphasised by Lambronac'i:

... յօրում ամի [1198] վերապատուեցաւ թագաւոր Հայոց Լևոն, որ յմո-
բինեանց, բարեպաշտ և յաղթաւ Աստուծով: Որոյ հոչակ արութեանն
շարժեաց զմեծ ինքնակալն հին Հռոմա զՀէոի և զնոր Հռոմա Ալէքս, որ
պսակեցին զսա քարամբ պատուական, յեկեղեցի Տարսոնի, որ իմ ան-
արժանութեամբ հովվի:

... in which year [1198] Levon, who was from [the house of the] Rubi-
neanc', pious and victorious with the help of God, was greatly honoured
as the King of Armenians. The fame of his courage had moved the great
autokrator of Ancient Rome, Henry, and of New Rome, Alexios, who
crowned him with precious stones, in the Church of Tarsus, which is under
my, unworthy, pastoral care.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Cowe 1992B, 49–59, esp. 53. This legitimization would have been important also against Byzantine imperial ideology. Even though the Byzantine Court sent a crown to Levon, he was never recognised as βασιλεύς but as εἰς, since from the Byzantine point of view only a heir of the Aršakuni dynasty could be a *basileus*. Cfr Bartikian 1984, 519–532. According to Bartikian, even Levon I may have attempted to establish a dynastic link between his and the Aršakuni houses. Ter-Petrosyan 2007, 200–206 believes that the legend of the 'royal, i.e. Bagratid, lineage' of the Rubenids originated after the coronation of Levon II as king Levon II since it appears only in 13th c. sources. It served at least two purposes. First, to legitimise the dynasty of the Rubenids and second, to emphasise Levon's (and future kings') authority over *all* Armenians and not just those living in Cilicia.

⁵⁵ KG 1961, 158. The last entry in Ganjakec'i's *History* is related to 1265/66, cfr Ibid, 46–47.

⁵⁶ Mikayelyan 1952, 152.

⁵⁷ Mat'evosyan 1988, the colophon is in M10480 (from 1286), but the original was written by Nersēs Lambronaci in 1198, containing the *Revelation of John*.

As briefly outlined above, Levon's external politics before and after the coronation were aimed at gaining a fully independent status for his realm. Politically, having received two crowns, neutralised his state. It was not dependent on either the Western or Eastern Empires. In any case, the weakened Byzantine Empire under the dynasty of the Angeloi was in no position to defy Levon's ambitions.⁵⁸ At the same time, while Levon was nominally a vassal of the Holy Roman Emperor, he maintained, in fact, full independence of action and owed no tributary obligations either to the Pope or to the Emperor.⁵⁹ Moreover, he strove to extend his control over the Principality of Antioch, first through marriage alliances, i.e. that of his niece Alis (the daughter of his deceased brother Ruben) to Raymond, the son of Prince Bohemund III of Antioch in 1195. Raymond-Ruben, the issue of this marriage, was to inherit his grandfather's title as the Prince of Antioch, and this would mean that *de facto* Levon would be the ruler of the Principality. However, when Bohemund III died (in 1200) his younger son, Bohemund IV challenged the young Raymond-Ruben and a long dispute, known as the Antiochene succession wars broke out. This would last from 1203 till 1216, ending, eventually, with an apparent victory of Levon's party and the anointing of Raymond-Ruben as Prince of Antioch. His reign, however, would not last long, as he was ousted by the local nobility in 1219 and fled the city. This thirteen-year long dispute for the legitimate successor of the Principality involved not only Levon and Bohemund IV, but also very closely Pope Innocent III, the Hospitallers and the Templars, as well as the high nobility of Armenian Cilicia and the Principality of Antioch.⁶⁰ Each side, Levon or Bohemund, tried to influence papal legates who were supposed to provide an impartial verdict as to the rightful heir of Antioch. A solution through diplomatic means, however, was next to impossible, and the eventual, seemingly victorious but short-lived, entry of Levon to Antioch took place only due to the occupation of one of the city's gates by the King's men during the night. This long conflict not only demonstrates Levon's aspirations at expanding the territories under his

⁵⁸ Mikayelyan 1952, 158. For the significance of having received two crowns cfr Ter-Petrosyan 2007, 190–191.

⁵⁹ Halfter 1996, 265–269, based on a detailed study of imperial and papal documents concluded that Levon did not owe any tributary obligations as a feudal vassal of the German Emperor or of the Pope.

⁶⁰ Cfr Mikayelyan 1952, 164–165, for a brief overview of the conflict; Cahen 1940, 596–623, remains a seminal study for its in-depth analysis of the subject.

control, but also his ability to use both diplomatic (that can be traced through numerous letters exchanged between him and Innocent III) and military means for reaching his goals. In conclusion, Levon was one of the most ambitious and able kings of his time and his contemporaries were well aware of these traits. Moreover, he remained in the consciousness of the Armenians as the glorious reviver of their long-lost independence. It is no wonder then, that in a climate of renewed interest in legends about the first Christian Armenian king Trdat and the revival of the Armenian royal dynasty at the End of times, Levon would tacitly become their model. In particular, this seems to be the case in the *Letter of Love and Concord*.

1.2. THE ARMENIANS AND THE ROMAN CHURCH IN THE 12TH–13TH CENTURIES

Throughout the twelfth century official contacts between the heads of Armenian and Roman Churches intensified.⁶¹ The same century also witnessed a new breath in negotiations aimed at re-establishing a union between Armenian and Byzantine Orthodox Churches.⁶²

Some of the surviving letters exchanged between various popes and catholicoi—aimed at solidifying or, depending on the time-frame, clarifying the terms and the validity of a confessional union between the two Churches—have allowed scholars to explore the details of Roman-Armenian relations starting with the first Crusades and later. Various studies dedicated to the subject assert that the two Churches were on distinctly cordial terms in the twelfth century and several Popes explicitly recognised the orthodoxy of the Armenian Church. Yet, there were ups and downs in the relationship of the two churches even in the twelfth and also later centuries, not least due to the fluctuations of the political forces in the Christian East. What has not been given much attention by scholars is the evidence that discussions and negotiations with the Church of Rome in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries provided an

⁶¹ Hamilton 1978; Halfter 1996; and Thomson 2001, 71–82. A less elaborate version of this section has been published as Pogossian 2006, 259–290.

⁶² Some of the most important works on the Armenian-Byzantine dialogue of this period include: Tékéyan 1939; Zekiyan 1980, 420–441; and Idem 1986, 861–883. On the political background and its influence on ecclesiastical relations, Bartikian 1994; Bozoyan 1995, where on 19–28 there is a review of literature on the subject; and Idem 1988.

impetus for absorbing new terms, concepts, and forms of argumentation by Armenian authors and polemicists. This process of development can be compared to the influence of doctrinal debates in Late Antiquity on the shaping of ideas and concepts during the formative period of not only Armenian, but also generally Caucasian, theology.⁶³ During this formative period, even if in this earlier case the range of issues and their importance was more significant, the leaders of Armenian and other Caucasian churches were pushed to acquire a more profound understanding of theological-philosophical concepts underpinning Christological debates. Consequently they demonstrated much more sophistication in applying methods and the necessary vocabulary of logical argumentation pertinent to the issues of the time and in support of their own positions.⁶⁴ Similarly, as a result of discussions with representatives of the Roman Church, including the written correspondence with Popes, new concepts, specific to the Church of Rome, and forms of argumentation were introduced into Armenian theological discourse from the second half of the twelfth century. In written correspondence and closer everyday contacts with representatives of the Latin Church in the East new issues were raised—such as the primacy of the Roman Church and its authority over all other Churches—that previously had not been dealt with by Armenian ecclesiastical leaders. This forced the late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century Armenian theologians to develop and crystallise new concepts, particularly regarding the place of the Roman Church, in general, and in relation to the Armenian Church, in particular. These concepts can be traced in official letters and polemical writings, as well as in sources commonly considered to be legendary. The *Letter of Love and Concord* falls into the latter category. Some of these new ideas, especially as far as universal ecclesiology and the place of the Armenian Church within this hierarchy is concerned, surfaced also in twelfth-century negotiations with Byzantine religious and imperial authorities. By underlining these new elements and describing the overall context of this specific stage of development within Armenian theology, one is better able to appreciate the ecclesiological ideology propagated in the *Letter of Love and Concord*.

⁶³ For an overview, see, for example, Cowe 1996, 647–683, esp. 651–652 for the early Christian period.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

The twelfth century papal letters,⁶⁵ to contemporary Armenian catholici, leave the impression that the heads of the two Churches thought to be in communion with each other, even if differences in certain liturgical praxis existed. A letter of Innocent II (1130–1143) from 1141⁶⁶ to Catholicos Grigor III Pahlawuni (1113–1166) stated:

We heard about your orthodox faith from the letter which our brother Alberic, Archbishop of Ostia, brought. Having read it, we gratefully gave glory to God for having preserved you firmly in the orthodox faith amid other nations.⁶⁷

While the Pope admitted that Armenians were orthodox in faith, he demanded that certain liturgical changes be carried out. Those were as follows: mixing water with wine in the Eucharistic chalice,⁶⁸ and

⁶⁵ Twelfth-century papal letters, albeit not all of them, have been preserved only in their (medieval) Armenian translation. Unfortunately, the Armenian side of the correspondence has not survived. Most recently, papal letters have been edited and published along with their Italian translation in Ananean 1996. One of the letters has been translated (with an ample introduction and comments) into German also by Andrea Barbara Schmidt and Peter Halfter, Cfr Schmidt-Halter 1999: 50–71.

⁶⁶ Dating of the letter in Schmidt-Halter 1999, 57.

⁶⁷ Ananean 1996, 211. By ‘other nations’ in Armenian ‘aylazgeac’ miji’ the Pope refers to Muslims.

⁶⁸ Ibid, 212. The Armenian Church is the only one to use pure wine, not mixed with water, for the Eucharistic celebration. This idiosyncratic tradition has been attested since the sixth century. In a private conversation with Prof. Nina Garsoian, she stated her conviction that this tradition stems from the common usage of drinking unmixed wine that was wide-spread in the Iranian cultural sphere as opposed to the Roman custom of drinking wine mixed with water. Her article on this issue had not appeared at the time of the final redaction of this book. It is worthwhile quoting the celebrated phrase of the sixth-century Catholicos Movsēs Eliwardec’i, when he refused to participate in a council convened at the will of Emperor Maurice around 593: ‘I will not cross the River Azat [the dividing line between the Byzantine Empire and Sasanian Iran], nor eat oven-baked bread [i.e. leavened bread used by the Greeks for the Eucharist] or drink warm water [i.e. wine mixed with water]’, in Garitte 1952, 40. On the subject see also, Mécérian 1965, 73–74; Zekiyan 1982, 155–174, esp. 164 on this subject; and Hanssens 1930, 156–167, and esp. 265–271 on celebrating the Eucharist with unmixed wine. Recently Cowe has convincingly argued that this liturgical practice became closely linked to Armenian Christological beliefs on more than one level. The mixing of water with wine could symbolise two natures in Christ (to which Armenians were opposed). But this practice (of mixing) could also imply the corruptibility of Christ’s flesh, which a strong Julianist current within the Armenian Church did not admit as orthodox. From this point of view the Eucharistic wine mixed with water, or the leavened bread, were considered to symbolise a corruption after the union, thus becoming symbolically unacceptable for the Eucharistic celebration. For a detailed discussion and sources, Cowe 1992, 123–157, esp. 145 and Idem 2004, 30–54, esp. 39–40. For an overall view of Julianist or apthartodocetist trends in the Armenian church, cfr Meyendorff 1992, 27–37. To summarise, holding tight to the tradition of unmixed wine and unleavened bread was a

celebrating the Birth of Christ on December 25, rather than January 6.⁶⁹ Here is how the Pontifex Maximus justified his demands:

Even if there were twelve [apostles] chosen by Christ, Peter was appointed as the head of the apostles and the first among them. Likewise, this [See], which is his chair, is higher than all others.⁷⁰

Thus, Innocent II appealed to the authority of the Roman Church first and foremost. Then, he insisted on the infallibility of the Roman Church, since 'no heresy ever entered this Church ... and [there was] no erring from the apostolic way'.⁷¹ Based on these premises, the Armenians had to 'follow the orders and habits' of the Roman Church. And finally, the Pope brought forth other arguments, such as the practice of all other Christian nations, as well as testimonies from Latin and Greek Church Fathers which were to prove the fallacy of these two liturgical peculiarities of the Armenian Church. Towards the end of the letter, just before praising the Armenians for their endurance in an environment surrounded by Muslim states, Innocent II repeated his requests for liturgical changes:

And again we repeat and make it known to you, holy brother, that it is absolutely necessary to mix water during the service of Christ's Holy Mystery. We again beg you to listen to us and be equal to us in [administering] this

liturgical usage closely linked to Christological beliefs, and thus any changes would have had far reaching symbolic and doctrinal implications that the Armenians were not willing to accept.

⁶⁹ The Armenians followed a Jerusalemite tradition of celebrating Christmas on January 6, which was passed on to Armenian Lectionnaires translated in the fifth century in Jerusalem. Renoux 1965, 343–359. After Chalcedonian controversies, the Armenians held fast to the tradition of celebrating simultaneously Christ's human birth in Bethlehem together with His divine birth symbolised by His baptism in the river Jordan. Cfr Renoux 1989, 428–433. Several sources from the sixth century indicate the importance of such an idiosyncratic liturgical calendar as a way of opposition to the Byzantine, i.e. Chalcedonian, Church. Various treatises on the Epiphany by Armenian authors from the sixth to seventh centuries that have come down to us stress the importance of celebrating in one day, January 6th, 'la naissance du Christ à Bethlehem et sa naissance éternelle, symbolisée par la voix du Père lors du baptême au Jourdain'. Renoux 1989, 432. Of course, as any liturgical usage (e.g. see the note above), the celebration of the Nativity and the Baptism in the same day also held a strong doctrinal symbolism, namely, it affirmed the unity of Christ's two natures. To celebrate the two feasts separately would mean, for the Armenians, to divide the natures of the Saviour. Cfr Renoux Ibid. Here, as in the case of the Eucharistic wine and bread, the liturgical usage which originally did not necessarily stem from doctrinal considerations, was later linked to a doctrine that was believed too sacred to be altered.

⁷⁰ Ananean 1996, 211.

⁷¹ Ibid.

Holy Mystery, and by [doing] so you would proclaim your love and concordance with the Holy Church and with us, since this Catholic Church is your mother and head and it is necessary to approve of and follow the wishes of the mother. And her wishes are: to follow her ways in [celebrating] the Birth of Christ and the Mystery of the Sacrifice and not to err from this motherly road.⁷²

Another letter, this one from Lucius III (1181–1185), written forty years after that of Innocent II, on December 3, 1183, and received by Catholicos Grigor Tlay (1173–1193) in 1184⁷³ started with an even larger exposé on the Roman primacy, saying, *inter alia*, the following:

... the Church of Rome ... was founded on the rock of faith by the power of God, and as defined by Him, has powers over all Churches and authority to instruct all Churches and to teach other members.⁷⁴

Lucius III also requested that liturgical changes be introduced in the Armenian Church in conformity with corresponding Roman practices. Speaking about the necessity of mixing water with wine during the Eucharistic celebration, the Pope says:

Turn from your habit to the way by which we go, since being in union with us in incorruptible faith, let there be no disagreement between us in [religious] services.⁷⁵

These papal letters were a product of the ideology of the primacy of the Roman See that took shape particularly in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁷⁶ Their verbal formulation of and insistence on the primacy of the Roman Church made use of expressions habitual for their time. These, however, were not necessarily known to the Armenian side. One may only conjecture the response or reaction in the Armenian ecclesiastical milieu to this type of reasoning since the answers of catholicoi

⁷² Ibid, 214.

⁷³ Ananean 1996, 218 for dating. Between the letter of Innocent II and that of Lucius III there must have been another one written by Pope Eugene III (1145–1153) and given to the Armenian delegation that visited his court in Viterbo in 1145. This letter is lost, but traces of it have survived in the decisions of the Synod of Sis of 1307, cfr Ananean 1996, 207. Most probably Eugene III's letter addressed issues similar to those raised in the letters of Innocent II and Lucius III. Moreover, it is possible that the Armenian delegation to Viterbo included also the future Catholicos Nersēs Šnorhali who participated in a mass celebrated by the Pope. On the Armenian delegation to Pope Eugene III, Dédéyan 1992, 237–252, and Halfter 1996, 139–143.

⁷⁴ Ananean 1996, 215.

⁷⁵ Ibid, 216.

⁷⁶ Maccarrone 1991, 541–665, and Idem 1992, 821–927.

to these letters have not been preserved. Some hypothesis in this regard, however, may be proposed by briefly looking into the Armenian tradition of dogmatic writing, in general, and closer to this period, in particular.

This tradition, far from being monolithic or homogenous in time and space, took its shape in the form of multiple responses to doctrinal, especially Christological, developments and controversies within Christianity. A dominant theme, especially from the seventh century on, was the refusal of Armenians to accept the duophysite Christology of the Fourth Ecumenical Council (the Council of Chalcedon of 451) sometime between the second half of the sixth and the early seventh century.⁷⁷ This decision not only caused internal divisions within the Armenian Church between pro- and anti-Chalcedonians, but also created serious tensions with the Byzantine and the neighbouring Georgian and

⁷⁷ Modern scholars differ in their evaluation of when the Armenians fully and consciously rejected the Council of Chalcedon. Some consider that the First Council of Duin at 505/506, where the Armenians expressed a negative attitude to the Council of Chalcedon by implying that it strengthened the Nestorian doctrine, was 'the first official and formal rejection of the Council of Chalcedon by the Armenian Church', as in Sarkissian 1965, 213. Other studies, however, have emphasised that this Council did not directly deal with the Council of Chalcedon but with Nestorians. And even the Second Council of Duin of 555, which condemned more clearly the Chalcedonian Christological formula, cannot be cited as the official breaking point between Armenian and Chalcedonian Churches. Zekiyan 1982, 158–160 has conveniently summarised different scholarly opinions on the date when Armenians took a clearly anti-Chalcedonian position. For this author (p. 163), at the end of the sixth century there already prevailed in Armenia a 'virulent anti-Chalcedonism', while the sixth-century controversies between Georgian and Armenian Churches solidified a better understanding of the Chalcedonian doctrine in Armenia and, consequently, the anti-duophysite Christology became the only officially accepted dogma in the Armenian Church. More recently, Garsoïan 1999, 242–259, has emphasised that while *de facto* the Armenian Church was in schism from the Church of Constantinople from the second half of the sixth century, a *de jure* division should be dated with the formal condemnation of the Council of Chalcedon by Catholicos Abraham II in 607 (363 and ff). Nevertheless, Chalcedonian strongholds never ceased to exist in some parts of Armenia, such as the region of Tayk' or Karin/Theodosiopolis, and there were also Armenian catholicoi who sympathised with that doctrine. An exposition of a history of the Armenian Church, including the names of those catholicoi who were considered 'orthodox' or Chalcedonian until the VIII century, from a Chalcedonian point of view, has come down to us in various text fragments extant in Greek, one of the most important among them being the *Narratio de Rebus Armeniae*. Apart from Christological disagreements, matters of Church hierarchy and the issue of the autocephaly of the Armenian Church also played no small role in assuming an anti-Chalcedonian position. Cfr also Amadouni 1968. For a summary of these issues, van Esbroeck 1993, and Mécérian 1965, 59–78 on the issue of the Council of Chalcedon and the Armenian Church. On Armenian Chalcedonians, Marr 1906 remains an important study with ample information and source analysis; and Garitte 1952. For a treatment of the subject closer to the period of our interest, the tenth and eleventh centuries, Arutjunova-Fidanjo 1980.

(Caucasian) Albanian Churches. In this respect, the defense of a Cyrillian, anti-duophysite Christology was a prime task to be exposed in Armenian polemical literature. Another doctrinal theme, reflecting an important Syriac influence on early Armenian church, and debated especially within the Armenian Church itself, was the incorruptibility of Christ's body or a doctrine propagated by Julian of Halicarnassus and supported, in Armenia in the seventh century, by Yovhan Mayragomec'i.⁷⁸ Christology and theology were then linked to liturgical issues as well. What popes saw as problems within the Armenian liturgical praxis, as mentioned above, were points of contention and matters of discussion between the Armenian Church and other eastern Churches in earlier centuries.

The *Book of Letters*, an official compilation of letters written by various Armenian or other important ecclesiastical leaders and Church Fathers (not all authentic, though) allows one to get a glimpse at how the representatives of the Armenian Church argued for their dogmatic position as well as liturgical traditions.⁷⁹ It is important to remember that the *Book of Letters* acquired official status as an authoritative collection of documents under Catholicos Yovhannēs Ojneg'i, who was instrumental in strengthening the anti-Chalcedonian stance of the Armenian Church.⁸⁰ Moreover, a council convened under Ojneg'i in Duin, in 720, specifically required that unleavened bread and unmixed wine be used during the Eucharistic service.⁸¹ In the various early letters within *BL* the maximum authority to whom the Armenians appealed was St. Gregory the Illuminator, the founding father of the Armenian Church, followed by the dogma of the first three Ecumenical Councils, particularly emphasizing their adherence to the Nicene creed. It is perhaps predictable that around the same time, Chalcedonian Armenians referred to the same authorities—especially St. Gregory and the Council of Nicaea—as the

⁷⁸ Cowe 1992A, 138–139; Idem 2004, 39–40; Idem 1996, 675–676.

⁷⁹ *BL*. The second edition of this book (ed. N. Polarean, Jerusalem: St. James Armenian Patriarchate Press, 1992) was not available to me.

⁸⁰ For the different stages in the compilation of the *BL*, cfr Mahé 1996, 927–958, esp. 927–929, where he affirms that the first part of the *BL* was finalised in 628, based on the first colophon (on *BL*, p. 219). It received an official status and was reintroduced in usage by Catholicos Yovhannēs Ojneg'i (before the latter's death in 728). During the Cilician period, as a result of debates with Roman and Byzantine Churches, other, sometimes spurious, letters were added by clerics who wished to strengthen the traditional stance of the Armenian church on various issues debated at that time.

⁸¹ Cited in Cowe 1992A, 145, where Cowe demonstrates that this requirement came as a response to Julianist pressures within Armenia.

sources of *their* orthodoxy in opposition to non-Chalcedonian Armenians. Each group considered itself the true heir of these traditions.⁸² Medieval Armenian writers also quoted extensively from the works of venerated Armenian or Greek, Latin and Syriac Church Fathers in support of their orthodoxy or liturgical peculiarities.⁸³ In this context, *The Seal of Faith*, written in the seventh century is also emblematic. It imitated the polemical work of the Monophysite bishop of Alexandria, Timotheus Aeluros—*Against the Definition of the Council of Chalcedon*—and consisted only of quotations, thought to be anti-Chalcedonian, by various Armenian or other Church Fathers.⁸⁴ It could also be used, among others, as a ready tool in anti-Chalcedonian polemics, even if its main purpose may have been the internal debates within the Armenian Church about the issue of Christ's incorruptibility.

From among Latin fathers or authorities,⁸⁵ the Armenians revered particularly the contemporaries of St. Gregory the Illuminator: the first Christian Armenian king, Trdat, Emperor Constantine the Great, and Pope St. Sylvester. The Armenian historical tradition had preserved many reminiscences about St. Gregory the Illuminator's and Trdat's visit to Rome, to pay homage to and strike an alliance with Emperor Constantine and Pope Sylvester.⁸⁶ This tradition was to acquire more importance

⁸² For textual evidence regarding the authorities cited in Chalcedonian polemics by Armenians, cfr Cowe 1992A, 143–149 and 153. The same authorities were referred to also by the Julianist Yovhan Mayragomec'i and his opponent T'eodoros K'rt'ënowor.

⁸³ It has been noted that some Armenian polemicists quoted Church Fathers from tendentious translations or redactions of their works, in a way to suit their own arguments. These quotations were usually repeated mechanically in various polemical letters for centuries. There is, however, no exhaustive study on the subject which would analyse the considerable amount of Armenian polemical literature and provide any definitive conclusions on the issue. Nevertheless, there was a growing tendency from the eleventh century on, particularly among Cilician Armenians, to use the original sources or to make new, better translations. On some aspects of the matter, cfr Thomson 1967, 432–438.

⁸⁴ Tër-Mkrtchian 1914. Cowe 2004, 41, on the influence of Timotheus Aeluros and of the *BL* on this compilation, which, according to this author, was aimed at strengthening the doctrine of the incorruptibility of Christ's flesh, a disputed issue within the Armenian Church itself, rather than for anti-Byzantine polemics. However, much of the original writings by Yovhan Mayragomec'i are preserved in the *Seal of Faith*. Cowe 2004, 39–40.

⁸⁵ The most commonly quoted Roman popes were St. Sylvester, St. Julius (under whose name various Apollinarian writings survive), Damasus, Celestine I and Victor. See for example, *BL*, 306. This issue is treated also in Shirinian 2003, 96.

⁸⁶ An overview in Thomson 1997, where he shows that in Armenian historical tradition Constantine and Sylvester were invoked either in the context of military alliance with Rome or in a religious context to prove the orthodoxy of Armenians. See Chapter 2 pp. 50–53 for a detailed discussion on the issue of the voyage to Rome.

during the Cilician period in the context of the Crusades, as we shall see below. The *Letter of Love* was a direct product of this same tradition.

Briefly, the Armenian dogmatic literature before the Cilician period emerges as one focused on Christology but which had also developed arguments for defending the liturgical peculiarities of the Armenian Church, given that the latter were closely linked to Christology itself. Armenian authors recognised only the authority of the first three Ecumenical Councils and pre-Chalcedonian Church Fathers as their guides in faith. For an Armenian cleric trained and educated in this background, the twelfth century letters of Roman pontiffs would present two novel elements. One unusual aspect was the absence of any theological or Christological discussions, or the mention of the Council of Chalcedon in them. Moreover, even when criticizing Armenian liturgical usages, the pre-Chalcedonian Latin fathers, such as St. Ambrose and Cyprian, and Popes Alexander and Julius, were invoked.⁸⁷ These letters were not polemical in tone, but tended to be cordial and even laudatory as far as Cilician Armenians' merits in safeguarding the Christian faith in the East were concerned. The other novelty was the insistence on the authority of the Church of Rome and the *cathedra Petri* as the ultimate authority when recommending or rather requesting changes to be undertaken within the Armenian Church. At the same time, the Popes recalled that Armenians themselves had expressed their obedience to the Roman See. For example, in the letter of Innocent II we read:

Thus, if you are obedient to this chair, as you have written, then you must correct ... according to our rites.⁸⁸

Similarly, Lucius III wrote:

... and you, beloved brothers and sons, that rest in the bosom of your mother,⁸⁹ and greet her faith and more than anything else love concor-

⁸⁷ The necessity of accepting the Council of Chalcedon was mentioned in a letter written in 1080 by Pope Gregory VII to Catholicos Grigor V kayasêr; Tâutu 1943, No. 380, 790–792. However, twelfth-century Roman pontiffs did not bring this issue up in their correspondence. Schmidt-Halfter 1999, 63–64, note that Innocent II and most likely also Eugene III in his now lost letter invoked only the names of those Roman popes or Church Fathers who were accepted figures in the Armenian tradition as well. This leads one to suppose that these popes were at least conscious of certain problems that Armenians had regarding the Council of Chalcedon and preferred to remain silent on this important issue.

⁸⁸ Ananean 1996, 212.

⁸⁹ I.e., the Roman Church.

dance with her ... pray for the benevolence of God so that you may be united with her.⁹⁰

In the Armenian Church, similar to all other eastern Churches, the bishop of Rome, as the successor, and the Church of Rome, as the See founded by the Apostle Peter, did hold a place of honour.⁹¹ Therefore, the Armenian catholicoi who most likely expressed their veneration for St. Peter or deep respect for the Pope in their letters, now lost, meant this in an honorary sense and not as an obligation to accept the juridical authority of the Roman Church over their own. Thus, even though the twelfth-century Roman-Armenian exchange of letters leaves the impression that an ideal relationship existed between the two Churches, it obfuscates the underlying misunderstanding between the two parties and the difference in the concept of union or full communion between churches as defined by each side.⁹² Moreover, Armenians had never had the occasion or the need to deal with the issue of the primacy of Rome as it was envisaged by the Church of Rome in the twelfth century, and, thus, its theologians or leaders did not have a ready arsenal of responses—as they did to Christological arguments—to the type of approach that the Roman side had espoused through centuries of development of the theology of Petrine primacy. It was to take some time before Armenians fully took into consideration the arguments presented by the Roman Church—in support of its claim to juridical authority over all Churches—and refute or accept them.

As far as liturgical changes requested by popes are concerned, we may infer the Armenians' attitude by looking into the documents regarding the almost contemporary negotiations that took place between Armenian and Byzantine Churches in the second half of the twelfth century. These discussions were quite different from all previous Byzantine-Armenian talks, since there was an unprecedented spirit of goodwill expressed by participants of both sides to end their centuries-long disagreements. During the Byzantine-Armenian dialogue of the twelfth

⁹⁰ Ananean 1996, 216.

⁹¹ de Vries 1968, 13–35; van Esbroeck 1991.

⁹² This misunderstanding has been emphasised by other scholars, such as Hamilton 1978 and further elaborated upon by Halfter 1996. Both scholars illustrate that while the Armenian catholicoi expressed their veneration for the See of Rome as the See of the Apostle Peter, the Roman side assumed that the Armenians recognised the primacy of the Roman See in the Roman sense, i.e. juridical primacy. Similarly, while the Armenians viewed a union between Churches as a 'friendship pact', the Roman Church saw it as the submission of the Armenian Church to its authority.

century the chair of the Armenian catholicossate was occupied by the great theologian and thinker St. Nersēs Šnorhali (1165–1173) and consequently by his nephew and spiritual son Grigor Tlay (1173–1193). It was also a period which exhibited both a tendency and desire for peaceful cohabitation between eastern Christians of various denominations, e.g. Greeks, Syrians and Armenians, expressed in various contemporary sources.⁹³ Nersēs Lambronac'i—Šnorhali's nephew and one of the most significant medieval Armenian theologians and dynamic ecclesiastical and political figures—also took an active part in these negotiations. In his letters to Emperor Manuel Comnenus, St. Nersēs Šnorhali expressed in very clear terms what 'union between Churches' meant for him and his Church. The influence of his ideas on leaders of the Armenian Church was significant in this period as well as later.

As mentioned above, the letters exchanged between the representatives of the Armenian and Byzantine sides kept a respectful tone. As was usual with Byzantine-Armenian ecclesiastical relations, these negotiations accorded a large space to theological discussions. Nersēs Šnorhali sent a detailed exposition of the Armenian faith and liturgical practices to the Emperor, along with explanations of their origin.⁹⁴ The Byzantine theologian Magister Theorianos also made a report on the discussions that were held at the catholical residence of Hromklay. His description equally concentrated on theological-Christological debates, first and foremost.⁹⁵ It is evident that the two sides began discussing specific liturgical issues only after long theological discourses. These were liturgical changes that the Armenian Church had to undertake should it desire to conclude a full union with the Byzantine Church. The Byzantine side presented nine chapters which included questions of liturgical and theologi-

⁹³ For the Syrian side, cfr for example, Weltecke 2003, 99, mentioning a tendency of strengthening a benevolent relationship between various Christian peoples living in Northern Syria, including Armenians, 'Franks', Greeks and West Syrians; on Syrian-Armenian cultural relations in the same context of a religiously tolerant atmosphere, cfr. Levon Ter-Petrossian 1989. Cfr also note 114 for further evidence in Armenian sources.

⁹⁴ NS 1871. The correspondence between Šnorhali and Manuel Comnenus is on pp. 85–166. Nersēs Šnorhali's confession of faith became a standard document used by Armenians in all future centuries in their theological discussions. It was used, for example in the Confession of Faith sent by Catholicos Konstantin Barjraberdci (1221–1267) to the Patriarch of Constantinople Manuel I (1244–1255) and to Pope Innocent IV (1243–1254), as mentioned by Bozoyan 1995, 36–37. Konstantin Barjraberdci's confession of faith to the Pope has been recently published in German translation, from an autograph Vatican manuscript. Halfter-Schmidt 2003.

⁹⁵ Theorianos Magister, cols. 121–212.

cal nature. It is noteworthy how Nersēs Šnorhali replied to these requests, since we could see that this type of answer could be produced in this same milieu when negotiating with the Church of Rome:

If there is a way to suppress what has become like a second nature to us, ancient ancestral traditions of our nation, we may accept [to do] so now, and [we will do] this for the sake of communion in the love of God and not as if turning from an error into the righteous [path], since our ecclesiastical traditions have been confirmed by the testimony of the Holy Scriptures.⁹⁶

Šnorhali outlined the principles necessary for any discussion on union of Churches which have been called by a modern scholar as ‘une charte de l’action pour l’union’.⁹⁷ He emphasised, *inter alia*, the importance of charity and prayer in preparing for such an important dialogue, the necessity of consulting with all representatives of one’s Church and not acting on the basis of one’s personal convictions or desires, and the establishment of a climate where all sides could act as equals, free of any pressure when explaining or defending the peculiarities of their traditions. Šnorhali considered his pastoral duties as head of a Church to be his most important responsibility, and thus, understood very well that liturgical or doctrinal reforms were not welcomed by all representatives of his Church, to say the least. The correspondence with the Roman and especially the Byzantine Churches raised suspicions in Greater Armenia, particularly in the celebrated monasteries of Northern Armenia—Hałpat and Sanahin. Northern monks doubted the sincerity of the other side, considering any attempts at unification of Churches as a challenge to the autonomy of the Armenian Church and an offence to its orthodoxy. They feared that their ancestral traditions were being betrayed and altered.⁹⁸ In

⁹⁶ NS 1871, 161.

⁹⁷ Zekiyan 1980, 434. The seven principles necessary for negotiations on union are on 434–437.

⁹⁸ On the resistance of Northern monasteries, Ormanean 1913, 1410–1425, 1446–1486, esp. 1460–1466, who sympathises with them, and Tékéyan 1939, 42–47, who considers them closed-minded traditionalists; Bozoyan 1999, 120–136, has underlined the bifurcation of the Armenian culture in this period which the negotiations with Byzantine and Roman Churches made ever more evident. However, even within Cilicia not everyone was favorable towards this openness to other Churches and traditions. The correspondence between Catholicos Grigor Tlay, the Abbot of the Monastery of Hałpat Grigor Tudēordi, and the monks from ‘Northern monasteries’ as well as a letter of Nersēs Lambronac’i to (the future) King Levon, demonstrate the seriousness of disagreements and differences of opinion between some religious leaders in Cilicia and in Armenia proper. At the same time, Cilician Armenian catholicoi of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries made great efforts to keep the communion with Armenians in Armenia who,

fact, none of those liturgical changes required by the Byzantine and later by the Roman Church was ever put into effect.⁹⁹

Issues of ecclesiastical hierarchy were also brought up during Byzantine-Armenian negotiations. There were nine chapters presented by the Byzantine side as necessary conditions for a full union. Among them there was a request that the Armenians accept the nomination of the future Catholicos only from the *Basileus of the Romans*.¹⁰⁰ The Armenian response, which came only in 1178 when the political situation

at times, did not hesitate to elect an anti-Catholicos, when the circumstances were ripe. Catholicos Grigor Tlay, for example, spoke with humility to Grigor Tudēordi addressing him as a great teacher and theologian and asking for his sage opinion on how to proceed in discussions with the Byzantine Church. Grigor Tlay's letters to Tudēordi have been published as a part of a series of articles and sources by Aršak Ter-Mik'ēlean in the journal *Ararat* in 1893. In his answer to Catholicos Grigor Tlay, Grigor Tudēordi advised categorically not to continue any negotiations with the Byzantine Church because in his opinion there could be 'no kind of communion with them,' GT 1893, 327. There is a third letter of Grigor Tlay to Grigor Tudēordi, where the Catholicos uses a different tone and severe, reproaching words in the Abbot's address, GT 1865, 5–52. Some scholars have suggested that this last letter was heavily edited by Nersēs Lambronac'i. Ormanean 1913, col. 1480, and Hakobyan 1965, 83–90. Nersēs Lambronac'i, the Archbishop of Tarsus, a close collaborator of both Catholicos Nersēs Snorhali and Grigor Tlay, and the chancellor of King Levon, was himself a great thinker and theologian open to influences from other traditions. However, he exhibited a much shorter temper and harsher words addressed to 'northerners' who accused him of betraying national traditions. Cfr NL 1865, 207–248. An exposition of some of these letters with insightful comments can be found in Gugerotti 2001, 226–270.

⁹⁹ However, other aspects of the liturgy of the Armenian Church underwent a heavy influence both from Byzantine and Latin rites. Cfr, Winkler 1975; Findikyan 1999 and Gugerotti 2001. Gugerotti noted that while the Armenian ordination rites underwent a profound influence from Greek and Latin ceremonies, 'Vi fu invece aperta polemica sugli elementi che Roma chiese fossero modificati o inseriti nella liturgia degli Armeni. Di essi, a ben guardare, nulla o quasi nulla resta nell'attuale prassi della Chiesa apostolica, anche se in parte essi permangono presso gli Armeni cattolici,' 328. As mentioned above, liturgical changes implied also a revision of doctrinal positions, which the Armenians were not willing to undertake. Hence, there was openness to some changes, especially when these were not seen as altering doctrinal tenets, and a very conservative attitude for holding fast to other ecclesiastical traditions.

¹⁰⁰ NS 1871, 157. These requests were written in the summer of 1171, cfr Bozoyan 1995, 65–66, where Bozoyan cites also from the Greek version. The reply to this letter was written just before Snorhali's death in 1173, stating that a national synod was necessary before the Armenian side could take an official position on the nine points requested by the Byzantine side. This synod finally took place in 1178 in Hromklay, where Nersēs Lambronac'i most likely pronounced his famous *Synodal Discourse* arguing for the necessity of union between all Churches of Christ, building his speech on the concept of love for Christ. NL 1996 with an ample introduction and comments by its translator Zekian, NL 1996, 5–23.

had changed after the Byzantine defeat of 1176 at Myriokephalon,¹⁰¹ is revealing and may have found an echo in the *Letter of Love* as well. The Armenians replied that if the Roman Emperor were to acquire the right to nominate an Armenian Catholicos, the chair of the Armenian Catholicos should be renamed as the Patriarchate of Antioch.¹⁰² Moreover, it is possible that these requests prompted Nersēs Lambronac'i to translate two works on the hierarchy of churches, by Neilos Doxoprateis and Epiphanius of Cyprus, with the help of a Greek priest, Constantine of Hierapolis.¹⁰³ In the Armenian translation, several sections were added that emphasised the independence of the Armenian Catholicos.

This intense climate of discussions, disagreements, attempts at union with the Byzantine Church or a desire to insist on the communion with the Roman Church brought forth new ways of arguing for the validity of Armenian traditions. While Nersēs Šnorhali's letters are an example of logical and convincing argumentation based on scriptural and patristic evidence, as well as very thorough reflections on the origins of peculiarities within each Church, theologians of the next generation added something else to their own apologies for the Armenian confession of faith and ecclesiastical traditions. They probably felt the necessity to develop new arguments in support of their Church since the traditional ones could be discarded by Roman insistence on the primacy of the *Ecclesia Romana* and its God-given right to correct the usages of all other Churches according to her own.

Various types of Armenian sources from the twelfth and the early thirteenth century show that different ideas were being worked out during this period. Some of them, traditionally classified as legendary sources, are quite important. Firstly, because they are organically related to the *Letter of Love*, and thus to this study, and secondly because, as M. van Esbroeck pinned down: 'Les sources dites légendaires ne sont pas moins négligeables: elles constituent le plus souvent les mass-media de l'époque,

¹⁰¹ Even if the defeat at Myriokephalon may not have been a huge military disaster as it is presented by contemporary sources, its negative psychological effects on Manuel Comnenus and others in his entourage was considerable. Cfr. Angold 1984, 193–194.

¹⁰² Palčean 1878, 260–266; Bozoyan 1995, 175–178.

¹⁰³ Bozoyan 1995, 176; ND 1902 and EC 1902. As pointed out by Bozoyan 1995, 176–178, the Armenian translation includes various additional sections absent in the Greek original, aimed at stressing the independence of the Chair of the Armenian Catholicos. H. Bartikian 1989, 197–204, mentions that these translations were part of other works of legal/ecclesiological nature translated by Nersēs Lambronac'i, and even one of the articles of Mxit'ar's *Lawbook* on ecclesiastical and secular hierarchy was an interpolation by Lambronac'i, cfr pp. 203–204.

et répondent à des intentions explicites'.¹⁰⁴ These sources will be discussed in the next chapter when describing the general textual context in which the *Letter of Love* was created. Here, I shall explore the 'official' historiography, as well hagiographical and polemical compositions which give us indications as to the types of responses that Armenians were searching for and then came to incorporate in their works as a result of confrontations with the idea of the Roman primacy.

In this new type of argumentation Roman liturgical practices and what was believed to have been the 'original' teaching of the Roman Church are put forth as a yardstick for Armenian orthodoxy. There is a new insistence on the concept that all peculiar Armenian practices or theological positions originated in Rome and are, thus, orthodox by default. An interesting example of this new way of argumentation may be observed by tracing the development of the apologetics regarding a particular type of five-day fast called *arajaworac'*, which was observed in the Armenian Church before the Great Lent.¹⁰⁵ It was believed that this was the first fast observed by King Trdat before his Baptism, instituted by St. Gregory the Illuminator himself. Later, the historian Yovhan Mamikonean, probably in the tenth century, attached also the names of St. Sylvester and Emperor Constantine to the administration of the *arajaworac'* fast.¹⁰⁶ Repeating the common belief that this fast was administered by St. Gre-

¹⁰⁴ van Esbroeck 1991, 493.

¹⁰⁵ The first reference to this fast is found already in the sixth century but it was consolidated in the Armenian tradition only from the seventh or eighth centuries on. It was commonly believed that St. Gregory the Illuminator himself had administered this fast. Renoux 1989, 433–436. Later on, the names of Constantine and Sylvester also became attached to the establishment of this fast (see below).

¹⁰⁶ YM 1941, 73–74. The date of the composition of this *History* is debated. L. Avdoyan has proposed 966–988 as the most probable timeframe, in YM 1993, 45–47. If this dating is correct, then it was Tarawneç'i who for the first time associated the names of Constantine and Sylvester to this fast. Cfr Avdoyan's comments in YM 1993, 193, to this historian's knowledge of oral traditions related to this fast which mentioned St. Sylvester in relation to the administration of the *arajaworac'*. Avdoyan implies that Ps.-Yovhan wrote down this oral tradition and became the source for another, late tenth-century historian, Uxtanēs, while a near-contemporary (early eleventh-century) historian Asohik does not mention this Roman Pope with regard to the *arajaworac'* fast. All of these imply that linking St. Sylvester to the origins of this fast was a new argument. We may add that Sylvester's name was not mentioned in another treatise on the *arajaworac'* by a tenth-century author Samuēl Kamrjajorec'i, cfr Renoux 1997, 379–396, the French translation of the text 385–393. Samuēl Kamrjajorec'i quoted a variety of Church Fathers for his argumentation, whereas in our period there is a strong insistence particularly on the authority of St. Gregory the Illuminator along with St. Sylvester and Constantine the Great.

gory, he added that since it was accepted by St. Sylvester, he and Emperor Constantine decided to institute this fast also in Rome.¹⁰⁷ The first influential theologian to include this argument in his theological *Letter* and popularise it was Mxit'ar Goš (c. 1140–1213). He was a great monastic teacher of North-Eastern Armenia but spent much time also in Cilicia. Mxit'ar Goš was the first author to have compiled an Armenian secular law-book.¹⁰⁸ Mxit'ar lived in the domain of powerful Princes Zak'arē (being his confessor) and Ivanē Zak'arean, vassals of the Georgian Queen Tamar (1184–1213). Their military campaigns against various Muslim states in the region had liberated almost the entirety of Greater Armenia and brought it under the suzerainty of the Georgian Kingdom.¹⁰⁹ Mxit'ar Goš was close to Georgian political and ecclesiastical leaders and the issue of the Council of Chalcedon, as well as other differences between Armenian and Georgian Churches, could not but resurface as an endless source of polemics and discussions. In his *Letter*¹¹⁰ addressed to the Georgians, Mxit'ar wrote a long exposition in defense of all particular Armenian traditions and the confession of faith. He described different ecclesiastical customs of various peoples and tried to demonstrate that all of them were valid. Mxit'ar considered the divisions between diverse Christian confessions a sign of human weakness and arrogance, the work of evil against the will of God.¹¹¹ For this study there are two interesting points in his *Letter*. The first is how Mxit'ar explains the *arajaworac'* fast.

¹⁰⁷ There are two documents, supposedly prior to the tenth century, found in the *Book of Letters* that mention Sylvester and Constantine in relation to the *arajaworac'* fast. One of them is a letter ascribed to the seventh-century author Step'anos Siwnec'i, *BL* 323–334, 334 on the *arajaworac'* fast. The other one claims to be a dialogue between the seventh century Catholicos Komitas and a Patriarch of Constantinople, whose name is not mentioned, *BL*, 484–502, 497 on the *arajaworac'* fast. The authenticity of both documents, however, has been contested, and based on their content the twelfth or thirteenth centuries have been proposed as a more probable date for their composition by Grigorean 1966, 437–460. On dating of the letters cfr *Ibid.* 446–448, where the author suggests another Step'anos Siwnec'i, i.e. the historian Orbelean (13th c.), as a more probable author of these letters. This date seems much more secure. Cfr also Thomson 1997, 283–284.

¹⁰⁸ MG 2000, 16–20, on the life of the author of the *Lawcode*.

¹⁰⁹ Manandyan 1977, 131–188.

¹¹⁰ MG 1900 and *Idem* 1901. Polarean 1971, 262, suggested 1200 as the approximate date of the composition of the *Letter*.

¹¹¹ MG 1900, 504 and 562. In his insistence on the idea that divisions between Churches were against God's will and caused by Evil, as well as his mocking attitude to all those who considered their own national Church the only orthodox one, Mxit'ar's letter has many similarities with a letter of another contemporary theologian Vardan Aygekc'i, VA 1968,

We find the following written about the *araġaworac'* fast. When Trdat and St. Gregory went to Rome and made a pact of concordance, [they, i.e. Romans] established the fast of *araġaworac'* in its month in order to honour Trdat and the Illuminator, to be observed instead of the fast of Constantine. And we [on our part] honoured Sylvester and Constantine, and at the completion of the [fast of] *araġaworac'* [observed by] Trdat and Constantine, we celebrated with them and they with us.¹¹²

This common tradition, according to Mxit'ar, was broken by the Roman side because of the Council of Chalcedon, but the Armenian Church kept it intact. It is not clear what Mxit'ar means by 'the fast of Constantine'. Further on in his *Letter* Mxit'ar speaks again about similarities in the Roman and Armenian Churches. It is curious that he affirms that the Roman Church did not accept the Council of Chalcedon either.¹¹³ According to him—and this is the other interesting aspect for our study—this is why the Roman Church also celebrates the Eucharist with unleavened bread and with pure wine, not mixed with water. Most likely, Mxit'ar was aware that both Armenian and Roman Churches used unleavened bread for the Eucharistic celebration. He then added the use of unmixed wine, which, however is not accurate. We shall see below that he was not alone in this conviction. The point to emphasise is that, here again, he appealed to the practices in the Roman Church, whether he cited those accurately or not, in order to justify those of the Armenian Church. Moreover, Mxit'ar says:

And it is a tradition since Peter, Apostle of the Romans, to celebrate with unleavened bread. And our Illuminator, Gregory, taking it from the Romans, passed [this] tradition to Armenians.¹¹⁴

One can see how this reasoning, i.e. tracing Armenian ecclesiastical traditions back to the Apostle Peter himself, could be considered by contemporaries as a potent counter-argument in Roman-Armenian discussions on the necessity for liturgical reforms in the Armenian Church. Creating a direct link between the Apostle Peter and the Armenian Church would resurface also in the *Letter of Love*. Mxit'ar's argumentation was taken

273–277, and the *Synodal Discourse* of St. Nersēs Lambronac'i. This was one of the trends of the time, expressed in other contemporary sources as well, such as the Syrian Patriarch Michael the Great, as mentioned above (cfr pp. 32–33 and note 93).

¹¹² MG 1901, 121–122.

¹¹³ He may be referring to and exaggerating the Roman refusal to accept Canon No. 28 of the Council of Chalcedon, which was instrumental in elevating the status of the See of Constantinople—New Rome.

¹¹⁴ MG 1901, 55–56.

up by other theologians. His student, Vanakan Vardapet (1181–1251), repeated his master, paraphrasing him somewhat, in his treatise on the *arajaworac*‘ fast:

Our holy Illuminator, Gregory, when he came out of the pit, professed by teaching King [Trdat] and the people for sixty¹¹⁵ days. Then, he ordered to fast for five days with purity. And it was summertime. And St. Sylvester, when he baptised Constantine, administered a five-day fast for him and the people. And the two established this [fast] as [a token of] concordance between them. And they [Romans] let theirs be lost. But we remained firm in ours and preserved it with the grace of Christ.¹¹⁶

The issue of this fast was not brought forth in Roman-Armenian correspondence of the twelfth or early thirteenth century, although it would be later on. However, we can observe from the treatises quoted above that Armenian theologians now paid more attention to the usages of the Roman Church as a way of justifying their own particularities. At the same time, they also claimed to have preserved these common traditions in their pristine state. Another influential theologian from late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century Cilicia, Vardan Aygekc‘i, a staunch supporter of the independence of the Armenian Church, wrote in a dogmatic letter, not long after 1198, that St. Gregory’s confession of faith and the ecclesiastical traditions that he established in Armenia had their sources in Caesarea, Rome and Jerusalem.¹¹⁷ Moreover, similar to Mxit‘ar Goš, Vardan Aygekc‘i insisted that the practice of not mixing water with

¹¹⁵ Other mss. have ‘sixty-five’, cfr Yovhannēs Vanakan 1959, 35–44, quotation on p. 42. In Vanakan Vardapet’s treatise it is evident that this argument was new, since he says ‘And again we have a new reason [for keeping this fast]’, Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Anasyan 1968, 233–277. In this article Anasyan published a dogmatic letter of Aygekc‘i, *Vasn aniraw bambasolac‘ ekelec‘woys Hayastaneayc‘* [Regarding unjust slanderers of the Church of Armenia], 272–272. Cfr pp. 248 and 272 for the quote above, 243 for dating. This work was written almost contemporaneously with a dogmatic writing, similar to the *Seal of Faith*, called the *Root of Faith*. The first, autograph copy of the *Root of Faith* was finished in 1205, which Anasyan considers as the *terminus ante quem* for the work *Regarding the unjust slanderers*. Armenia had close connections to the See of Caesarea at least since St. Gregory the Illuminator, who received his ordination from Leontius, Bishop of Caesarea, cfr Amadouni 1968, 141–150. For the relationship between Armenia and the Church of Jerusalem, cfr above p. 25, note 69; also Thomson 1986, 77–91. Jerusalem as the source of Armenian traditions and the true faith was very frequently brought forth in Georgian-Armenian discussions in the late sixth and the early seventh century. The concept that the Roman Church was also a source of Armenian traditions along with Caesarea and Jerusalem became diffused at the end of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as this chapter attempts to demonstrate.

wine and using the unleavened bread was found also in Rome and was a tradition established by the Apostle Peter. St. Gregory adopted this practice instituted by Peter and the Armenian Church alone kept it intact. Vardan Aygekc'i was present at the coronation ceremony of Prince Levon II and he insisted that during the ceremony, Conrad, the Archbishop of Mainz—the papal legate charged with crowning Levon and bringing about the union of Armenian and Roman Churches—used unmixed wine during the Eucharistic celebration, something that seems highly unlikely.¹¹⁸ Vardan Aygekc'i's letter is a clear example of how theologians of his time reacted to the insistence of Roman Popes on liturgical changes. Having stated that Gregory had established traditions found in Caesarea, Rome and Jerusalem, he then added:

And although there entered some weaknesses in the Armenian Church with regard to rites and feasts ... the [following] three precepts [were] never abandoned in the Church of Armenia: the confession of faith, the celebration of the Birth of Christ and [his] Baptism in one day of January 6th, and the celebration of the Eucharist with unleavened bread and [wine] without water.¹¹⁹

We may briefly bring forth two other writers from the thirteenth century in order to demonstrate how far this mode of argumentation had gone and how widely diffused it was. Kirakos Ganjakec'i, an ardent anti-Chalcedonian historian of the thirteenth century, a student of Vanakan Vardapet, who considered the Union of 1198 as an act of King Levon's political opportunism rather than any sincere ecclesiastical agreement,¹²⁰ used the *Letter of Love and Concord* as one of his sources, possibly relying also on oral versions stemming from it, which had different elements than those written down in TD. He wrote that St. Gregory received the 'dignity of a patriarch' from St. Sylvester, thus again recognizing the importance of Rome at the inception of Armenian Christianity, as well as accepting the idea that the Bishop of Rome could have the authority to give the high rank of the Patriarch to the head of the Armenian Church.¹²¹ His attitude

¹¹⁸ Anasyan 1968, 248 and 256. This information may imply that the Eucharist celebrated at the coronation ceremony was performed not by Conrad but the Armenian Catholicos who used unmixed wine as was the usual Armenian practice. Even so, it is interesting that during a joint celebration of the Eucharist a Papal legate would concede to this Armenian liturgical usage which was problematic from the Roman point of view. Further research may spread more light on this tangled issue.

¹¹⁹ Ibid, 248.

¹²⁰ KG, 157.

¹²¹ Ibid, 11. Ganjakec'i was familiar with the *Letter of Love*, but in his *History* he

to the Union signed by Levon and the Armenian bishops shows, however, that Kirakos, like most of his contemporaries, would refuse to accept any type of juridical authority of the Roman Church over the Armenian Church in his own time.¹²² Vardan Arewelc'i (called also Mec or Great), a friend of Kirakos and a student of the same Vanakan Vardapet, also cited the *Letter of Love and Concord* in his *Historical Compilation* and in his *Panegyric* to St. Gregory the Illuminator.¹²³ He, however, tried to give a different meaning to the meeting of Constantine and St. Sylvester with Trdat and St. Gregory. Both in his *Historical Compilation* and in the *Panegyric* he speaks about the episode of Trdat's and St. Gregory's visit to Rome. While in the *Panegyric* it is acknowledged that Trdat and Gregory went to Rome with 'obedience', Gregory's role as the teacher of Constantine is emphasised. We read:

Then Constantine with great awe and respect learned in [proper] order the orthodox faith and confession from our Holy father [i.e. Gregory] as if from the Holy Spirit itself.¹²⁴

It must be noted that here, in Vardan's *Panegyric*, the order of things is reversed: it was not Rome that was the source of Armenian orthodoxy, but St. Gregory who taught orthodoxy to Constantine. This notion is also present in the *Letter of Love and Concord*, which describes that St. Gregory's confession of faith was sent to all the Churches of the Roman Empire as the standard doctrine. However, the *Letter* is more balanced in that it also accepts that St. Gregory was consecrated by St. Sylvester, thus recognizing some kind of—if only honorary—hierarchical link between the Churches of Rome and Armenia. This aspect is absent in Vardan's

mentioned elements not found in TD as we have it today. Possibly he knew a different, perhaps oral, version related to a pact of alliance between Constantine and Trdat. But his reference to St. Sylvester's ordination of St. Gregory could have easily stemmed also from TD.

¹²² On the use of the *Letter of Love* by Kirakos Ganjakec'i and Vardan Arewelc'i, cfr Hovhannisyan, 1957 and Thomson 1997, 285–286 (where the section of Ganjakec'i's text on the visit of Gregory and Trdat to Rome is fully translated into English).

¹²³ Vardan Vardapet 1862; Vardan Vardapet 1853. In this edition the *Panegyric* is ascribed to Vardan Vardapet Barjraberdc'i without specifying which Vardan Barjraberdc'i. The author of the *Panegyric* is rightly identified as Vardan Arewelc'i by Polarean 1971B, 297. In fact the two texts have many stylistic and linguistic affinities, including several identical passages. It is interesting to note that in another *Panegyric* dedicated to St. Gregory, that of the eleventh-century author Yovhannēs Sarkawag, there is no mention of the voyage to Rome or the meeting of Trdat and St. Gregory with Constantine and St. Sylvester. YS 1853.

¹²⁴ Vardan Vardapet 1853, 68 and Vardan Vardapet 1862, 40.

Historical Compilation or *Panegyric*. On the contrary, Vardan calls St. Gregory and St. Sylvester ‘two popes’,¹²⁵ thus emphasising their equality without any apology.

Vardan Arewelc‘i was the first Armenian theologian to have systematically refuted all demands presented by Innocent IV (1243–1254) to the Armenian King Het‘um I (1226–1270). He wrote a letter to King Het‘um as a reply to Innocent’s Legate, Dominic of Aragon, on the request of the contemporary Catholicos Konstantin Barjraberdç‘i (1228–1267), in the year 1246.¹²⁶ This first systematic refutation of the primacy of the Roman Church also took place in a different political context. The Mongol armies had arrived as far as Anatolia and Het‘um I intended to send his brother Smbat to the Mongol court at Qara Qorum to voluntarily submit to the Great Khan.¹²⁷ The attitude of the Armenian Church to the Roman Church in this period has been characterised as that of a ‘prudent distance’.¹²⁸

The first issue raised in Vardan’s reply-letter was that of the Roman primacy. Vardan fully refutes the idea that only the See of Rome had the authority to bind and loose on earth and that all Churches should submit to it.¹²⁹ Based on Biblical quotations, Vardan spells out that all Churches had the same prerogative. He emphasises that the Armenian Church, like that of Rome, could also boast apostolic foundations and thus should be considered to be of equal dignity.¹³⁰ The *Letter* of Vardan also contains

¹²⁵ Vardan Vardapet 1853, 78; Idem 1862, 46 is even more specific in saying that ‘St. Gregory the Illuminator was called Pope in Rome, equal to the one who occupies the Chair of the Apostle Peter’. The TD also calls St. Gregory ‘Pope, Patriarch and Hayrapet’ at 19.18.

¹²⁶ BL, 503–509. For a detailed exposition of Vardan’s refutations see, Halfter-Schmidt 2003, 102–115, and 94 where the authors state that this letter was a reply to Innocent IV’s famous Papal Bull of 1245 to the Oriental nations *Cum simus super*. The authors think that Vardan’s letter was most likely intended for internal use only and not as an official reply to the Pope.

¹²⁷ The voyage of Constable Smbat is dated to 1246–1248 by Galstyan 1961, 47–55. Smbat was probably present at the enthronisation ceremony of Güyük, the third Great Khan, as the Friar John of Pian di Carpine mentions a representative of the King of Armenia present at this event. Cfr de Rachewiltz 1971, 98.

¹²⁸ Mikayelyan 1952, 298–305 on the Armenian-Mongol relationship in this period. See also Hamilton 1978, 81 and Canard 1967.

¹²⁹ This idea is present also in the *Letter of Love and Concord* but in a different way. It was Pope Sylvester who conferred the prerogative ‘to bind and loose on earth and in heaven’ to St. Gregory the Illuminator. TD, 24.6–10. Vardan’s argument is stronger in that he assumes that this authority was given by *Christ* to all the Apostles, and not through any other intermediary. BL, 503.

¹³⁰ BL, 504.

refutations of other dogmatic precepts, such as the *filioque* formula,¹³¹ the Roman concept of the Purgatory and on the creation of souls, the Chalcedonian Christology, etc. As a final proof of his orthodoxy Vardan adds:

Let them bring forth to us the faith of Peter, Sylvester, Celestine and Julius. If we don't accept the confession of faith of such guides, let us take excommunication from God and from them.¹³²

Thus, Vardan followed the general tendency of both refuting the contemporary Roman concept of ecclesiastical supremacy or other philosophical-dogmatic ideas that were current in the contemporary Western Christianity, and at the same time, of not shying away from insisting that the first Latin Church Fathers, and particularly pre-Chalcedonian Roman Popes, could be considered as guides of the Armenian faith itself.

Many scholars consider the period of Armenian and Mongol military cooperation, particularly from 1260 to 1288 when Rome was against such a political move, as the most vulnerable period in Roman-Armenian relations. It is significant that despite the invitation, Armenians were not present at the Council of Lyon of 1274.¹³³ Having declared submission to a superb military power, the Armenians for a brief while felt no political need to cherish the Union with the Church of Rome and thus expressed their own ideas with more freedom.¹³⁴ It was at this time that the latent tension due to the difference in the concept of union of the two sides culminated into a more open confrontation, as is evident in Vardan Arewelc'i's letter. It is even more explicit in a dialogue-argument that took place between an Armenian legate of Catholicos Konstantine Barjraberdc'i—Mxit'ar Skewrac'i or Mxit'ar from Dashir, and a papal legate.¹³⁵ To the legate's insistence on the primacy of the Roman Church, Mxit'ar responded very clearly:

Where does the Church of Rome have the authority to judge other apostolic Sees and herself not be examined by others? Since we have full powers to judge you in the example of the apostles and you cannot criticise us [for doing so].¹³⁶

¹³¹ On this issue, cfr La Porta 2004.

¹³² *BL*, 509.

¹³³ Hamilton 1978, 82.

¹³⁴ *Ibid*, 81–83; Halfter 1996, 307–317, esp. 313.

¹³⁵ Mekhithar de Daschir 1869, 691–698.

¹³⁶ *Ibid*, 697.

It seemed that such confrontational attitudes would put an end to a more flexible relationship between Roman and Armenian Churches. Yet, the situation at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century brought new tensions. Armenia was thrust between two belligerent military powers, the Il-Khanid Mongols and the Mamluks of Egypt. Thus, as in previous years, it also in this period had to play a balancing act between these, now different, powers in order to survive. As a result, many in Cilician Armenia turned their hopes to the West towards the end of the thirteenth century and took measures to reassure the Pope of their adherence to the Union of 1198. This *rapprochement* took place in a context of Papal diplomacy's moves towards a possible alliance with the Mongols. This opened a different stage in the history of Armenian-Roman relations and between the different currents within the Armenian Church itself, which, however, are beyond the scope of this study.

1.3. CONCLUSIONS

For the Armenians, one outcome of closer contacts with the Roman Church was a more thorough understanding of the concept of 'union' between churches as envisaged by representatives of the Church of Rome. For the Roman side it meant that the other church agreed to accept the Roman authority not only in the honorary, but also in the juridical sense. It was felt in Rome that changes could and should be demanded to be introduced in the Armenian Church. The Armenians, on the other hand, recognised the authority of the Roman Church only in its honorary sense. As they learned more about the Roman concept of primacy—from experience and a longer cohabitation in Cilicia—Armenian theologians developed new ways of arguing for the independence of their Church as well as the orthodoxy of her faith and liturgical practices. First, they emphasised the idea of equality, both religious and political, between Armenians and Latins. Then they accepted some of the Roman concepts, particularly admitting that either the Church of Rome or the first Roman pontiffs could have acted as sources of the Armenian doctrine and even its autocephaly. Thus they recognised, consciously or not, the validity of the Roman concept of *Roma magister ecclesiarum*. Besides, in their arguments they appealed to the usages in the Roman Church, either correctly or not, in order to justify peculiar liturgical practices of the Armenian Church. This type of argumentation was not a common feature of

the Armenian dogmatic sources prior to the twelfth century and may be considered an important innovation in Armenian polemical literature of this period. However, while Armenian sources emphasised the equality between the two Churches, Armenian theologians never ceased to insist that the Armenians had kept intact those traditions that originally could have come from Rome itself. Thus, they felt that there was no need to introduce any changes in their own time. We know that, nevertheless, there were many new liturgical elements that entered the Armenian Church exactly during the Cilician period.

The *Letter of Love and Concord* and its political and ecclesiological ideology, which are aimed at accepting some Roman primacy, but above all stressing the importance and great authority of the Armenian Kingdom and of the Armenian Catholicosate, fit into this context. The *Letter of Love* also admits that Rome possesses certain political and ecclesiastical supremacy, but at the same time insists on the vast powers of the Armenian King and Catholicos. This source, long despised for its 'legendary' character, incorporates ideas and concepts that were developed in Armenian political and ecclesiastical circles in the second half of the twelfth century and can serve as a guide to understanding the 'wishful thinking' of the Armenian religious and political elite in Cilicia at the end of the twelfth century.

CHAPTER TWO

THE TEXTUAL ENVIRONMENT AND THE SOURCES OF THE *LETTER OF LOVE AND CONCORD*

2.1. GENERAL REMARKS ON THE CONTEXT OF THE *LETTER OF LOVE AND CONCORD*

The *Letter of Love and Concord* is based on a very ancient Armenian tradition about the voyage of King Trdat and Catholicos Gregory the Illuminator to Rome and their alliance with the Roman Empire.¹ The description of the voyage and the alliance, as well as almost all the other parts of the *Letter*, can be traced to traditions well-known from renowned Armenian historians, hagiographical works, ecclesiastical, as well as secular traditions. The use of apocryphal sources is also quite conspicuous and not surprising given the abundance and importance of this material in Medieval Armenian literature.² These were all brought together in the text of TD written some time during the last decade of the twelfth century in Armenian Cilicia. The purpose of this chapter is to explore and identify the sources used by the author of TD and suggest a date for its composition. The chapter is organised according to themes elaborated upon in TD, such as its political 'agenda', its ecclesiastical aspects, the tradition of the voyage to Rome, etc. Before embarking on a detailed analysis of specific sources some further remarks must be made regarding the general textual environment when TD was composed, beyond the polemical/dogmatic sources analyzed in the previous chapter.

As was observed in Chapter 1, towards the end of the twelfth century a new tendency in Armenian dogmatic literature can be traced. Armenian authors refer more and more to Roman usages and to the Church of Rome in general when discussing their own traditions. The names of Emperor Constantine and Pope Sylvester, in particular,

¹ See the section on *Travel to Rome* pp. 50–52 for a more detailed analysis and a presentation of sources and literature on this tradition.

² For a general appraisal of this material and its importance in the Armenian culture, Stone 1996.

resurface when justifying liturgical usages particular to the Armenian Church. But besides the polemical or apologetic works discussed in the previous chapter, there were other types of texts composed in this same period that were based on the tradition of the voyage of Trdat and Gregory to Rome and their alliance with Romans. One can consider TD to be part of a cluster of such texts. These texts were in many respects similar to TD but focused more on apocalyptic-eschatological expectations. Only a small portion of them are published and known to scholars today, since interest in these types of sources has not been great in previous decades. However, the analysis of the available eleventh and twelfth century material leaves no doubt that there were heightened expectations of the End of Times from the second decade of the eleventh century and throughout the twelfth. Various historical events that occurred in this period, such as the invasions of Seljuk Turks, the loss of independence by various Armenian ruling dynasties, especially that of the Bagratids, and the arrival of the Crusades were interpreted in this light.³ Moreover, since an older prophecy ascribed to St. Sahak (and a motif taken up also in the prophetic section of the *Life of Nersēs*) stated that before the End of Times the Armenian Kingship would be renewed, Levon's coronation could not but be associated with the *eschaton* as well.⁴ From among apocalyptic texts either written or re-edited during the Cilician period which were known to the author of TD the following must be mentioned: the *Prophecies of Agat'on*⁵ (henceforth: *PA*), the *Sermo de Antichristo*⁶ (hence-

³ Ample discussion on this issue, including analysis of flourishing legendary literature on the subject can be found in Hovhannisyan 1957, 33–90. On the wide-spread emergence of apocryphal-eschatological texts in this period, see also Sargisyan 1898. On the reasons behind the growing interest in the Last things and the reflection of a certain 'apocalyptic mentality' expressed in various sources from the eleventh and twelfth century, cfr Pogossian 2008.

⁴ Pogossian 2008. Speculations that Levon was the 'Last Armenian King' were not limited to the apocalyptic genre, but a sermon pronounced by the renowned theological Vardan Aygekc'i clearly alluded to Levon I as the Last Armenian King. Cfr La Porta 2008.

⁵ The text of this prophecy [henceforth *PA*] was published only partially; Awger 1913. The problems of this edition are discussed in Pogossian 2008. Here two very different recensions are juxtaposed to each other, obfuscating the fact that some information is found only in one recension and not in all text-types of *PA*. This is important when analyzing the sources of TD since it seems that its author knew one of the recensions which has a particular paragraph—a historical preamble—absent in the other two recensions. There are more than fifty mss with the text of *PA*, including numerous manuscripts at the Matenadaran in Yerevan, such as Mss. 517, 527, 613, 641, 1382, 1999 etc. Other extant mss are preserved in other libraries as well. It is my hope to prepare a critical edition of *PA* in the near future.

⁶ SA 1976.

forth: *Sermo* or SA), and the twelfth century edition—with significant additions—of the *Vision of St. Nersēs*⁷ included in his *Life*. Historical works written in the twelfth century, such as the *Chronicle* of Matthew of Edessa or the *Historical Compilation* of Samuel of Ani contain fragments of or references to other prophecies that circulated at the time, the most important being those ascribed to the eleventh century scholar *Vardapet Yovhannēs Kozerēn*.⁸

The *Letter of Love* fits into this textual environment. Considering this apocalyptic-eschatological background, it is not a unique and unusually ‘fantastic’ forgery, as it often has been labelled, but one among texts that were produced in a specific cultural milieu, chronologically not greatly removed from each other, and expressing similar ideas. Common themes touched upon in all these texts, even if with different agendas behind the use of the various motifs, were: the alliance between Trdat and Constantine (implied as a proto type of the alliance between the Armenians in Cilicia and the Crusaders), the partition of the Holy sites between them in Jerusalem (a vital topic in post- First Crusade Jerusalem politics), as well as the ensuing trip to Rome by Gregory the Illuminator and King Trdat, and the eventual liberation of Armenia and/or the re-establishment of a new Armenian royal dynasty from the off springs of the Aršakunis with the help of a Roman army. The latter hope itself was based on the tradition of the alliance forged between Constantine and Trdat. While TD is not an ‘apocalyptic’ source, in that its main purpose is not to describe the Last things, it does contain an important apocalyptic

⁷ LN 1853. This text contains a *Vision* of St. Nersēs, the fourth century celebrated Armenian Catholicos, that was re-edited several times, including in the twelfth century as well as later. The published version talks about the liberation of Jerusalem by the Franks (p. 90) and mentions multiple peaceful years under their domination. According to the colophon of the base manuscript used for this edition it was copied in 1131 (cfr Ibid, p. 143) but the text could have been redacted any time between the Crusader conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 and 1131. According to this *Vision* Antichrist would arrive after multiple years of peaceful ‘Roman’ domination, followed by the second coming of Christ. It is here that we read (p. 92): ‘the salvation of all Christian countries will come from the valiant army of the Romans’.

⁸ ME 1991, 76–84, esp. 82 on the liberation of Christian nations by a ‘brave nation of the Franks’. Most recently Christopher MacEvitt has argued that Matthew of Edessa’s entire *Chronicle* and the choice of specific events or their interpretation by the author can be understood fully only if read in an eschatological light. Cfr MacEvitt 2007. PA is also based on the idea that a Last (Western) Roman Emperor will liberate all Christians from the yoke of the infidel and help re-establish the long-lost Armenian Kingdom. Cfr Pogossian 2008.

passage in Section 11.⁹ The popularity of TD in the centuries to come will rest precisely upon this passage.

In the following pages the various themes of TD will be discussed and the sources of such themes will be clarified in detail.

2.2. TRAVEL TO AND RECEPTION IN ROME

It was possible to write a text such as the *Letter of Love* and present it as authentic because there was a long-standing Armenian tradition regarding the travel to Rome by King Trdat and St. Gregory and the alliance they forged with Emperor Constantine. Two aspects of the matter must be analysed. The first, which is not of direct interest to this study, concerns the historicity of the event. The second is its record in Armenian historiography and other types of sources, including oral legends, or the so-called collective memory of the event.

Inevitably, opinions of modern scholars are greatly divided regarding the historicity of the voyage by King Trdat and Gregory the Illuminator to Rome some time in the fourth century. Some consider its mention in Armenian sources to be due to reminiscences of the visit of an earlier Aršakuni king, by the same name of Trdat, to the court of the Emperor Nero to be crowned as king in 64 AD.¹⁰ The 'alliance and love between the [first two Christian] kings' recorded in numerous medieval Armenian sources, are accordingly considered as an anachronistic referral to the Agreement of Rhandaia of 63 AD, according to which Armenians became *foederati* of the Roman people.¹¹ Other scholars provide evidence for quite strong ties between Armenia and Rome in the fourth century and, based on them, would not exclude the possibility of a contemporary

⁹ In later centuries the popularity of TD would rest upon exactly this theme. It was considered to provide documentary evidence for the Armenians' hopes that, following the example of Constantine and Trdat, an alliance with the West would bring about the independence of Armenia. A seminal study on this subject is Anasyan 1961, esp. 50–57, on TD and how this pro-western mentality stayed alive all the way to the seventeenth century.

¹⁰ On the visit of Trdat I to the court of Nero with an ample indication of Latin (Roman) and Greek sources, cfr Adontz 1970, 328–333. The author discusses other cases where the deeds of Trdat I and the events of his time were anachronistically ascribed to other Armenian kings, among them to King Trdat the Great, the contemporary of Gregory the Illuminator.

¹¹ Hovhannisyan 1957, 68. Thomson 1997, 277; Uluhogian 2003, 378.

Roman-Armenian alliance and even the historicity of the trip to Rome or to another Imperial residence, such as Nicomedia.¹²

I refrain from analysing all available source material regarding a possibly historical voyage to Rome (or another Imperial residence) since it is not of direct interest to this study and has been done by other scholars who dealt with the issue. Based on previous scholarship, such an hypothesis, whether the destination of the voyage was Rome or any other location where Emperor Constantine was based, is not to be excluded. Neither can the existence of an alliance between Trdat and Constantine be dismissed. However, it is much more difficult to affirm that the text of the 'original' pact of alliance (presumably translated from Latin to Greek and to Armenian in the time of Constantine and Trdat) existed in the thirteenth century and was used by the author of TD as the basis of his forgery, as has been recently suggested.¹³ Even though many authors

¹² Chaumont 1996, 55–66, where one may find references to the literature before 1996 as well. Chaumont's article concentrates on the credibility of a Roman-Armenian alliance in the fourth century and not exactly on the voyage of Trdat and Gregory to Rome. Shirinian 2003, 91–93 and especially Eadem 2005, 77–81 and 96–100 provides further evidence from Armenian, Latin and Greek sources indicating strong ties between Armenia and Rome in the fourth century which are weighty enough to argue for the historicity of the voyage to Rome. Bartikian 2004, 82–88 provides an overview of the previous scholarship on the issue and argues that such a voyage could not have been undertaken to Rome but rather to Nicomedia where the court of Emperor Constantine was based.

¹³ Bartikian 2004, 107. In this article Bartikian hypothesises that the text of TD consists of two layers, the first layer is the text of the 'original' imperial edict of alliance (now lost) between Constantine and Trdat and a second layer which consists of accretions to the original pact of alliance made by a 13th century 'falsifier' for his own purposes. This hypothesis is attractive but difficult to accept on several grounds. The problem can be divided into four parts. The first three are related to: 1. the voyage to Rome or to the court of Constantine (possibly in Nicomedia, as Bartikian suggests), something not fully accepted by all scholars; 2. the establishment of a Roman-Armenian alliance in the fourth century which was discussed above and which needs further research, especially with regards to: 3. placing of the terms of this pact in the general context of the fourth century Roman diplomacy (for most of my information on Roman diplomacy of this period I have relied on Blockley 1992, esp. 150–163). 4. The fourth, major problem, which is more pertinent to this study, is to prove the existence of the written pact, explain how its transmission process took place and how/where it was preserved materially through the centuries. In order to understand these one needs to delve into an in-depth analysis of fourth century Roman diplomatic practices, such as the common procedure of registering and transmitting similar documents at the Roman imperial chancellery, specifically at the court of Constantine the Great (information on which is scanty to say the least). Questions need to be asked, such as: on what medium such texts were written (scroll? codex?) and transmitted (which would depend on the medium used), whether or not all of these types of pacts were registered in writing (while treaties with the Persians were written down, it is not altogether automatic that all other treaties were registered

mention the pact of alliance between Constantine and Trdat, they do not quote at any length from this presumably existent document so as to provide a basis of comparison with TD. Moreover, in order to be able to state soundly that the alliance was not concluded orally, but existed also in writing (exploring also on what medium), one has to provide a thorough analysis of Roman diplomatic practices at the court of Constantine, a subject not directly related to this study.

The analysis of TD's sources shows that many of them are of much older date. Yet, there are no obvious stylistic differences between different parts of the text which would help isolate an 'original core' and thus separate its hypothetically ancient sections from the medieval additions. These diverse types of sources were chosen with care, different traditions

in writing, even if this is a possibility, cfr Blockley 1992, 160), was the alliance with the Armenian Kingdom set in writing and why. These are all left open in Bartikian's study. Another problem is the absence of traces of this fourth century 'original core' until TD, thus about 900 years later. One cannot take for granted that the Latin original (of this supposedly Roman document), if it existed (according to Bartikian 2004, it was written first in Greek and then translated into Latin, on p. 114 he says that the Latin original was given to oblivion) would disappear without any traces. Whatever its original form may have been, the Byzantine diplomacy could have found many uses for such a text in its centuries-long dealings with the Armenians; for the use of archival material in Byzantine foreign affairs when dealing with other peoples, cfr Shepard 2005. Moreover, it would be more logical to expect the survival of an ancient pact in the imperial archives in Constantinople which did not move physically from the 4th to the 12th centuries (and later), rather than in the royal archives of the Aršakunis (which is where presumably the pact of the alliance would be deposited). In order to sustain the hypothesis that the Armenian version (translated in the fifth century at the earliest) of a fourth century pact survived and was available in the twelfth century to an author living in Cilicia, a thorough study of what happened to these archives after the fall of the Aršakuni dynasty in the long centuries that separate this event from the end of twelfth century needs to be conducted. As far as other Armenian sources are concerned, it is especially surprising that Agat'angelos does not provide any excerpt from this pact at any length, given its predilection to cite imperial letters (especially the Greek recension Vg). Without having any basis of comparison, it is not clear why one should take for granted the existence of *one* fourth century document (of whose transmission process we know nothing) whence TD emerged, instead of identifying its sources as much as can be done, including possibly fourth century sources. Bartikian himself admits that the *Letter of Love*, as we have it today was edited in the Cilician period (Bartikian 2004, 108–115). Indeed, this 'editing' is so pervasive that even in cases where Bartikian identifies a section going back to the fourth century core, elements which irrefutably express a twelfth century context and outlook are abundant. Thus, even if one accepts Bartikian's hypothesis, one would also have to accept that TD is thoroughly 're-written' in the Cilician milieu and that distinguishing its 'original core' would be a next to impossible task. Its reliability as a fourth century source is highly questionable and problematic. Examples of the mixed use of very ancient sources combined with information from later ones will be discussed throughout this chapter and in the notes to the translation.

were often harmonised and the final result was a text with a clear agenda in mind, i.e. the religious and political aspirations among members of the Cilician elite at the end of the twelfth century.

The second aspect of the 'voyage to Rome' is much more directly related to the present work. It is the conviction of the Armenians (attested in written sources and most likely very vivid also in oral tradition, as we shall see below) that Trdat and Gregory did travel to Rome and that in the imperial city Trdat and Constantine made a pact of alliance. The sources that mention it have been studied by various scholars.¹⁴ Without repeating what has been said by others, it is important to note that since the earliest historical and dogmatic works written in Armenian there are references to the alliance between Armenians and Romans in general, and Constantine and Trdat, in particular. The list of only those authors who were most influential throughout the centuries is telling: Agat'angelos, Łazar P'arpec'i, Movsēs Xorenac'i, Ełišē, Sebēos, Yovhan Mamikonean, and Uxtanēs, not to mention dogmatic works which allude to this alliance as well. Moreover, TD's author knew and relied on non-Armenian sources (some in their Armenian translation), such as the *Vita Silvestri*, the *False Donation of Constantine*, the *Kartlis Cxovreba*, and had knowledge of ceremonial practices of the Byzantine and Papal courts.¹⁵

In TD the cause behind Trdat's and Gregory's voyage to Rome is different from what other Armenian sources have thus far presented. TD states that *by the invitation of the Holy Spirit*, Trdat and Gregory went to Rome to visit the church 'of saints—whom East and West inherited—and of chief Apostles, as well as their successor, the splendidly crowned honourable Pope, and the Emperor, newly converted to the faith of Christ the God', 'Queen Helen' and the Emperor's children.¹⁶ Already what has caused the trip is cleverly ascribed to the Holy Spirit, even if the phrasing sounds awkward. The most ancient and important sources of this tradition, the Armenian and the Greek versions of Agat'angelos, are

¹⁴ Šahnazareanc' 1862 was the first scholar to provide an in-depth analysis of the language, sources and anachronisms in the *Letter* and convincingly refuted its authenticity. Some of the sources of the *Letter* have been discussed by Hovhannissyan 1957; Thomson 1997; Uluhogian 2003; Shirinian 2003; Eadem 2005; and Bartikian 2004. Exact references will be given in their proper places.

¹⁵ The use of each of these sources will be discussed when analyzing the various 'themes' in TD.

¹⁶ TD, 4.1–5.

discordant on this point.¹⁷ Aa assumes that Trdat was converted before Constantine was, and went to Rome on his own initiative after having heard of the Emperor's conversion. Vg presents the opposite order of events. Constantine converted first and then summoned Trdat to Rome after having received the news of the latter's conversion, in order to establish a pact of friendship.¹⁸ The two apocalyptic texts mentioned above, the *Sermo* and the *Prophecies of Agaton*, offer yet another perspective on the events. The Long Version of the *Sermo* implies that the conversion of Constantine and Trdat took place simultaneously¹⁹ but it more or less agrees with Vg, in that it is Constantine who invites Trdat to Rome. According to SA the Emperor desires so much to see the Armenian King that he states his willingness to go to Armenia himself should Trdat not be able to travel to Rome.²⁰ In one of the recensions of PA,²¹ Trdat and Constantine independently from each other go to Jerusalem upon their respective conversions where they meet (by chance) and forge an alliance in the Holy City. Then, Constantine 'with much love and deep desire' asks Trdat and Gregory to go to Rome with him.²² Another source to be men-

¹⁷ References to Agat'angelos are cited according to paragraphs which can be checked in any edition, e.g. Aa § 1, etc. For the Greek recension which represents a translation from an older, now lost, Armenian original, as well as a discussion on Agat'angelos, its dating and various recensions, cfr Garitte 1946; Winkler 1980; and the 'Introduction' by Thomson in AaE. I use the *sigla* proposed by Garritte that has become standard in literature. Aa refers to the Armenian recension (which we now have) and all the versions derived (translated) from it are marked accordingly, for example: A_g stands for the Greek translation which is based on this Armenian recension. The Greek version published by Garritte is marked as Vg and an Arabic version from the same family is thus represented by Va. The references to Vg will include the paragraph and page numbers, according to the edition of Garitte cited above.

¹⁸ Aa § 872–873; Vg § 174, p. 106, for comments on differences between Aa and Vg, Garitte 1946, 327–331.

¹⁹ SA 1976, 24.

²⁰ SA 1976, 24 for the text, 202 for the editor's comments.

²¹ For details on the three recensions of PA cfr Pogossian, 2008. For the discussion here it is necessary to mention that of the three recensions only the Third Recension has a preamble which provides a 'historical overview' including the voyage of Trdat and Gregory to Jerusalem, their meeting with Constantine, the alliance made in Jerusalem and their joint trip to Rome. These details appear also in the only publication of PA, Awger 1913, cols. 396–398. The problem with this publication is that the other two recensions do not include this historical preamble; the printed edition does not make this clear and is, thus, misleading. When citing the First, Second or Third Recensions of PA I have used the terminology proposed by Anasyan 1959, cols 144–149. My own initial analysis of mss of PA confirm Anasyan's suggestions on the three recensions of this text. The differences between these recensions are significant and include much more than the presence or not of the 'historical preamble'.

²² Awger 1913, 396.

tioned here is the so-called *Document on Borders* which mentions that Trdat and Gregory travel to Rome ‘with the providence and guidance of God.’²³ TD remains silent as to who was the first Christian sovereign—Trdat or Constantine—and appropriately for its purpose leaves the cause

²³ Alishan 1901, 98. The *Document on Borders* has many similarities with TD. This mysterious ‘document’ was once kept at the Monastery of Arak’eloc’ in the province of Tarawn, supposedly translated from Greek in 1080 by the order of Prince Č’ortuanēl Mamikonean, son of Tačat, and entitled as *Pact between Trdat and Constantine and the theme of the Monastery of Arak’eloc’ of Tarōn* in one published version (Oskean 1953, 23–85), while others call it *Sahmanac’ gir* or *Document on Borders* (Alishan 1901, 98–99). In secondary literature it has been commonly referred to as *Samanac’ gir* (*Document/Letter on Borders*), cfr Hovhannissyan 1957, 76; Shirinian 2003, 88–89. The *Document* is explicit about its author, as it starts with ‘I, Grigor Part’ew, son of Anak from the nation of the Aršakunis ...’ (Alishan 1901, 98). The main purpose of this source was to establish the exact borders of the Monastery of Arak’eloc’, known also under other names, such as Monastery of St. Łazar, or Monastery of T’argmanč’ac’ (of Translators). The *Document* claims that the confines of the Monastery were spelled out by King Trdat himself which clearly served to make the borders as inviolable as possible by attaching their definition to the names of Trdat and Gregory. Moreover, it states that the relics that Trdat and Gregory received in Rome, such as the left arms of St. Peter and Paul, as well as the right hand of St. Andrew (found also in TD 21.11–12, but with differences, i.e. the hands and arms of Sts. Peter and Paul and the *left* arm of Andrew, cfr also Uxtanēs 1871, 108) were supposed to be buried there. There are several very close verbal parallels between TD and the *Document on Borders*. However, it is not clear whether TD influenced the *Document* or vice versa. Hovhannissyan 1957, 76 already raised doubts regarding the translation date of 1080 as provided in the title since the *Document* mentions the alliance of Armenians and *Franks* and the use of the latter term became common only after the Crusades. Oskean (Ibid, 42–44) suggested that the *Document on borders* had a direct relationship to another, authentic source which it imitated, i.e. the Will of Prince Č’ortuanēl Mamikonean preserved in a famous *Lectionary* copied at the Arak’eloc’ Monastery, and dated by Adontz 1935, 551 to 1122 based on internal evidence. Here Prince Č’ortuanēl makes land donations, including the village *Berdak* where he was born, as inalienable property of the Monastery, spelling out the borders of the territory, exactly as in the *Document on Borders*. In his art-historical survey of the monastery, J-M Thierry 1976, 235–255 implies that the *Document* and the authentic Will of Č’ortuanēl were contained in the same manuscript, a copy of which is now V228 (old no. 653), made in 1847 from the *erkat’agir* original once at the Arak’eloc’ Monastery. This may well be, but the source quoted, Sargisean 1924, 473–475, cites the Will of Č’ortuanēl (V228 fol. 359^r–360^r) only and does not mention the *Document on Borders*. I have not seen V228 and cannot verify the information provided by Thierry. Thus, we have only a *terminus ante quem* for the *Document*, i.e. 1122 and no *terminus post quem*. The *Document on Borders* is based, as TD, on the tradition of Trdat and Gregory’s voyage to Rome and the ‘pact of love and concordance’ between them and Constantine. The verbal parallels between the two texts are striking and leave no doubt that either the author of TD knew this *Document* (which is more likely) or vice versa. However, the *Document* is more ‘authentic’ in the sense that it provides very specific, obviously real, toponyms when delineating the territories donated to the Monastery. To my knowledge these have not been studied and possibly are no longer identifiable. It also reflects regional, most likely oral, beliefs on how the location of the relics of St. John the Baptist was miraculously indicated to be the place of the future Monastery. Moreover,

behind the trip to the Holy Spirit, lest a shadow of doubt be cast upon the magnanimity and independent initiative of King Trdat. Nor does it present Emperor Constantine as if ‘imploring’ Trdat to go to Rome, as in the *Sermo*, and thus demonstrates a calculated respect for the dignity of the Roman Emperor as well. Evidently, TD tries to remain neutral on who had priority over whom, and thus provides an independent version from all other sources with regards to the causes and chronology of Trdat’s voyage to Rome.

The description of the reception of Trdat and Gregory by their Roman hosts contains elements found in Vg and the *Sermo*, but not in Aa. According to Vg, the Armenian guests were met by various Roman dignitaries as they entered Italy, and then by Constantine himself when they arrived in Rome, who took them to the ‘royal court’. They went to the ‘holy church of the Apostle Peter’ to pray and then proceeded to the palace where they spent the day in festivities.²⁴ Even if the Armenian Agat’angelos does not mention the Church of the Apostle Peter, which can only mean the Basilica of St. Peter (in the present-day Vatican), the older tradition reported in Vg was not altogether forgotten in Armenian sources. Moreover, the author of TD may have had access to a version of Agat’angelos which combined traditions found both in Aa and Vg, which is now lost in Armenian but survives in a Syriac version.²⁵ It is attested also in the relevant section of the *Sermo* where we learn that after the reception of the guests everyone went to pray in ‘the Holy Apostolic church.’²⁶

According to TD, after having met Trdat and Gregory, Constantine and Sylvester went with their guests to either ‘[this] martyrion’ or to ‘martyria’²⁷ (in accus. pl.) of the Apostles, by which the author invariably refers to Sts. Peter and Paul. In Armenian դարձաք ի վկայարանսս սուրբ առաքելոցն the italicised word *i vkayarans* can be either plural

as far as can be ascertained, TD never invents new information, but rather reshapes and re-writes well-known traditions in a new light. Based on this, one would assume that, most likely, the *Document on Borders* was TD’s source. It is also possible that both TD and the *Document* tapped into a common source. Hovhannissyan 1957, 76 opted for the latter explanation, suggesting that they were both based on common written and oral traditions. This hypothesis can gain further backing from a closer reading and analysis of the *Document on Borders*, including its written and oral sources.

²⁴ Vg § 182, p. 110.

²⁵ For a discussion on the various Armenian-language texts of Agat’angelos and the significance of the Syriac version cfr Cowe 1992A, 147–148.

²⁶ SA 1976, 24.

²⁷ TD, 4.9–10.

accusative or *singular accusative* with the demonstrative suffix *s* at the end. We may hypothesise that the correct variant is in *singular accusative* based on another passage, a few lines above, in the text. Namely, that Gregory and Trdat went to Rome for the purpose of venerating the Church [definitely in singular] of ‘saints and chief apostles.’ Here I present a rather literal translation for the sake of clarity in the discussion:

Ժամանեցին ի տեսութիւն տեղոյս տէրունական տանս արևմտեան և արևելածառանգ սրբոց և զլիաւորաց առաքելոցս:

They arrived to visit the place of the House of the Lord²⁸ of saints—whom East and West inherited—and of chief Apostles.²⁹

The ‘chief Apostles’ are invariably Peter and Paul. But the author refers to only *one* place as their titular Church. Thus, we may hypothesise, that further down in the same section, when all go to a *martyrion of the apostles*, it is, again, a reference to one and the same place and not two separate martyria. One possible source for this section is the Short Recension of the Armenian translation (from the Greek original) of *Vita Silvestri*.³⁰ According to this version, St. Sylvester buried the relics of a certain Bishop Timotheus of Antioch, who was martyred by a Roman

²⁸ A technical term used to indicate a Church, a Temple [of God], cfr NBH. In the final translation of the text I have used the more common term ‘Church’, but here I provide a literal translation for clarity.

²⁹ TD, 4.1–3.

³⁰ *Vita Silvestri* [henceforth: VS] was translated from Greek into Armenian in the seventh century. The Armenian *Vita* had a curious manuscript tradition. It was added to the Armenian translation of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates Scholasticus [henceforth: SSEH]. Both these texts—the *Ecclesiastical History* and the *Vita Silvestri*—had two translations. One version, normally called the Long version, was translated in the style of the Hellenising school, i.e. it was an *ad litteram* translation from Greek to Armenian so that for someone not familiar with Greek the Armenian text could have presented difficulties for comprehension. As a result, these and many other texts of the Hellenising school underwent later redactions where the Armenian was rendered in a more fluent and comprehensible style. Besides, their editors added or removed some details according to the interests of an Armenian reader. On the Short and Long Recensions of the *Vita Silvestri*, with an extensive analysis of their respective dates, cfr Shirinian 1982, 231–241, cfr 237 for the dating of the translation of the Long version of *Vita Silvestri* to 678 by Grigor Jorapōrec’i and the edition of the Short version in 696 by P’ilon T’irakac’i. The latter was added to the end of the translation of *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates Scholasticus. From that point on, the two texts have been copied together throughout centuries. In this study, I will call this version the Short Recension of *Vita Silvestri*. I am aware of the shortcomings of calling the two recensions ‘Long’ and ‘Short’. As Shirinian has noted, it is more appropriate to call the Short version a new and revised edition of the first, Hellenophile translation (or the Long version) of this text. I use the older terminology for convenience and brevity. As will be seen, *Vita Silvestri* was used by the author of TD for various types of information.

official, near the martyrion of 'saintly apostles (Peter) and Paul'.³¹ Thus, TD's author's knowledge about *one* martyrion both for Peter and Paul could have been the Short Recension of the VS. Yet it is not clear why the editor of the *Vita Silvestri* kept the name of Peter in parenthesis and doubts can be raised whether various manuscript versions contain both names. Another hypothesis is also possible, that is, a particular Roman tradition on the subject.

Traditionally, the tombs of the two apostles were believed to be in two distinct and separate places: St. Paul in the homonymous basilica on via Ostiense and St. Peter in the homonymous basilica, presently at the Vatican. But there were many other relics of Sts. Peter and Paul, often together, in various churches of Rome, as well as throughout Italy, recognised by popes as authentic. Among them the most celebrated were the heads of the Apostles Peter and Paul kept at the *sancta sanctorum* of the Lateran, in the internal basilica of St. Lorenzo within the Lateran Palace.³² A twelfth century source records the belief that the bones of the two apostles were once hung there.³³ During the twelfth century, however, 'an extraordinary new element' in this tradition starts to take shape regarding the burial place of Peter's and Paul's bodies. It affirms that the altar of the Confession at the Basilica of St. Peter, the major altar dedicated to the saint in the Basilica, contained the bodies of both apostles.³⁴ One may only speculate whether it is an accident, or simply the influence of the *Vita Silvestri*, that the author of TD also mentions one martyrion or one church for both apostles. But it is not excluded that he knew something about these newly emerging Roman traditions as well. This hypothesis is not altogether incredible given that for a Cilician cleric there was nothing extraordinary to have been in touch with Latin clergy residing there, from whom he could have received this information.

After having venerated the relics of saints and apostles, all the dignitaries from both sides move on to the palace where they feast for several

³¹ SSEH, 696. This edition presents the Long and the Short Recensions on the same page, one below the other, of the *Ecclesiastical History*, followed by the VS. Only the Short Recension of the VS mentions the names of Sts. Peter and Paul together, although it is not clear why the editor put the name of Peter in parenthesis (which is what I have done in my quotation as well). Possibly, the manuscript versions do not always contain the names of both apostles.

³² These relics are attested since the 11th century. On September 14th the heads were carried in a procession, described in detail by Cencius. Cfr Maccarrone 1992, 1340.

³³ Maccarrone 1992, 1343. The text says: *ubi eorum ossa pretiosa, ut dicitur, ponderata fuerunt.*

³⁴ Paravicini Bagliani 1998, 30, for sources and further discussion.

days. Here comes another important detail, a statement which may seem strange at first glance: during the feast the two kings stretch out on the same ‘reclining chair’ (բազմակախ/bazmakan) and the two ‘patriarchs’ sit on the same ‘marvellous throne’ (զեքահրաշ գահաւորակ/gerahraş gahaworak).³⁵ These thrones or reclining chairs must have been large enough to fit two persons and it is interesting to explore whether the author of TD had any specific thrones in mind when describing the feast.

Sitting on a throne or being enthroned has variegated and important symbolic connotations probably in all cultures. In the early medieval Armenian tradition, in the hierarchical milieu of the hereditary princes or *naxarars*, each prince was assigned a special seat or throne with a specific number of cushions according to the prestige and rank of his family. The arrangement of thrones was spelled out in a source known as *Gahnamak*.³⁶ Feasting on the same throne or reclining chair with a king, or even better with the Iranian King of Kings, had clear indications as to the extent and importance of one’s power. Thus, the fifth century historian P’awstos Biwzand describes a banquet given by the Persian King Šapuh for the Armenian King Aršak, where he mentions—as one of the honours shown to Aršak—that the two kings sat on the same reclining chair during the convivium.³⁷

Different Armenian words can be used to express the concept of a throne or chair, such as *gah*, *bazmoc* ‘*bazmakan*’, *barj*, etc. TD uses *bazmakan* for the kings, which is better translated as a *reclining chair*, and *gahaworak* for the patriarchs, which is closer in meaning to a *throne*.³⁸ It is difficult to expect that the tradition of a hierarchical order as expressed in the *Gahnamak* was kept alive in the Cilician period. The author of TD, however, could have been familiar with it through diverse early Armenian sources. Moreover, a similar episode is described also in the *Sermo*. After having worshipped in ‘the Holy Apostolic Church’ either the two kings or the two patriarchs (the text does not allow a clear interpretation of *who* the actors are, although it most likely refers to

³⁵ TD 4.12–13.

³⁶ Adontz 1975, 191–234, for a detailed discussion of the *Gahnamak* and the problems of the authenticity of this source, even if it surely contains an original core or was inspired by a similar original document.

³⁷ PB 4.16, 194. Besides, the historian states that both kings wore the same type of clothes, with the same colour and decoration.

³⁸ For a brief definition of these terms, along with their social significance, etymology and further bibliography, cfr PBE, 515 for *bazmakan* and 525 for *gah*. See also NBH entries, col. 407 for *bazmakan* and 522 for *gah*, where *gah* is listed among the synonyms of *bazmakan*.

Constantine and Trdat) sit 'on the priestly chair near the feet of the Apostles Paul and Peter':

և բազմեցուցան յաթոռ քահանայապետութեան մերձ առ ոտս առակել-
նցն Պօղոսի և Պետրոսի. և ցուցին միմեանց զառաջնորդսն հաւատոյ ...

... mutuale salutatione collocati sunt (?) in solio pontificatus iuxta pedes
apostolorum Pauli et Petri et exhiberunt inter-se primos-auctores fidei ...³⁹

Frasson had some perplexity in interpreting this section. It seems that the two kings sat (or were being seated by the respective spiritual leaders) on a pontifical chair, which may reveal the *Sermo's* author's possible intention to place the political power of the rulers in a direct dependence on the Apostles Peter and Paul. Moreover, Frasson did not exclude the possible influence of a Byzantine court ceremonial here.⁴⁰ Similarly, the author of TD could also have been aware of contemporary Papal or Byzantine imperial ceremonies, as well as figurative symbolic theories of the throne and sitting on it when describing the feast at the imperial palace.

According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus' description of the imperial throne kept at the Consistory Hall it was something of a 'double throne' having two seats, probably in the form of the Greek letter sigma. In normal days the emperor would sit on its right side, while on feast days on the left. During some official ceremonies, where this double-throne was not used, two different thrones would be set together: one, where the emperor sat, was that of Arcadius, the other, the empty one—that of Constantine.⁴¹ It is tempting to hypothesise that if TD's author knew about these practices, especially about the use of the two separate thrones, where one of them was believed to be that of Constantine, that by describing Trdat as sitting on the other one, he symbolically bestowed him with imperial dignity. In any case, the knowledge of Byzantine Imperial symbols was not something so far-fetched for a cleric or a member of high society living in Cilicia, given the close contacts and visits to the Court by them. The future King Levon himself may have been in Constantinople, where he fled according to the *Chronicle* ascribed to Smbat

³⁹ SA 1976, 24–25. The question mark is that of Frasson in order to indicate his perplexities as to the accuracy of the translation given the ambiguous character of the Armenian text. The Latin translation is that of Frasson.

⁴⁰ SA 1976, 201–202.

⁴¹ Constantinus Porphyrogenitus 1930, vol. 2, 521, 587; Maccarrone 1992A, 1322, where in note 308 the author cites also Liutprand of Cremona who described the imperial double-throne as 'immensae magnitudinis'; Paravicini Bagliani 1998, 65.

Sparapet in 1181, supposedly escaping the rage of his brother.⁴² Certainly, the less risky hypothesis that the author simply made a reference to his own, native tradition about ‘sitting on the same throne’ is the easiest conclusion to make as far as sources of TD are concerned. In this case as well, however, having placed Trdat on the same reclining chair or throne next to Constantine, the author of TD elevated the Armenian King to the level of an emperor. Moreover, since TD abounds with such imperial allusions reserved for Trdat, as we shall see below, those could hardly have been accidental. On the contrary, they were chosen very carefully and serve a specific purpose.

In ecclesiastical history, very early on (since the second century) the throne or an elevated chair used for liturgical purposes by any bishop became in its figurative sense the symbol of the Episcopal power.⁴³ The Armenian Church as the See of St. Gregory was referred to often as *at'or* or the Chair of St. Gregory in sources. In papal ideology and system of symbols, the practice of ‘enthroning’ (meaning literally the solemn ceremony of putting one on the throne) the newly elected Bishop of Rome underwent intensive theological, liturgical and canonical developments.⁴⁴ During the period under this investigation, the twelfth century, papal ceremonies (observed until the beginning of the sixteenth) were fixed in writing by Albinus (writing just before 1189) and Cencius (c. 1192). These authors allow us to trace new elements in the liturgical use and the significance given to multiple papal ‘enthronisations’. Those took place on various thrones kept at the Lateran. Of particular importance was the ceremony that required the newly elected pope to sit successively on two chairs, believed to be from porphyry, placed in front of the Basilica of St. Sylvester (in the Lateran Palace). This ceremony, which probably originated in the tenth–eleventh centuries, in a papal *imitatio imperii*, acquired new significance under the pen of Albinus, a theologian keen on exalting the papal primacy.⁴⁵ Moreover, physically the two porphyry thrones were similar to those described in *De Caeremoniis* for imperial thrones, which as we saw above, were double-thrones.⁴⁶

⁴² Smbat Sparapet 1956, 193.

⁴³ Maccarrone 1992A, 1278.

⁴⁴ For a detailed analysis, Maccarrone 1992A, 1304–1308.

⁴⁵ Maccarrone 1992A, 1322–1325, upon which this entire section is based.

⁴⁶ Maccarrone 1992A, 1310–1325. Parallel to the new developments in the significance ascribed to the ceremonies of enthronisation, there was a growing veneration for another papal throne—commonly known as the *Cathedra Petri*—kept at the St. Peter’s

The author of TD describes the seat where Sylvester and Gregory sat together as a 'marvellous throne' which was obviously big enough to fit two persons. Here again, as in the case of Trdat, it was an important symbolic device used by the author who wished to place the leaders of the two respective churches on an equal footing. But the author very likely knew something about papal thrones, or shall we say double-thrones, where two persons could sit together without discomfort.

Finally, after this long discussion, one certain conclusion can be proposed. The author cleverly uses symbols of power to demonstrate the equality of the Armenian King and the Roman Emperor on the one side, and the Armenian Catholicos and the Bishop of Rome, on the other, at the starting paragraphs of the text. The 'enthronisation' of Trdat and Gregory in Rome are placed immediately after having spelled out a flattering list of titles reserved for the Emperor and the Pope. Thus, we already face a certain ambiguity in terms of political and religious ideology that will persist throughout the text. It will not be superfluous to quote the very accurate description of TD's complex aims by Uluhogian: 'La molteplicità e l'eterogeneità delle componenti storiche, ideologiche, leggendarie, culturali, linguistiche del documento non permettono di eliminare completamente quella certa ambiguità che lo caratterizza e che gli deriva da probabili adattamenti a situazioni, anche di poco, mutevoli'.⁴⁷

2.3. THE ALLIANCE WITH CONSTANTINE

As mentioned above, many Armenian sources speak about an ancient alliance between Romans and Armenians in general, and between Constantine and Trdat in particular. TD claims to be the text of that alliance. According to it, when Trdat and Gregory prepared to leave, a great assembly was convened, attended by 'three hundred twenty senators and twenty four kings, as well as many thousands of Dalmatian princes'.⁴⁸ On the Armenian side there was Trdat's escort of seventy thousand, a number

Basilica, as an object and not simply as a symbol. It was believed that *this* was the actual chair where the Apostle himself sat. According to Maccarrone, this throne was most likely the one donated by Charles the Bald to Pope John VIII upon his coronation at Christmas of 875, cfr Ibid, 1295–1306.

⁴⁷ Uluhogian 2003, 384.

⁴⁸ TD, 6.2–4.

taken from Aa.⁴⁹ Bishops and priests from Armenian and Roman sides also participate in the ceremony. Then, ‘the two kings and the two patriarchs and the two nations, Armenians and Romans’ declare each other to be ‘of one word and of one mind, always concordant brothers.’⁵⁰ They establish an eternal ‘pact and alliance’ and to confirm it, mix ‘Christ’s blood’, i.e. the Eucharistic wine, in the ink when proclaiming that the Western [i.e. Roman] and Eastern [i.e. Armenian] nations were considered *frerk*, using the French word for brother. The detail regarding the use of the Eucharistic wine in the ink had so scandalised the first publisher of the *Letter*, a Catholic Armenian scholar and grammarian, Yakob Holov, that he purged this inconvenient and unorthodox sentence from his text.⁵¹

The source that comes closest to the text of TD in this section is the *Document on Borders*.

TD:

[6.11–12] Եւ ուխտ և դաշինս հաստատեցաք յաւիտենական ի միջի մեր-
ում ... [6.14–17] Եւ յաղագս հաւատարմութեան հաստատուն և անջրելի
ուխտիս մերոյ, զահագին և զանգին արիւնն Քրիստոսի ի մելանս խառնե-
ալ, գրեցաք ֆրէրք միմեանց արևմտեան և արևելեան ազգս, որք հաւատ
և սէր և միամտութիւն պարտիմք միմեանց ...
[6.22–23] Եւ այս ուխտադրութիւն հաստատուն կացցէ ի մէջ երկուց
ազգացս մինչ ի կէտ կատարածի աշխարհի:

And we established an eternal covenant and alliance between us ... And in order to confirm the loyalty to our firm and indissoluble covenant we mixed the awesome and priceless blood of Christ with the ink and wrote each other, Western and Eastern nations, to be *frères* and to owe faith and love and concordance to each other ... And this alliance shall remain firm between our two nations until the end of the world.

Document on Borders:

... կացեալ ժամանակս ինչ առ նոսին դաշն սիրոյ և միաբանութեան
եղաք առ միմեանս, Քրիստոսի արեամբն գրել և միջնորդել. զի անջրելի
լիցի ուխտ և միաբանութիւն հայոց և ֆռանկաց մինչն ի կատարած աշ-
խարհի:

⁴⁹ TD, 6.6–7; Aa, §873.

⁵⁰ TD, 6.10–11.

⁵¹ TD, 6.14–16. Uluhogian 2003, 373 note 13. Šahnazareanc’ 1862, 100–101, also expressed his indignation at such an ‘ungodly detail’ and numbered it as a second obvious indication of TD being a forgery.

Having spent some time with them [Constantine and Sylvester] we established a pact of love and concordance between us, [which was] written by the blood of Christ as intermediary,⁵² so that the covenant and concordance between the Armenians and Franks be indissoluble until the end of the world.

It remains a hypothesis, however, that TD used the *Document on Borders* and not vice versa. Both authors were rather familiar with the tradition of the Armenian-Roman alliance. TD could have relied on various sources regarding this pact. For example, some of the elements in the ‘pact’ are reminiscent of Agat’angelos, which says that Constantine ‘strengthened the alliance [with Trdat] even more, because he [Trdat] had come to know God, recognising the faith in Christ as [their] intermediary’.⁵³ In TD the alliance is signed ‘with the will of God and through the intercession of the Holy Mother of God, as well as of Holy Apostles and all the saints’.⁵⁴ The *Sermo* also insists on the eternity of the pact of alliance and the intercession of God, Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and God-chosen Sylvester and Gregory.⁵⁵

The precise number of Roman dignitaries attending the assembly to proclaim the alliance presents some interesting aspects as well. Thus, the number of *synklitiko*⁵⁶ is told to be three hundred and twenty which comes very close to the number of bishops at the Council of Nicaea—three hundred eighteen.⁵⁷ Since the Armenians held the Council of Nicaea as the ultimate expression of orthodoxy, this may have been a clever device to allude that the assembly convened to sign the Armenian-Roman alliance had almost the same number of dignitaries. The number of kings is specified as twenty-four. This number is often cited in apocalyptic literature as that of the impious nations that will attack the earth and despoil it. In *PA* and the *Sermo*, a cycle of apocalyptic events will unravel after an invasion by twenty four ‘bloody and violent’ kings (in the *Prophecies*) or ‘barbaric nations’ (in the *Sermo*) that Alexander the Great had enclosed behind ‘the gates of the North.’ Those will manage to

⁵² The sentence is awkward in Armenian. My translation is not verbatim, but tries to interpret the sense.

⁵³ Aa § 877.

⁵⁴ TD, 6.8–9.

⁵⁵ SA 1976, 38.

⁵⁶ TD 6.3 uses this Greek word, commonly found in other Armenian sources, such as MX. See Appendix 2 for *synklitikos*.

⁵⁷ This is noted also by Bartikian 2004, 93 and independently by Pogossian 2004B, 68.

break the gates and threaten the world as harbingers of Antichrist.⁵⁸ The kings in the assembly in TD may have been thought in opposition to the impious kings, especially since according to the *Prophecies*, Armenians and Romans were to fight and defeat those together. It is true that this conclusion remains hypothetical, but it is hardly an accident that TD's author used an apocalyptically charged number.

2.4. THE POLITICAL AGENDA OF TD

There are numerous elements in TD that point to the direction of imperial aspirations of either its commissioner or of the expected reader, put in the guise of granting such privileges to King Trdat. One aspect of such ideology was the description of Constantine and Trdat sitting on the same throne, as was analysed above.

One of the main objectives of TD, if not *the* objective, is to spell out the political alliance between Trdat and Constantine, and it devotes much space to the conditions of the pact between them, complete with details that follow as a natural consequence of it, such as the crowning of Trdat, his appointment as the Emperor's second man in the East and the numerous donations, both sumptuous gifts and territories, made to him by Constantine. Yet, most scholars have emphasised the religious facet of this text, particularly its vision on the union between Armenian and Roman churches. The secular aspects have either been downplayed or received less than due attention.⁵⁹

The author of TD is perfectly familiar with various imperial and papal titles. Thus the *Letter* starts with an invocation to the Holy Trinity: 'By the will and power [or mercy, as in the B Family mss] of the co-essential Holy Trinity ...', followed by Constantine enumerating his appellations. He is 'autokrator and **always victorious** Emperor Constantine the Great, **augustly glorious king of kings** of the universal and world-wide, superb and unbending dominion of the Romans' and thanks to 'the power of the true God **dominates the universe**' from 'the edges of the great

⁵⁸ Awger 1913, 400. SA 1976, 106–110. Frasson notes, 295, that the number varies from 22 to 24. For a discussion of this theme in Apocalyptic literature cfr Alexander 1985.

⁵⁹ Bartikian 2004 also emphasises the significance of TD from the political point of view.

sea—the Ocean—until the point where the sun rises.’⁶⁰ Structurally, such a preamble to a composition claiming to be an imperial document is reminiscent of another famous medieval forgery, the *False Donation of Constantine* or *Constitutum Constantini* as its editor preferred to name it.⁶¹ Here too, the Emperor starts the whole document: ‘In nomine sanctae et individuae trinitatis ...’, then spells out his attributes, among which we read ‘**victor ac triumphator, semper augustus**’. His *Constitutum* is addressed to the Pope as well as to all the bishops of the ‘sacrosanctae Romanae ecclesiae’ to whom other churches are ‘per hanc nostram imperialem constitutionem subiectis **in universo orbe terrarum** ...’.⁶² Both TD and the CC belong to the same genre of forgeries. They were created with the specific purpose of ‘documenting’ not only gifts and donations, but also the investiture of temporal and religious authority by a Roman Emperor, and, in the case of TD also by a Roman Pope, to a third party—in our case the Armenian King and the Armenian Catholicos.⁶³ In both cases, the presents of the emperor include both honourable insignia and real estate. We shall see further down other possible influences of the *Constitutum* on TD when discussing Trdat’s coronation and Sylvester’s gifts to Gregory the Illuminator.

While the author of the *Letter* acknowledged the highest imperial dignity of Constantine, in one occasion stating that he was ‘crowned by God,’⁶⁴ he, nevertheless, strives not to leave room for doubt that King Trdat was just as important. Trdat and Gregory are called ‘heirs of kings of the Aršakuni Kingdom, who reigned the world and tamed the universe.’⁶⁵ The section on what appears to be an investiture ceremony of Trdat by Constantine is of particular interest. Here, there are references to Byzantine imperial ideology and vestments given to Trdat which clearly reflect anti-Byzantine intentions of the author or the commissioner of the work. We read:

⁶⁰ TD, 1.5–10.

⁶¹ CC 1968.

⁶² Ibid, 56.5–6 and 57.10–11.

⁶³ The typological resemblance of the two forgeries was noted also by Hovhannissyan 1957, 68. Shirinian 2003, 88, found a textual relationship between TD and the CC based on the quotation of papal prerogative for ‘holding heavenly and earthly keys’. It is easier to imagine that the source of this phrase for both texts was Mt 16.19: ‘Tibi dabo claves regni caelorum, etc’. On the issue of the ‘keys,’ see further, in the section on *Religious Ideology*.

⁶⁴ TD, 7.24–25.

⁶⁵ Ibid, 3.6–7.

Վասն որոյ և մեր պսակեցաք զմեծ արքայս Տրդատ կայսերական թագիւս՝ լուսատու ակամբք յարինեալ և մեծամեծ մարգարտաւք շրջապատեալ: Եւ զարդարեցաք զհսկահանգոյն հասակ սորա ծովային ծիրանաւք՝ աւքունական մետաքսաւք մարգարտամալճաւք: Եւս և զանգին զաւտի հաւրն իմոյ հզաւրի ածի ընդ մէջ Տրդատայ քաջի:⁶⁶

For this reason we crowned the great King Trdat with an imperial crown—embellished with shining gems and surrounded by great pearls. And we adorned his most gigantic stature with sea purple, bright-purple coloured silk [clothes] with pearls [sown] in a wave-pattern. Moreover, I put around the brave Trdat's waist the precious belt of my mighty father.

Various written sources can be proposed as having inspired this passage. For example, in Aa, in connection to Trdat's return to Armenia after his sojourn in Rome (where he was brought up and educated) and immediately after his fight with the King of the Goths the Emperor Constantine gives him 'great gifts', putting 'a crown on his head and adorning him with purple [clothes]'.⁶⁷ Moreover, Vg has a detailed exposition of presents given to Trdat by Constantine, such as royal vestments woven in gold and royal, purple vestments with a golden mantle.⁶⁸ Other Armenian sources describe the conferral of lavish gifts to Armenian kings or dignitaries by various foreign sovereigns. For example, Sebēos tells of gifts presented by the Persian King Xosrov to Prince Smbat Bagratuni when appointing him as *marzpan*, which included gold, silver and splendid clothing. Significantly, Smbat also receives the 'girdle and the sword which were his [Xosrov's] father's'.⁶⁹ Movsēs Kałankatuac'i describes the lavish, unusual presents, including an elephant and a parrot, from the 'King of the South' to Prince Ĵuanšir.⁷⁰ The enumeration of gifts by Kałankatuac'i is similar to that found in TD in telling that presents were sent also to 'eastern' ladies. T'ovma Arcruni tells of honours and gifts bestowed upon two Arcruni Princes, both called Gurgēn, from the Arabic governor of Armenia Bułay. The first Gurgēn is treacherously invited to the military camp of Bułay with promises to be appointed as the Prince of Vaspurakan. He receives a royal crown, vestments and an adorned mule upon his arrival to the encampment where 'sounds of trumpets and the thunder of drums and other musical instruments' could be heard all

⁶⁶ Ibid, 8.1–5.

⁶⁷ Aa, § 46.

⁶⁸ Vg § 189, 113.

⁶⁹ Sebēos 1979, 96.

⁷⁰ MK 1983, 197–198.

around.⁷¹ In the other case, Buḡay gives to Gurgēn Apupelč a ‘princely sword and puts around his waist a noble girdle’, as well as a rod and a splendid mare fit for war.⁷² According to Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc’i the first Bagratuni King Ašot I received ‘royal vestments, gifts and honours, and airborne mares’ along with his most prized reward—a crown from the Arabic governor of Armenia Yisē.⁷³ The presents bestowed by the Byzantine Emperor Leo VI to Ašot’s son King Smbat II Bagratuni included vestments woven with golden threads, cups and goblets, and a golden belt embellished with precious gems.⁷⁴ The Arabic governor Yusuf, on the other hand, sent to King Smbat ‘royal vestments, a royal crown, a golden belt with precious gems, a splendid sword and airborne mares.’⁷⁵ Besides such written sources the author of TD could have had knowledge of, and described in a somewhat exaggerated manner, actual contemporary practices of gift exchanges between various political rulers.⁷⁶

The sending of the vestments or armour that personally belonged to a ruler was especially prized and TD may allude to this practice. Thus, in the B family mss the crown that Constantine places on Trdat’s head is described as ‘our’ crown. Tying his father’s girdle around Trdat’s waist was mentioned above and is similar to the testimony of Sebēs about Smbat Bagratuni. Moreover, Sylvester too gives to Gregory parts of the vestments and adornments (e.g. a ring, a staff and a mitre) that were his own.⁷⁷

The conferral of the imperial crown and purple has a parallel also in *Constitutum Constantini*:

Concedimus ... beato Silvestrio ... **diademam videlicet coronam capitis nostri** simulque frigium nec non et superhumerales, videlicet lorum ... et **clamidem purpuream atque tunicam coccineam** ...⁷⁸

⁷¹ T’ovma Arcruni 1985, 236. Three days later, however, Gurgēn was convoked by Buḡay and sent in exile to Samarra. Thus, T’ovma Arcruni implies that such lavish gifts were only a bait for attracting and then imprisoning the Armenian prince.

⁷² T’ovma Arcruni 1985, 308.

⁷³ YD 1912, 139.

⁷⁴ Ibid, 158.

⁷⁵ Ibid, 193.

⁷⁶ Cutler 2005 on the significance of such gifts in Medieval diplomacy. The author provides evidence mainly from Arabic and Byzantine sources of different dates, but refers also to the testimony of Movsēs Kałankatuac’i presented above.

⁷⁷ For the Papal gifts to Gregory cfr the section on Ecclesiology.

⁷⁸ CC 1968, 87.220–224.

Further on in the text, the imperial crown is defined as:

... diademam videlicet coronam, quam **ex capite nostro** illi concessimus, ex auro purissimo et **gemmais pretiosis** ...⁷⁹

There are similarities between TD and the *Constitutum* both with regard to the descriptions of the crown and the purple mantle. Nevertheless, the description of the crown is too general and it is difficult to propose any specific source or any specific real crown that the author of the *Letter of Love* might have intended. Usually Armenian sources mention pearls and precious stones which adorned it. A common expression for 'precious stones' is *սկունք պատուականք* (this is listed among other gifts of Constantine to Trdat) or even *քարք պատուականք*, as in the colophon by Nersēs Lambronac'i which describes the coronation of King Levon.⁸⁰

The colour purple and purple clothes as gifts also appear often in Aa, Vg and many other medieval Armenian sources. This colour implied strong royal symbolism in many cultures, including the Armenian tradition, and we have artistic representations of royal vestments that confirm this point.⁸¹ However, there is more than a simple enumeration of purple clothes in TD which would fit the usual Armenian royal symbols without any further overtones. First of all, the author uses Greek words, in their transcription, for *purple silk*. He writes *awk'sunakan metak'sawk*, thus specifying the clothes as being from silk and of a bright purple colour.⁸² The Greek word *οξύς* indicates both the brightness of colour—thus of purple among others—and can be used to indicate purple in general.⁸³ It is significant that the type of purple known as *oxyblatta* was of such high quality as to be reserved only for the imperial family.⁸⁴ Besides, 'purple

⁷⁹ Ibid, 91–92.250–252.

⁸⁰ Cfr above, p. 20. Hac'uni 1924, 234. Although TD does not have further details on the crown of Constantine which he confers upon Trdat, the author may have known legends circulating in his own time and milieu connected to this crown. According to the *Sermo* this was the first crown that God had originally given to King Nebrovt', then, eventually to King David. Later it was taken to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar, where it remained until the time of Constantine who received it as a God-given gift. The *Sermo* emphasises that the Last (world) Emperor from the line of Constantine was to deposit *this* crown on the Cross on the Golgotha before the Second Coming of Christ. Cfr SA 1976, 70–75, comments of the editor 241–244.

⁸¹ Hac'uni 1924, 98 and 238 on purple in general and during the Cilician period in particular. For the purple in Armenian tradition see also Zekiyani 1998, 277–297.

⁸² This has been noted also by Hac'uni 1924, 238.

⁸³ See the commentary of this term by the editor of Constantinus Porphyrogenitus 1930, vol. 2, 228.

⁸⁴ 'Purple', in *ODB*, vol. 3, col. 1759.

of the sea, that is, of the most esteemed quality, was the method used for the production of purple, the use of which Emperor Justinian restricted to the imperial family.⁸⁵ Moreover, in Armenian tradition purple was made from a particular type of worm—*Porphyrophora hamelii* Brandt—and not from sea-shells known as *murex* or *buccinum*.⁸⁶ Thus, the type of purple that Constantine conferred upon Trdat definitely carried all characteristics of imperial purple and not of any other type. The use of this precise terminology cannot be accidental either, especially since the author used Greek words, as if making sure that his point was well understood as referring to a Byzantine ideology related to this colour.

The third element mentioned is the belt of Constantine's father. First of all, the belt was considered an important element of royal vestments among Armenians as many of the examples cited above attest.⁸⁷ But the mention of Constantine's father's belt acquires more significance if we remember what *Vita Silvestri* has to say about it: Constance, while still a 'tribune' in Rome, went to a battle against the Sarmathians. Afterwards he lodged in an inn where he met a beautiful girl, Helen, and spent the night with her, leaving his 'purple girdle' to her as a sign and payment. According to this text, the future Emperor Constantine was born from this union and his father Constance recognised him because of this belt.⁸⁸ Since TD's author relied on the *Vita Silvestri* on other occasions as well, the bestowal of this belt upon Trdat acquires an important nuance as yet another unquestionable symbol of granting imperial dignity to the Armenian King.

The question of whether there was any connection between the ceremony of the crowning of King Trdat as described in TD and the coronation ceremony of Prince Levon II as King Levon I, demands attention, especially since TD was written around the time of this important event.

Firstly, as was discussed in Chapter 1, Levon was compared to Trdat the Great by his contemporaries. This was natural, since Trdat was one of

⁸⁵ Krueger 1900, IV 40.1, p. 178, where even the sale of purple-producing sea-shells—called *murex*—was severely prohibited. It must be recorded that in Armenia the purple or *cirani* was obtained from tree worms and not sea shells.

⁸⁶ Zekiyan 1998.

⁸⁷ Cfr also Hac'uni 1924, 242 on the issue. According to him, the use of the belt as a royal symbol was common for the Cilician period, especially under the influence of the Western customs.

⁸⁸ VS (in SSEH), 708–709. This section is missing from the Greek *Vita*. Cfr Sargis-sean1893, where he juxtaposes another text, *Passio Eusignii*, as the obvious source for this section included in the Armenian translation of *Vita Silvestri*. This source, proposed in Pogossian 2004B, 74, was independently indicated also by Shirinian 2005, 94.

the most venerated and beloved kings in Armenian historiography. His figure had condensed in himself various legends that historically were relevant not only to himself but also to other Armenian kings, particularly his earlier namesake, the Aršakuni King Trdat I.⁸⁹ Not only written sources but also many oral epic traditions about Trdat the Great's braveries, as well as various popular beliefs associated with his name, existed throughout the middle ages and beyond. As one of the most popular and favourite kings of the Armenians he was the best measure of comparison for any future Armenian leader. King Levon I, on the other hand, was seen by his contemporaries as the restorer of the once hopelessly lost Armenian Kingdom. The great significance attached by his contemporaries to his crowning naturally called for a comparison between him and the other most significant Armenian King, the first Christian ruler of Armenia—King Trdat the Great. A colophon written in 1198 in the Catholical residence of Hromklay and quoted in Chapter 1⁹⁰ demonstrates that these ideas did cross the minds of Cilicians, since this author clearly juxtaposed the two kings as the most exemplary ones in Armenian history. The same can be said about the remarks of Nersēs Lambronac'i in his letter from 1195 to Levon and the praise for Levon in the *Lamentation on the Fall of Jerusalem* by Grigor Tlay.⁹¹ The claim to descent from the Bagratid dynasty, and by consequence from the house of King David, was to provide an aura of legitimacy to the rule of the Rubenids as the most significant Armenian princely house in Cilicia.⁹² According to Cowe it was this supposed relationship that the author of TD had in mind when he included the 'birthplace of great David, the city of Bethlehem' among the territorial donations made by Constantine to Trdat. The contemporary reader would immediately understand the symbolism of such a gift as befitting an off spring of King David's line. Moreover, it was in Bethlehem, in the basilica built by Constantine, that the first Latin Kings of Jerusalem were crowned.⁹³ Besides, the *Ordo* of Levon's coronation ceremony, which was translated by Nersēs Lambronac'i from Latin and contained a coronation rite particular to Mainz, underwent some revisions in the Armenian translation in the same vein. Thus, trying to preserve a continuity with Bagratid rites, it contained 'models after which the

⁸⁹ Adontz 1970, 330–331.

⁹⁰ Cfr Chapter 1, p. 18.

⁹¹ NL 1865, 247 and GT 1972, 308–310. These sources and their significance for the developing royal ideology are discussed in Chapter 1, pp. 17–22.

⁹² Cowe 1992B, 49–59, esp. 53.

⁹³ Ibid, 54.

monarch should fashion himself'. These were Trdat the Great, then Constantine and Theodosius.⁹⁴ Moreover, the actual ceremony of the coronation of Levon took place not in his capital city of Sis but in Tarsus, in the St. Sophia basilica. Possibly, this was meant to imitate a Byzantine imperial ordination in the Basilica of Hagia Sophia.⁹⁵ Here too there was a clear indication of the imperial aspirations of Levon.

However, besides a generally common ideology of kingship, the 'investiture' of Trdat as described in TD, if we may call it so, and the *Ordo* of Levon's coronation have significant differences. Thus, according to the *Ordo* it is the Pope that ordains an emperor, anoints him and places a crown on his head.⁹⁶ In TD neither Sylvester nor Gregory are involved in Trdat's 'coronation'. Nor does the Pope participate directly in the handing of the gifts to the Armenian King. One may explain the differences as a result of several factors. The author of TD may have wished to deliberately exclude such details (i.e. crowning of a king by an ecclesiastical authority) from his work. Alternatively, he simply may not have been familiar with Lambronac'i's translation of the *Ordo*. Lastly, he was either not present at the coronation of Levon or wrote TD before this event. In short, there is no direct dependence of TD on the coronation rite of Levon, which was presumably performed according to the *Ordo* translated by Lambronac'i.

A significant aspect of the *Letter's* political ideology is the fact that it makes absolutely no mention of Constantinople whatsoever, which stands in contrast, for example, to the text of the *Sermo* where it explicitly states that Constantine 'junior', (the homonymous son of Constantine the Great) ruled all the territories West of Constantinople, whereas Trdat ruled Armenia, Atrpatakan and all of the East.⁹⁷ There can be two reasons for the absence of Constantinople in TD. Firstly, and most importantly, it pretends to be a document written before the foundation of Constantinople. Thus, any mention of the Imperial City would cast a doubt on its authenticity. But the city is not simply absent, it is replaced by another concept. While Constantine rules in the West, he bestows all eastern provinces to Trdat who thus would take the role of the emperor who would sit in Constantinople. Constantine calls Trdat 'second man

⁹⁴ Ibid, 55. However, the version of the *Ordo* to which I had access, i.e. V297 pp. 341–343 (the ms is not numbered according to *recto* and *verso*) does not mention Trdat, Constantine or Theodosius.

⁹⁵ Cowe 1992B, 55.

⁹⁶ V297 pp. 341–343.

⁹⁷ SA 1976, 60.

in my reign, the marvelous eastern King Trdat' and confirms that 'as we reign the whole world in the West, so we appointed Trdat to reign as the lord of the whole East'.⁹⁸

This type of world-view, the partition of the *oecumene* between two political superpowers—Armenia and Rome—had a precedent in the *Sermo* and in the *Prophecies of Agaton*. For example, in the *Sermo*, when the author recounts the conversions of Constantine and Trdat he emphasises the supreme role of each leader in converting (or punishing those who did not) the whole West and East respectively.⁹⁹ Thus, it is implicit that the two rulers are of equal dignity each in his proper domain. The idea of Roman-Armenian equality and alliance is emphasised also in the *Prophecies of Agaton*, where we read the following about the meeting of the protagonists:

... and the two brave ones in faith, St. Gregory and Sylvester, and the two universal¹⁰⁰ kings Costandianos [sic] and the valiant Trdat, met.¹⁰¹

Furthermore, *Sermo* is unique in Armenianising an important element of most eschatological tales, the Last Emperor myth. The Last Emperor, named Constantine in this text, a great-grandson of Constantine the Great, travels to Jerusalem in order to bequeath the Roman political power to God. This is one of the most important acts accomplished by the Last Roman Emperor before the appearance of Antichrist in many apocalyptic texts.¹⁰² In the *Sermo*, however, there is an original detail. Constantine is not alone in his mission. He is accompanied by the Armenian king Trdat (himself a great-grandson of Trdat the Great). The *Sermo* includes a careful description of how each king bestows his crown on the True Cross which ascends to heaven.¹⁰³ Significantly, this solemn event is accompanied by chants and prayers of Armenian, Roman and Greek priests and prelates, demonstrating this text's benevolent attitude to the 'Greeks'.¹⁰⁴ In *PA*, on the other hand, the attitude to the Eastern Roman Emperor

⁹⁸ TD, 7.26–29.

⁹⁹ SA 1976, 22–24.

¹⁰⁰ A better translation for this Armenian word *tiezerakal* would be *κοσμοκράτωρ*, ruler of the universe. This word is used also in TD.

¹⁰¹ PA 1913, 396.

¹⁰² Alexander 1985, 152. There are some cases where the Roman Emperor acts with his sons when fighting against the Ismaelites (cfr Ibid, 155), but to my knowledge no other texts mention him acting with someone else when placing his crown on the Cross on the Golgotha.

¹⁰³ SA 1976, 80–84.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, 80, 82.

is much less friendly. Here we learn that King Vałaršak, who restores the long-lost Armenian kingdom with the help of Emperor Constantine (from the progeny of Constantine the Great) and founds a new dynasty of 'the second Aršakunis', almost immediately after his coronation sets on a mission of revenge against 'great Byzantion which is called Constantinople and subjects the entire land of the *hořoms*'.¹⁰⁵ This is the Armenianisation of another important eschatological sign: the fall of Constantinople before the End, here, at the hands of an Armenian ruler. As already mentioned, TD's main purpose is not to recount the events which would take place in the Last days, even if it echoes these texts. The discussion above should make it clear that one of its most important aims was to bolster the Armenian royal ideology. Thus, it is only TD that explicitly mentions that Trdat is the ruler of the East after having used a clear imperial rhetoric when describing his crowning. Moreover, in one occasion Trdat is called *kayserakerp*, i.e. emperor-like.¹⁰⁶ There are other significant differences between TD and the *Sermo* regarding the issue of the political division of the world. The *Sermo* confirms this division between the off springs of Constantine and Trdat by stating that a [new] Constantine was the king of his 'paternal [territories]', the city of Constantinople and the whole of the West. Trdat, on the other hand ruled 'Armenia, Atrpatakan and all eastern lands'.¹⁰⁷ Instead of such general statements, TD enumerates meticulously those 'eastern' provinces that Constantine declares to have placed under Trdat's jurisdiction. A reconstructed list of the territories that Constantine trusted to Trdat includes:¹⁰⁸ 'the land Africa and Egypt, the land of Palestine and Arabia, the land of Mesopotamia and Great Assyria, the land of Phoenicia and Cilicia, the land of Phrygia where Great Noah built his Arc and Pamphylia, the land of Cappadocia and Bithynia, the land of Galatia and Pontus, the land of Asia and Honorias, from the Gates of Byzantion till the Gates of the Huns'.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ M3839 fol. 202^r; M9171 fol. 2^r; M2270 fol. 182^v.

¹⁰⁶ TD, 7.22.

¹⁰⁷ SA 1976, 60 has *qUտրպատական և զամենայն տունն արևելյան*.

¹⁰⁸ Cfr Appendix 1 for the reconstruction of the list based on a comparison of all mss families.

¹⁰⁹ TD 7.5–12. Some of these provinces were created as a result of Diocletian's reforms and ceased to exist after the thematic reorganisation of Emperor Heraclius. Cfr the respective entries in the *ODB*. The list of the provinces is one of the elements that Bartikian points out when arguing for a 'fourth century core'—an actual document of a 'Pact of Alliance'—preserved intact in TD despite its later, medieval reworking. However, the author of TD had access to many sources that are lost to us today. He could have used something similar to the *Notitia Dignitatum* or *Laterculus Veronensis*, or any other list of

Those were all provinces of the Eastern half of the Roman Empire, including the territory where Constantinople itself was built. TD 7.11–12 specifies: from the Gates of Byzantion till the Gates of the Huns, as if wishing to reconfirm that there was no Constantinople on the Gates of Byzantion. The absence of Constantinople looms large in the ecclesiological conception of TD as well, which will be discussed later.

This type of attitude towards Constantinople and Byzantium can be logically placed in a period preceding the Fourth Crusade, when the Byzantine prestige and influence on international affairs was at its lowest.¹¹⁰ Would one go too far to state that King Levon may have toyed with the idea of presenting himself as the (Holy) Roman Emperor's deputy in the East should the Western armies really occupy these ex-Byzantine territories? Such an attitude could well have materialised between the Third and the Fourth Crusades, especially on the eve of the latter, when Levon felt himself as one of the strong Christian leaders in the East. It was in this period that the succession wars of Antioch broke out, and sources testify that Levon relentlessly pursued his purpose of gaining control over this city. A colophon written in Hromklay only six months after the Fall of Constantinople leaves the impression that the Armenian King was aware of the expedition and anxiously awaited news of its outcome. The colophon presents a devastating situation of Latin rulers in the East and states that 'amidst these [Muslims] only the pious king of the Armenians, Levon, remained as a ray of light in the sunless darkness'. According to the same source:

Roman provinces. It is worth noting that TD's list is far from being complete or accurate. For example, if the list was part of a real fourth century document, it is not clear why Africa would be included here as an 'Eastern' territory, since it was usually considered part of the Western half of the Roman Empire (excluding the brief period of re-conquest by Emperor Justinian), including in the fourth century. On the other hand, other Eastern provinces known to have existed in the early fourth century (when Bartikian proposes the 'core' of TD was written), such as Isauria, Caria, Pisidia, etc., are missing.

¹¹⁰ It is significant that a Western chronicler from around the Fourth Crusade period singles out the Armenians' most praiseworthy characteristic as being their hatred for the Greeks. Cfr von den Brincken 1973, 185–186. Yet, this may be a distorted point of view. Despite some frictions between the two peoples and their respective rulers, there was much exchange as well. Obviously, there was no homogenous hatred towards the Byzantines. The authors of TD, PA and to a degree SA may have belonged to or wrote for an anti-Byzantine commissioner and audience, but this was not the only audience. Even between these three texts one may note different grades of hostility where PA's stance is the most anti-Byzantine and that of SA is the mildest. Cfr Pogossian 2008, for these issues.

[the Latins] set up as king of the city [of Constantinople] a certain *komes* from their nation, someone with the name of Baldwin, and the Greek nation lost its kingdom. The newly ordained king, then, sent a news-bearing message to our king Levon, informing him of what had happened.¹¹¹

There is, then, rather considerable evidence indicating Levon's wide-ranging ambitions and even efforts at *imitatio imperii*. As we saw above, the location and the ceremony of his coronation aspired to such ideology. It is also evident that he tried to protect and strengthen his dominion in Cilicia and beyond, since there were real fears in Cilician Armenia of Frederick Barbarossa's or the Fourth Crusade's likely aggressive intentions with regard to the Armenian Kingdom. In all these cases, the *Letter of Love* would present a perfect document to legitimise Levon's claims for a larger role and a greater rule in the East.

2.5. THE DEEDS OF TRDAT AND HIS CONVERSION

The first bravery of Trdat mentioned in the *Letter* is his victory over 'Hrač'ē, the violent barbarian, in front of King Diocletian.¹¹² The tradition of this battle is well attested in Armenian sources. Aa mentions Trdat's fight with the Prince or the King of Goths whom he defeats and takes prisoner to Emperor Diocletian.¹¹³ Agat'angelos does not give the name of the King, but it is found in Yovhan Mamikonean and Uxtanēs, the latter likely depending on the former.¹¹⁴ Many other details in TD depend on Yovhan as we shall see below, which is why it is most probable that in this case, as well, TD depends on Yovhan Mamikonean rather than Uxtanēs.

Trdat is also credited with killing a dragon and a unicorn that had appeared on the Capitoline Hill. Shirinian has identified *Vita Silvestri* as the source for this episode.¹¹⁵ In VS Pope Sylvester destroys a dragon by the power of the cross, while in the *Letter* the dragon reappears on the

¹¹¹ Mat'evosyan 1984, 39–41. This is a colophon of ms J334, containing a *Commentary of Ignatios Vardapet to the Gospel of Luke*.

¹¹² TD, 7.22–24.

¹¹³ Aa § 39–45. It says Prince of Goths once (§ 39) and King of Goths, at another point (§ 44). This tradition is reported also by Sebēos 1979, 58.

¹¹⁴ YM 1941, 71. Uxtanēs 1871, 80–82. According to Avdoyan, Yovhan Mamikonean was the source for Uxtanēs and later also for Vardan Arewelc'i. Cfr YM 1993, 189.

¹¹⁵ TD, 13.1–10. Shirinian 2003, 87–89.

Capitoline hill and this time Trdat slays him definitively.¹¹⁶ Shirinian has concluded that the author of TD was familiar not only with the Armenian but also with the Greek original of the *Vita* since only there (and neither in the Long nor in the Short Recensions of the Armenian translation) do we learn that the dragon had appeared on the Capitoline Hill.¹¹⁷ However, the verbal parallels between TD and the Short Armenian Recension of VS are conspicuous. Both the *Letter* and the *Short Vita* begin the sentence in the same way:

TD 13.1:

Դարձեալ էր վիշապ մի մեծ փասաւկար ի Կապետոլին

And again there was a big and harmful dragon on the Capitoline [hill]

Short Vita

Էր վիշապ մի մեծ ի Տարսնփի լերինն.

There was a big dragon on Mount Tarson.

Long Vita (Greek original and medieval Armenian translation)

Ἦν δράκων παμμεγέταθης ἐν τῷ Ταρπεῖῳ ὄρει,

ἐνθα τὸ Καπετώλιον ἴδρυται.¹¹⁸

Վիշապ էր մեծ յոյժ ի Տարսնն Լերինն, յորում և տաճար գոյր նմա.

There was a very big dragon on Mount Tarson in which there was his temple.¹¹⁹

Thus, from the three versions, only the Greek original mentions the Capitoline hill. In this section the version of TD seems to be a combination of the Short Recension and the Greek original of VS. There are other details dependant on the Short (Armenian) Recension. According to this version, the dragon lived յայր մի որջացեալ, ‘in a cave which it had made its den.’ The words որջ *den* and այր *cave* are also used interchangeably as the dragon’s dwelling place in Sylvester’s vision, where Apostles Peter and Paul instruct him how to get rid of the beast.¹²⁰ Contrary to this, the Long version only once mentions քարայր, literally *rock-cave*. TD

¹¹⁶ VS [in SSEH], 704–707; TD, 13.1–10.

¹¹⁷ Shirinian 2003, 88 and Eadem 2005, 93.

¹¹⁸ Combefis, *Illustrium Christi Martyrium lecti triumph* (Paris: 1660), 269.

¹¹⁹ VS [in SSEH], 704–705. It is difficult to render the syntactic difference between TD and the Long *Vita* in English.

¹²⁰ VS [in SSEH], 706.

specifies that Sylvester had closed the dragon up in his den or *npɔ*. When the dragon reappears, according to TD 13.3–5, it:

և բազում փասս առնէր մարդոյ և անասնոյ
caused much trouble to people and to animals.

Moreover, at the same time a vicious unicorn appears as well and it also:

փասս առնէր մերձակայ սահմանացն
caused trouble at nearby confines.¹²¹

This is exactly how the Short Recension of the *Vita* describes the dragon's destructive actions (there is no unicorn in this text). It says:

Նաև բազում փասսս մերձաւորացն առնէր
And it caused much trouble to [those who lived] nearby¹²²

These examples allow one to conclude that even though TD knew about the appearance of the dragon on the Capitoline hill from the Greek *Vita Silvestri*, other details point to his closer familiarity with the Short Recension of the Armenian translation. This is not surprising, since this recension was much more popular and was copied much more profusely than the Long Recension. Thus, it could have been more available for TD's author. Last, but not least, the dragon-killing evoked heroic traditions so lively in the Armenian culture. By ascribing Trdat this act, the author further underlined his epic significance.¹²³

When Trdat kills the dragon and the unicorn, he cuts the latter's only horn and presents it to Emperor Constantine as 'talismán and anti-poison', receiving instead, a part of the relic of the True Cross that Empress Helen had discovered in Jerusalem.

There was an ancient belief that the horn of the unicorn could be used as an antidote against poison.¹²⁴ This tradition was passed on in some versions of the Greek *Physiologus*. It is interesting, however, that the Armenian *Physiologus*, which mentions various other qualities of the unicorn

¹²¹ TD, 13.3–5.

¹²² VS [in SSEH], 705.

¹²³ For the significance, endurance and multiple myths related to dragons or *višaps*, and dragon-killing in the Armenian tradition cfr Russell 1987, 205–215. According to some legends they lived in mountains, cfr Russell 1987, 206 where the author cites the 13th century Vahram Vardapet. In the tale of Trdat's dragon-killing in TD the author combined elements from the VS and traditional Armenian lore.

¹²⁴ This is reported, for example, in Aelian 1864, 400.

found in Greek (and Latin) *Physiologi*, such as its comparison with Christ, depends on a Greek ms version which did not include information on the unicorn's horn.¹²⁵ Such powers ascribed to the unicorn's horn are also mentioned in the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* where it is specified that 'the Indians make this horn into a cup' and if one drinks from the cup he/she will be immune to sickness and poison. Moreover, according to this text only a king can hunt a unicorn.¹²⁶ While I cannot argue that the author of TD was familiar with this *Life*, it is possible that this 'superstitious' belief, like many other talismanic traditions connected to Apollonius, were common in Byzantine popular culture and known to an Armenian author living in close proximity to the bearers of this culture.¹²⁷

In the section on the dragon- and unicorn-killing the author seems to condense various oral and popular beliefs connected to heroism and kingship. This tale served as additional proof of Trdat's heroic nature.

2.5.1. *The Conversion of Trdat*

In Aa, Emperor Constantine asks Trdat, upon their meeting in Rome, to tell him about all that had passed and how the Armenian king had come to know the true God, followed by Trdat's short summary of his conversion.¹²⁸ Vg, as well as some Armenian sources that mention this event, add that Constantine also told about his own conversion during their encounter.¹²⁹ TD follows the latter line of the story, even if it depends mainly on Aa for various details, while some other elements do not apparently come from any exact source. Thus, TD says that Gregory underwent fourteen tortures in two years. In Aa the number of tortures is twelve¹³⁰ and there is no indication of time-frame. TD

¹²⁵ This information is not found in the Armenian version of the *Physiologus* 2005, 128–129. However, it can be found in some Greek mss as presented in the critical apparatus in Sbordone 1991, 321.

¹²⁶ Philostratus 1969, vol. 1, 234–235 (Book 3.2).

¹²⁷ On the endurance of various apotropaic beliefs connected with the name of Apollonius of Tyana in Byzantium well into the fifteenth century, with various moments of revival, cfr Dulière 1970.

¹²⁸ The details in TD largely depend on Aa §875–876.

¹²⁹ Vg §183–189, even if we have only one phrase, briefly sketching the Emperor's conversion. Uxtanēs 1876, 106, reports that each king told about his conversion in front of a crowd.

¹³⁰ TD 14.13. This may have been a result of confusion between the letters p and η indicating two and four respectively, as suggested by Dr. Cowe in his comments to the

follows Aa in telling that Gregory's incarceration in the pit lasted thirteen years,¹³¹ giving thirty-five as the number of Hrip'simē's and Gayanē's companions who suffered martyrdom at the hands of Trdat,¹³² informing that Trdat was transformed into a wild boar seven days after Hrip'simē's execution,¹³³ and that St. Gregory was liberated from the deep pit by a faithful *naxarar* Awtay.¹³⁴ But the author of TD wished to strengthen Hrip'simē's connection to Rome. Thus, Constantine speaks of her as 'the daughter of my mother's sister' who was co-nurtured with him.¹³⁵ Thus, TD claims that Hrip'simē was Constantine's cousin. Usually, TD does not invent such details, but rather uses traditions or information known from other sources. In this case as well, the author did not fully invent this relationship himself but found a hint of it in a *Homily to the Memory of St. Hrip'simē and Her Martyred Companions* attributed to Movsēs Xoreanc'i¹³⁶ but dated to the tenth century based on archaeological evidence.¹³⁷ Here Constantine is considered to be of the same lineage as Hrip'simē.

Other elements mentioned in TD and absent in Aa, can be found in the *History of Tarōn* of Yovhan Mamikonean, already indicated as one of TD's sources. For example, it is here that TD's author could have learned about the 'location Gisanē' in Tarawn, where Gregory struggled against anthropomorphic demons, whom he expelled beyond the limits

dissertation whence this work resulted. It is interesting, however, that only two sister mss say 'twelve years' (mss F₅L), which can be argued to be a deliberate correction. Even those mss that spell out the numbers as opposed to indicating them by letters indicate 'fourteen' tortures.

¹³¹ TD 14.5; Aa § 122, 124, 132. In Vg § 54, 136 and 183 the length of St. Gregory's incarceration in the pit is told to be fifteen years.

¹³² TD 14.17; Aa § 209 also numbers them thirty seven, including Hrip'simē and Gayanē.

¹³³ TD 14.11; Aa § 211 says that Trdat spent six days in deep sadness, then decided to go on a hunt, thus, his transformation into a boar would take place on the seventh day after the holy women's death.

¹³⁴ TD 14.14; Aa § 217. All of the above mentioned details are found in other Armenian sources as well, who, in their turn, depend on Aa.

¹³⁵ TD, 14.7.

¹³⁶ MX 1865, 323, which says that the 'horn of salvation', 'the holy and victorious Emperor Constantine' came from Hrip'simē's dynasty. On this fictitious relationship see also Thomson 1997, 284. Other sources provide evidence that Hrip'simē was believed to be related to Roman imperial saints. Thus, she is called the granddaughter of Patronikē—according to Labubna the wife of Tiberius's co-emperor Claudius—who discovered the True Cross. Cfr also V 222, fol. 268^v, containing the text of the *History of the Cross of Varag*, cited in Sargisean 1924, 340.

¹³⁷ Outtier-Thierry 1990, 695–733.

of Armenia,¹³⁸ according to TD, the land of ‘Media, South of the Caspian Sea.’¹³⁹ Trdat’s fight with ‘Get’rehon, the cord-throwing [warrior] from Čoray [Pahak]’¹⁴⁰ is also indebted to Yovhan Mamikonean. It is true that Movsēs Xorenac’i and Uxtanēs (the latter dependant on the former), also describe Trdat’s struggle with a northern people. However, only Yovhan specifies that the ‘king of the North’ was named Gedrehon/Get’rehon.¹⁴¹ In describing the episode of their fight much emphasis is put on Gedrehon’s exceptional dexterity in operating the rope during the fight, something known to the author of TD since he qualifies Gedrehon as ‘cord-throwing’. According to Avdoyan who translated and commented Yovhan’s work, there was a vivid oral tradition related to this fight, where various fables on the braveries of *sparapet* Mušel Mamikonean and King Trdat the Great were conflated together. One of these oral legends is named *Honi Duṛ* [The Hun’s Gate] possibly indicating the origin of Get’rehon or the location of the famous battle. Since TD calls Gedrehon Čorac’i it must have been commonly considered that Get’rehon was from Čoray Pahak, i.e. Gates of the Huns or Darband.¹⁴²

While telling about his conversion, Trdat mentions also the evangelical activities and miracles of St. Nunē (Nino in Georgian). This episode demonstrates traces of knowledge of Georgian hagiographical traditions regarding this Apostoless. Certainly, Nunē is a well-attested figure in Armenian historiography as well, since she was believed to have been a companion of St. Hrip’simē when the group fled to Armenia from Rome.¹⁴³ The *Letter* does refer to this tradition and obviously emphasises this saint’s Roman origin, since Constantine calls her ‘our Nunē and the teacher of Georgians’. But when describing Nunē’s miracles it provides us with information found only in the Armenian translation of *Kartlis*

¹³⁸ TD 15.4–6; YM 1941, 36, 79, 94–100, where (p. 79) it says that in the *gawar* [province] of Tarōn there was the *awan* [town, location] of Gisanē. On the tradition of pagan divinities of Gisanē and Demetr as invented by Yovhan Mamikonean, cfr YM 1993 34–37, where further bibliography on the issue can be found.

¹³⁹ This location as the place where demons escape is found also in Koriwn Vardapet 1981, 88.

¹⁴⁰ TD, 15.12–13.

¹⁴¹ MX 1913, 2.85 and Uxtanēs 1871, 80–82 who depends on MX, talk about Trdat’s fight with a northern people of Basilk’, but do not give a name to their king. YM 1941, 129–136, specifies the name of the king.

¹⁴² YM 1993, 215. Uxtanēs 1871, 96, repeats MX in indicating that the battle took place in the plain of *Gargar* and then adds ‘at the borders of Aḫuank’, which is no longer called the land of the Basilk’, which, I think, has changed [its] name. It is no [longer] referred to as Čoray in Darband, but is a hill in the land of Utik’.

¹⁴³ MX 1913, 2.76.

Cxovreba or *Georgian Chronicles*.¹⁴⁴ We learn from the *Letter* that Nunē, while in the city of Mcxet'ay, healed from an incurable disease Sołomē, the daughter of Trdat and the wife of (the Georgian king) Mihran, who was the 'son of the Persian Artasir's slave'. Surely, Nunē's miracles, including her healing of Mihran's wife, were reported also in Movsēs Xoreanc'i's *History*.¹⁴⁵ However, the name of Mihran's wife as Sołomē and the statement that she was King Trdat's daughter demonstrate clearly that the author of the *Letter* was familiar with and used information found in *Kartlis Cxovreba*, with one slight difference. In *Kartlis Cxovreba*, Trdat's daughter Sołomē married Mihran's *son*, whose name was Rev. While in the *Letter of Love*, Sołomē's husband is Mihran himself, exactly as in Movsēs Xoreanc'i and not the Georgian source. But also the information on Mihran's Persian father's name as being Artasir and the fact that he had this son from a slave or a concubine, comes from the Armenian version of *Kartlis Cxovreba*. The latter mentions that Mihran was the son of a Persian king and his handmaid (the word for handmaid, *alaxin*, is the same in this text and in the *Letter*), while the name of this Persian king is spelled out as 'K'arsēsšar who is the same as Artasir' in the Armenian version, and as 'K'asre Anušarvan the Sasanian' in Georgian.¹⁴⁶ Since the *Letter* mentions only Artasir which is found only in the Armenian version, its source must have been the latter and not the Georgian original. The Armenian translation of *Kartlis Cxovreba* has been dated to the end of the twelfth, beginning of the thirteenth century without any further specifications of time-frame.¹⁴⁷ TD shows that the translation had reached Cilicia soon after its completion since by the turn of the twelfth century TD must already have been composed.

2.6. THE CONVERSION OF CONSTANTINE AND HIS VISIONS

Some aspects of the use of the *Vita Silvestri* was discussed above when analysing the deeds of Trdat. There are other important references to this text in TD. These include the sections on the *Vision of the Cross* and the *Conversion* of Constantine.

¹⁴⁴ TD 15.6–10; Thomson 1996.

¹⁴⁵ MX 1913, 2.76.

¹⁴⁶ Thomson 1996, 70, 74.

¹⁴⁷ Thomson 1996, xlv–xlv.

The *Letter's* version of Constantine's *Vision of the Cross* is a hybrid built from a juxtaposition of various sources on the subject. Constantine's *Vision of the Cross* has many versions in various languages and the details regarding the geographical location, the circumstances and the description of the cross are widely different.¹⁴⁸

The situation preceding the *Vision*, according to TD 16.1–3, is as follows: Constantine, with his Greek army, fights against and is defeated by 'the barbarian nations of the Goths ... on the other side of the mighty river Danube'. Then, he has the vision of the cross *signed by stars*—աստղանշան/աստղանշան—and *a luminous title or an epigraph made of light*—վերագիրն լուսեղէն—where վերագիրն is a verbatim translation of the Greek *epigrafē*, that says: 'you will win with this'. Constantine orders that the sign of the cross be put on the armament and clothes of his soldiers, and wins the next battle against the Barbarians thanks to these measures.

There is one text—*Invention of the Cross*—which starts with a prologue on Constantine's battle against 'barbarians' at the river Danube, according to which his *Vision of the Cross* took place at the banks of this river.¹⁴⁹ These 'barbarians' are described with the same wording in the prologue of the *Invention* and in the *Letter of Love*, the only difference being that the *Letter* specifies them as being Goths. The geographical location of the battle where Constantine had the *Vision of the Cross* as the Danube is clearly inspired from the text of the *Invention*.

Invention

... յամին երթներորդի թագաւորութեանն Կոստանդիանոսի մեծ թագաւորի ... ժողովեցան բազմութիւն խուժաղութ ազգաց ի վերայ գետոյն Դանուբայ. որք ինորէին անցանել և աւերել զամենայն աշխարհն մինչև յարևելս: Իսկ իբրև լուաւ թագաւորն Կոստանդիանոս ժողովեալ զնոսա ի միասին, վաղվաղակի զիւր զարսն գումարեալ և հասեալ անցանելոյ լայն կոյս Դանդուբայ: Եւ ածեալ փոս զբանակաւն առ եզերք գետոյն արգելոյր զնոսա:¹⁵⁰

In the seventh year of the reign of the great Emperor Constantine a multitude of barbarian nations gathered at the river Danube and intended to cross the river and destroy the whole land up to the East. When Emperor

¹⁴⁸ van Esbroeck 1982, 79–101.

¹⁴⁹ This text also existed in many languages, e.g. Greek, Armenian, Georgian and Syriac. Van Esbroeck 1982, 82–83. The Greek text in Nestlé 1895, 319–345. The Armenian version is found in Sanspeur 1974, 307–320.

¹⁵⁰ Sanspeur 1974, 315.

Constantine heard about their gathering, swiftly assembling his army and reaching [there], [he] crossed the river Danube to the other side. And leading [them] with the army into a trench along the bank of the river, he stopped them.

TD 16.1–3:

Սոյնպէս և մեք պատմեցաք Տրդատայ՝ փեսայեղբորս իմում, զպատերազմիլն իմ յունական զարաւքս ընդ խուժարութ ազգացն զաւթացոց. և զպարտութիւն իմ յայնկոյս Դանուբայ գետոյն հզարի:¹⁵¹

In the same manner we told Trdat, our most intimate brother, how I waged war with my Greek army against the barbarian nations of the Goths and my defeat on the other side of the mighty river Danube.

This version of the *Invention of the Cross* was not a widely copied or a well-known text in Armenian literary tradition, nor was the geographical location of Constantine's *Vision of the Cross* as the river Danube recorded in other sources.¹⁵² Yet our author used this detail in his description of Constantine's *Vision*, demonstrating not only his predilection for rare and uncommon sources and traditions, but his capacity to find them and use them skilfully in his own narrative.

However, the prologue to the *Invention of the Cross* does not mention any defeat that Constantine had suffered before the *Vision*. Both the Greek version and its quite faithful Armenian translation speak about his deep distress and fear after having seen such a huge army of 'barbarians'. This other piece of information is found in the Armenian *Vita Silvestri*, where, however, the army that Constantine fights is that of the *Byzantines*.¹⁵³ The source for the description of the cross is more difficult to identify. It may be inspired by the Short Recension of *Vita Silvestri*, although TD's wording is not exactly a verbatim repetition of what we find there:

TD 16.3–6:

զերևումս ինձ յերկնից աստեղանշան խաչին, և զվերագիրն լուսեղէն, եթէ. «Այսու յաղթեացես», զորոյ զարինական ետու դնել ի դրաւշային իմոյ և նկարել ի վառս սանջախացն և ոմբացն.

¹⁵¹ TD, 16.1–3.

¹⁵² Van Esbroeck 1982, 88–89 for suggestions as to why this text was less popular in the Armenian milieu.

¹⁵³ VS [in SSEH], 714–715. The Greek version of the *Vita* misses this section, while the Armenian text depends on *Passio Eusignii*, cfr Sargisean 1893, 20. Constantine's defeat is mentioned also in MX 1913, 2.73, but the location of the battle is not specified.

the apparition from the heavens of a star-signed Cross and a luminous epigraph: 'You will win with this.' I gave this image to be put on my flag and to paint as a sign on banners and slings, as well as on the emblems of military gear and of the helms of officials.¹⁵⁴

Short *Vita Silvestri*:

Եւ տրտմեալ ննջէր, և տեսանէ ի տեսեալն զիշերին վերնագիր աստղանշան խաչի ...

And becoming sad he fell asleep and saw in a night vision the epigraph of a star-signed cross ...¹⁵⁵

Long *Vita Silvestri* (only the Armenian Version has this section):

Տեսանէ ապա ի զիշերի յայնմ, յորում ննջէր, տեսիլ ակներևակի յերկինս, խաչ վսամական և գերապայծառ ունելով վերնագիր յաստեղաց. այսու յաղթեալ.

Then he saw [during] that night when he was sleeping, a clear vision in the sky, a majestic and most brilliant cross which had an epigraph made of stars: 'Win with this!'

According to both Short and Long Recensions of the *Vita Silvestri* Constantine is advised to carry this sign in front of his army, while in TD he orders that it be put on his flag, as well as painted as a sign on the banners and slings of his army.

The version of the *Invention of the Cross* may also be proposed as a possibility:

Invention

... տեսանէ ակնյայտնի զարինակ աստուածեղէն խաչին ի վերուստ փայլեալ, որ ունէր վերնագիր աստեղեալ. այնու յաղթեալ.

He saw with open eyes the *type of god-made cross* shining from on high and which had an epigraph made of stars: 'May you win with this!'¹⁵⁶

A common detail in all these texts is the *epigraph*—*vernagir* which is an exact translation of Greek *epigraphē*. From among the three texts proposed above, the short *Vita Silvestri* also describes the cross as star-made, *astlanšan*, thus coming closer than any other of the three to TD. However, all the other details are different. Only in TD the cross is made out

¹⁵⁴ TD, 16.3–6.

¹⁵⁵ VS [in SSEH], 715.

¹⁵⁶ Sanspeur 1974, 315.

of stars (a detail found also in the short *Vita Silvestri*) and is luminous.¹⁵⁷ The wording of ‘you will win with this’ is also particular to TD and has no parallel in other Armenian sources. Most of them formulate it as *այսն յաղթեայ*¹⁵⁸ or *այնն յաղթեալ*,¹⁵⁹ thus employing the aorist imperative, rather than the aorist subjunctive *այսն յաղթեցեալ* as in TD. While there is no major difference in meaning, from a textual point of view it is clear that the author of TD did not simply copy his sources but modified them as he found fit.

Further details in the story of the conversion of Constantine are taken from the *Vita Silvestri*’s Armenian version, again most likely from the Short Recension. Constantine tells that after the battle with the Goths on the Danube he goes victoriously to Rome. But here, he betrays the Christian faith:

TD 16.9–11:

Բայց ի ճնշելն զիս երնջիս իմոյ ստեցի ճշմարտութեանն և դարձայ ի թշուառութիւն իմ ... Դիմադարձ եղէ քրիստոնէական հաւատոյս.

But as my wife pressured me, I betrayed the truth and returned to my misery ... I turned my face from the Christian faith.

Both Long and Short Recensions of the *Vita Silvestri* speak about Constantine’s repression of Christians, blaming his wife for it. Thus, the Long *Vita* has a section, missing in the Greek original, where it says that Constantine went to Rome and ruled instead of his father, while his wife Maximina incited him against Christians.¹⁶⁰ Then, several lines down, it repeats the information on persecutions of Christians by Constantine, this time following verbatim the Greek original, where the exact role of Maximina is not clear. It says: ‘And Emperor Constantine, having as his wife Diocletian’s daughter Maximina, killed many Christians.’¹⁶¹ The Short *Vita* says instead:

¹⁵⁷ Van Esbroeck 1982, 80–83, brings forth numerous Greek and Armenian sources that describe this vision and none have the same details as found in TD.

¹⁵⁸ VS [in SSEH], 715. The formula is found only in the Long Armenian version and not the short one. MX 1913, 2.73, also has this detail. For this study, the age-old battle of whether Xorenac’i predates the Armenian translation of Socrates Scholasticus, or vice versa, is of no relevance since for the author of the *Letter of Love* these texts had all been available for a long time.

¹⁵⁹ Sanspeur 1974, 315. Van Esbroeck 1982, 80–83 quotes other authors which I refrained from bringing up here as they do not seem to be TD’s sources.

¹⁶⁰ VS [in SSEH], 720.

¹⁶¹ Ibid, 721–722.

Բայց հրապուրեալ ի կնոջէն իւրոյ [other mss. իւրմէ] Մաքսինտէա ի դստերէն Դիոկղետիանոսի և արար հալածանս եկեղեցոյ Կոստանտինոսի ի ձեռն կնոջ իւրոյ ...

But being lured by his wife *Mak'sintes*, the daughter of Diocletian, and Constantine persecuted the Church through his wife.¹⁶²

The name for Constantine's wife *Mak'sintēs* found in the *Vita Silvestri* is important, but, at the same time, problematic in identifying its source. It is important because TD also calls Constantine's wife *Mak'sintēs*.¹⁶³ From the printed edition of *Vita Silvestri*, it appears that the Long version consistently uses Maskimina (Maximina), exactly as in the Greek original, while the Short version has *Mak'sintēs*. However, in his 'Introduction' to the critical edition of both Armenian versions, the editor noted that three manuscript versions of Movsēs Xoreanc'i's *History* also call Constantine's wife *Mak'sintēs*, as opposed to the more common reading of *Maximina*.¹⁶⁴ Thus, conceivably, TD's source could have been Xorenac'i's *History* and he could have used a manuscript which informed him that Constantine's wife's name was *Mak'sintēs*. Both hypotheses—that of the Short *Vita* and of Xorenac'i—seem credible.

The sections on Constantine's leprosy and his baptism by Sylvester all depend on the *Vita Silvestri*, as has been already revealed by Shirinian.¹⁶⁵ But there are some parts that bear similarities to the textual structure of *Constitutum Constantini* as well. Thus, when Constantine is ill with *elephantine leprosy* and no one can cure him until Sylvester arrives, TD 16.15–17 informs:

մինչև լալց ել մեզ արեգակն ի բարձանց և լուսաւորեալ բժշկեաց զմեզ սուրբս Սեղբեստրոս. և հաստատեաց զմեզ ի հաւատս ճշմարիտս:

... until the Sun from on high came to visit us and having illuminated [us] St. Sylvester healed us and confirmed us in the true faith.

In the *Constitutum*, the order of things is slightly reversed. Just before telling the whole story of the illness with leprosy, the advice of pagan priests to bathe in innocent children's blood (which is absent in TD), and the cure with the help of Sylvester, *Constitutum* offers a short, introductory sentence:

¹⁶² Ibid, 721. These details can be found also in MX 1913, 2.73.

¹⁶³ TD, 9.1.

¹⁶⁴ Cfr the 'Introduction' of Tēr-Movsean in SSEH, XLII. Cfr also MX 1913, 2.83.

¹⁶⁵ TD 16.13–17; Shirinian 2003, 89.

Ipsē enim dominus deus noster, misertus mihi peccatori, misit sanctos suos apostolos ad visitandum nos et lumen sui splendoris infulsit nobis et abstracto a tenebris ad veram lucem et agnitionem veritatis me pervenisse gratulamini.

In the case of the *Constitutum*, the Emperor refers to his vision of the Apostles Peter and Paul, while in TD the visit is made by Sylvester, but the texts are structured in a similar way. In both cases the ‘illumination’ or being fetched ‘from darkness’ very likely refers to baptism.

2.7. ESCHATOLOGY

Besides the famous *Vision of the Cross* of Constantine, a common tradition, with variations, among Christians of different languages and denominations, TD includes another *Vision* of the Emperor: a specifically ‘Armenian’ one. The Emperor prophesies that one day the Armenians will fall under the slavery of the infidel and their only aid will come from his own off spring. This would happen ‘in the last days when the relics of the Holy Goats Suk‘iaseank’ which I buried in the province of Bagrevand¹⁶⁶ according to the guidance of the Lord’s angel, would be discovered.’¹⁶⁷ There are two elements expressed in this vision: one is the promise of military aid from the West, the second is the discovery of the relics of the Suk‘iaseank’ saints before the End of Times. According to their *Martyrdom*, the bodies of Suk‘ias and his spiritual brethren, supposedly martyred in the time of King Artasēs and Queen Sat‘enik, were thrown into a deep gorge near a mount called Sukawet. Later, Gregory the Illuminator found them and built a *martyrion* on that spot. The text of the *Martyrdom* adds ‘others say’ that Constantine found their bodies, buried them and even took parts of their relics and some of the earth where their blood had been shed to his homeland.¹⁶⁸ According to the editor of the text, later, under the influence of the TD, a *Vision of Constantine* was composed, which stated that Sukawet was in the province of Bagrevand. Constantine had a vision to go there, discovered their unburied relics and gave them

¹⁶⁶ All mss of the Agat‘angelos group have *Zarevand*, found also in the 1709 edition of Agat‘angelos, printed in Constantinople. Cfr Chapter 3 for this and other text-critical information.

¹⁶⁷ TD, 11.7–9.

¹⁶⁸ *Martyrdom of Suk‘iaseank’* 1813, 110–120, the quotation from 111.

a proper burial.¹⁶⁹ Yet, it is doubtful that TD inspired the composition of an independent *Vision of Constantine* regarding the discovery of the Suk'iasėank' relics rather than vice versa. TD's author rarely invents anything not based on previously known traditions. Moreover, a Georgian translation of the *Lives of Suk'iasėank'*, included in ms. 57 of the Iviron Monastery on Mt. Athos, also contains a *Vision of Constantine* according to the description of this manuscript by Marr.¹⁷⁰ It is beyond my competence to study a Georgian ms and my conclusions, based on Marr's description, cannot be definitive. However, there is great likelihood that the *Vision* in question is the translation of the corresponding Armenian text included at the end of the *Martyrdom of the Suk'iasėank'* as it is arranged in this way also in the Georgian manuscript. This Georgian manuscript is variously dated to the tenth or early eleventh centuries.¹⁷¹ Moreover, Marr dates the translations to the end of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century at the latest, and possibly even earlier. This obviously means that the Armenian text of the *Vision* is even older. My quick overview—which is far from exhaustive—of manuscripts with a text on the Suk'iasėank' relics has revealed that manuscript V204 dated to 1215 contains a text with the *Vision of Constantine* on the Suk'iasėank' martyrs.¹⁷² It is possible that there are even older manuscripts with this text. Besides, the text itself needs to be dated with more precision and ideally studied with its Georgian translation.¹⁷³

The *Vision of Constantine* regarding the rediscovery of the Suk'iasėank' relics is reported also in *PA*, but the subsequent turn of events is different. First of all, the names of the saints as Suk'iasėank' is not given, but they are simply called *k'ošk'* or goats, i.e. their usual appellation in sources. Then, according to the version of *PA* Constantine's vision predicted that when the Armenian army would be *strengthened* then their relics would be discovered. Upon the discovery of the relics and upon the strengthening of the Armenian armed forces, the newly appointed Armenian King

¹⁶⁹ Ibid, 119.

¹⁷⁰ Marr 1899, 1–24, esp. 17.

¹⁷¹ Marr dated it to the tenth century, Ibid. However, Garitte 1956, 406 proposed late tenth/early eleventh century.

¹⁷² Sargisean 1924, 137.

¹⁷³ Saints Suk'iasėank' and their martyrdom was known to the tenth century historian Catholicos Yovhannes Drasxanakertc'i whose testimony emphasises the importance of their cult. YD 1912, 36. Drasxanakertc'i informs that they were called 'goats' or *k'ošk'* because they lived in mountains like wild goats, grazing vegetables, without clothes and having left their bodily hair to grow. The name *k'ošk'* became a common appellation, almost a technical term, when referring to the Suk'iasėank' according to NBH.

Vaġaršak, from ‘the race of King Trdat’, will attack Constantinople and subjugate the land of the Romans.¹⁷⁴

What can be said with confidence is that a *Vision* of Constantine regarding the discovery of Suk‘iaseank‘ relics and connected to the unfolding of eschatological events, existed before the composition of TD and was used before it in PA. There may have been different versions or speculations on what this rediscovery meant in eschatological terms, but in any event the rediscovery was ascribed an apocalyptic-eschatological significance.

Expectations of Western military help for the re-establishment of the Armenian kingship is the other significant element in Constantine’s prophecy of the future. Such hopes were especially lively amongst the Armenians of Cilicia in the second half of the twelfth century.¹⁷⁵ Thus, after the fall of Edessa to Zengi in 1144 Catholicos Nerēs Šnorhali dedicated a *Lamentation* to the event and spoke about a time when the Franks would arrive with ‘innumerable horsemen and infantry’ and clean ‘the whole world’ from infidels, becoming thus ‘saviours of all Christian nations from [their] hand’.¹⁷⁶ These hopes stand in contrast to Šnorhali’s severe criticism of the Franks whose sins, according to him, were so numerous that they were not able to prevent Edessa, once under their domain, from falling into the enemy’s hands. Lambronac‘i reiterates the hope of imminent Western military help in a colophon written just after the fall of Jerusalem in 1187. He believes that when the ‘harbinger of the bad news reached them [in Rome], they began mourning with great lamentations, [then] they received an order from the patriarch [i.e. the Pope] to mount the Cross and go to the East’. According to him, even if the ‘Roman basileus’ (sic), the German Emperor died, many more were crossing the sea. Lambronac‘i tells that the King of France, Philip, and that of England had already arrived and he ‘await[ed] salvation’ from them with the help of God.¹⁷⁷ These expectations, as well as eschatological hopes that Armenians would be liberated fully before the Second Coming by the help of Constantine’s progeny take a much larger space in the *Sermo*, in PA and the *Vision of St. Nersēs*, than in TD. In these

¹⁷⁴ PA 1913, 398.

¹⁷⁵ Hovhannissyan 1957, 61–65 for a discussion of contemporary ‘official’ sources, poetry and colophons on the subject. Cfr also Thomson 2001 and esp. Pogossian 2008 for a detailed source analysis.

¹⁷⁶ NS 1973, 129–130.

¹⁷⁷ Mat‘evosyan 1984, 250. The colophon of 1187, found at the end of a Gospel in M345 from 1270, is written in verse, which I translated liberally without trying to versify it.

texts, either written or re-edited during the Cilician period, the term 'Roman', which once meant 'Byzantine', came to mean 'Western Roman' or 'Frank'.¹⁷⁸

Compared with these texts TD's mention of western military help is quite cursory, despite the fact that in the future its popularity will be reassured because of this element.¹⁷⁹

The prophetic *Vision* of Constantine is narrated directly after the Emperor's request to Trdat to leave behind three hundred warriors, whom he calls *armenk'*, to be employed as the Emperor's body guards. The *armenk'* have a significant eschatological function in *PA*. According to this text the Last Roman Emperor, who will save the Armenians and all Christians, will be an issue of these warriors.¹⁸⁰ Thus, the author of TD seems to have employed a skillful mnemonic device. By mentioning the army of the *armenk'* he may have wanted to alert his readers to an apocalyptic aspect in this text. But he may also have wished to remind them, indirectly, of the tradition that the Last Roman Emperor would ultimately be of Armenian origin, an off-spring of the *armenk'*. On the other hand, he left the option of Western military help also open, since Constantine prophesies that the salvation of the Armenians will come from 'his race'.

After this brief prophecy is pronounced, without any transition, the reader abruptly gets back to the 'real' time of the text and learns that: '... many marvelous miracles were seen in our land both by the Patriarch and the King of the Armenians, since when they arrived here ...'.¹⁸¹ Thus, we get back to the glorification of Trdat and Gregory. The author may have wanted to play down the hopes for Western help in the time of his writing by dedicating merely a brief reference to this. If so, he was not alone in his feelings. Thus, when Jerusalem fell in 1187, the contemporary Catholicos Grigor Tlay, emulating his uncle Nersēs Šnorhali, wrote a poem, *Lamentation on the Fall of Jerusalem* in 1189. But, as opposed to Šnorhali, his poem emphasised much more the military victories of King

¹⁷⁸ Pogossian 2008.

¹⁷⁹ Anasyan 1961, 52–57, for very detailed analysis of the fortunes of TD especially in the 17th century, when it was used as a documentary proof on which to base any call for Western military assistance for the liberation of Western Armenia. On the subject, cfr also Uluhogian 2003, 385.

¹⁸⁰ TD, 10.8–12; *PA* has different variants here depending on the recension. Thus, the first recension mss have: M1382, fol. 307^r. and 307^v *ormank'*; M527 fol. 121^r *omank'*; M4669 fol. 233^v *ermank'*; M 613 fol. 79^v *ōromk'* then *ōmank'*; M 3839 fol. 199^r, *ormank'*; M 9159 fol. 1^r *ormank'*; M2270 fol. 181^r *ōromank'*. In the second recension mss we have: M9171 fol. 1^r *avamank'* then *almank'*; M 5066 fol. 132^r *almank'*; M515 fol. 42^r *alamank'*.

¹⁸¹ TD, 12.1–2.

Levon and the hope for a peaceful life thanks to his triumphant army, not those of the Franks. As mentioned above, Levon was compared to the most beloved Armenian and Biblical rulers or kings in this poem.¹⁸² The author of TD, who diplomatically praises the Roman Emperor while at the same time making sure that the Armenian King does not compromise his own image of a splendid ruler, may also have wanted to continue in this vein regarding the hope for future Roman help. He had to mention something about this tradition, given that almost all contemporary sources are full of such images and ideas. But at the same time, he preferred not to dwell upon the Roman help too much and dedicated only a brief paragraph to it. Moreover, he made sure that the *armenk'*, the Armenian warriors left in Rome by Trdat, were not forgotten, and, thus, the tradition of the Last Roman Emperor being an off spring of these *armenk'* was also alluded to.

2.8. ECCLESIOLOGY AND THE ORDINATION OF ST. GREGORY

Many works dedicated to TD have emphasised its religious aspects, particularly commenting on its recognition of the primacy of the Roman Church and her Bishop, the Pope, as possessing heavenly and earthly keys. Indeed, the opening paragraph of TD has a clear statement on the authority and place of the Roman Bishop in Christendom. Sylvester qualifies himself as:

... մեծի պապուս հռոմայեցոց Եւսեբիոսի, որ և Սեդրեստրոս, արքայական գլխաւորաց առաքելոցս արքոց Պետրոսի և Պաւլոսի, որ երկնաւոր և երկրաւոր բանալեալքունիս իշխանութիւն յարեմտից մինչև յարևելս, ի վերայ ամենայն ազգաց և ազանց և լեզուաց քրիստոսադաւանից, կապող և արձակող յերկինս և յերկրի, և հրամանահան հզաւր յընդհանոր եկեղեցիս Քրիստոսի:

... [of] the great Pope of the Romans, Eusebius, who is also Sylvester, the holder of the chair of chief apostles, Saints Peter and Paul, who [the pope] with earthly and heavenly keys has authority from West to East, on all nations and peoples and languages who profess Christ, to bind and loose on earth and in heaven and to command the powerful and universal Church of Christ.¹⁸³

¹⁸² van Lint 2002, 121–142, esp. 135, 139–140.

¹⁸³ TD, 2.2–6.

Thus, the universal authority of the Pope on all Christians is recognised. We may detect again some influence of the Short *Vita Silvestri*, where in the prologue we find out that Sylvester ‘was called to the chair of Peter and Paul of the great city of Rome’.¹⁸⁴ Still, throughout centuries, especially in Latin Christianity, the pope was considered first and foremost the successor of Apostle Peter and an elaborate ideology of Roman primacy was built upon this concept, something that was not unknown to the Armenians in the twelfth century, especially to the clergy of Cilician Armenia, as we saw in the previous chapter. The concept of the *pontifex* as a successor of *both* Apostles Peter and Paul developed especially in the second half of the twelfth century and from this period on there are numerous mosaic representations in Roman churches—many commissioned by Popes themselves—upholding this idea.¹⁸⁵ This conceptual development coincided in time with the growing belief that these Apostles’ bodies were buried in the same place. The Byzantines, on the other hand, always upheld the equality of both apostles and called them *koryphaioi* (princes of apostles) in opposition to the idea of Petrine primacy adopted by the Roman Church.¹⁸⁶

TD always mentions the two apostles or their relics together. Thus, when all bishops come together to ordain St. Gregory, they go to ‘the *niche* of saints Peter, the *pretor*, and Paul, the successor of Christ’.¹⁸⁷ This phrase is enigmatic, since it is not Paul habitually considered to be the successor of Christ, but Peter. Moreover, it would be more befitting to call Paul a *pretor* as the one who was important in dispensing Christian laws of conduct. It is implausible that TD’s author was confused about the Roman ideology of Petrine primacy, even if he, as many other Armenians, may not have accepted the juridical authority of the Roman Church over his own. Conceivably, he followed the Byzantine tradition of playing down Peter’s role as the prince of apostles by presenting both Peter and Paul closely associated to Christ.

It has been suggested that the recognition of the Pope’s powers of binding and loosing betrays the influence of *Constitutum Constantini*.¹⁸⁸ While the influence of the *Constitutum* on TD can be seen in other occasions, the affirmation of the authority of the Pope to be able to open

¹⁸⁴ VS [in SSEH], 692.

¹⁸⁵ Paravicini Bagliani 1998, 30–33.

¹⁸⁶ Irmscher-Kazhdan-Carr 1993.

¹⁸⁷ TD, 19.11–12. For problems of translating this passage see notes to the translation.

¹⁸⁸ Shirinian 2003, 83.

and close heavenly and earthly doors can be found also in papal letters addressed to Armenian catholicos. Lucius III writing to Grigor Tlay in 1184, stated:

By God's order [the Church of Rome] has authority to command all Churches and power to teach all Churches and other members. And in fact, *the one who has the keys due to the Grace of God*, [he] gave also the following [patrimony] of gifts and powers 'that which is bound ...'¹⁸⁹

In a letter of Innocent III addressed to Catholicos Grigor Apirat from 1199:

Nosti etenim privilegium Petri ... commisit ... et super universos ligandi ei et solvendi contulit potestatem dicens ad eum: Quodcunque ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum et in coelis etc.

Thus you recognised the privilege that [He] granted to Peter and conferred upon him the power of binding and losing of everyone, saying to him 'Whatever you bind etc.'¹⁹⁰

Constitutum Constantini or papal letters all quoted the well-known Biblical phrase from Mt 16.19: 'Tibi dabo claves regni caelorum, etc'. The ambiguity that can be observed with regards to the political ideology of TD is evident also with respect to ecclesiology or attitudes to the Church of Rome. Thus, on the one hand the author of TD recognises the Pope's privileges of binding and loosing. He had inherited this authority from Peter and the latter had received it directly from Christ. But, on the other hand, through a clever choice of wording, TD presents both Peter and Paul as chief apostles, and Paul as the successor of Christ himself, thus subtly casting a shadow on the prerogatives of Peter alone. Moreover, later we learn that Sylvester gave the same honour to St. Gregory:

... յետ մեր վեհագոյն հրամանաց՝ հայոց հայրապետին կայ իշխանութիւն, զոր ինչ և կամեսցի, ըստ առաքելական կանոնացն, կապել և արձակել յերկինս և յերկրի:

... upon our highest command the Armenian patriarch has the authority to bind and loose in heaven and on earth whatever he wishes, according to Apostolic precepts.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁹ Ananean 1996, 215, italics are mine.

¹⁹⁰ Haluščynskij 1946, 199.

¹⁹¹ TD, 24.6–8.

The ordination of Gregory in TD goes against the received Armenian tradition that Gregory was ordained by Leontius of Caesarea.¹⁹² However, other twelfth century authors believed that Gregory was ordained in Rome by Sylvester, including the Catholicos Grigor Tlay. In a letter sent to Northern Bishops, not much after the Synod of Hromklay of 1178, the Catholicos justifies his (and his predecessors) efforts to establish communion with the Byzantine Church, by saying that ‘also St. Gregory with the humility of his heart and without any doubt in his mind, took it upon himself to go to Caesarea and then to Rome to receive his ordination from St. Sylvester’.¹⁹³ But TD includes other, telling, elements in an effort to portray Gregory the Illuminator in an independent light. Sylvester convokes a great council of bishops and saints ‘from all nearby lands under my subjection’ to ordain Gregory.¹⁹⁴ With all of them and with

... հզար աջով սուրբ առաքելոցս և նշանաւ խաչիս Քրիստոսի՝ ձեռնադրեցաք զկաթողիկոսն հայոց զսուրբն Գրիգոր պապ և պատրիարկ և հայրապետ, հրամանաւսն տիեզերական ժողովս, համապատիւ մեր հզար արքայոյս և Երուսաղէմացոյն և Անտիոքացոյն և Ալեքսանդրացոյն ...

the mighty right-hands of the Apostles¹⁹⁵ and the sign of Christ’s cross, we ordained the catholicos of Armenians holy Gregory as Pope, Patriarch and *Hayrapet*, commandant at universal councils, equal in dignity to our mighty See and those of Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria.¹⁹⁶

Moreover, TD attempted to create a somewhat direct link between St. Peter and St. Gregory, and, in a way, even involved Christ in this relationship. Pope Sylvester conducted the ordination service of St. Gregory,

¹⁹² Amadouni 1968, 141–150.

¹⁹³ NS 1871, 322. Halfter 1996, 168 and Hovhannissyan 1957, 75, also pinpoint this. Polarean 1971*B*, 251 for dating.

¹⁹⁴ TD 19.12. In the *Sermo* we are told of another Gregory (from the race of the Illuminator) who sat at the Chair of the Illuminator when sons of the Emperor Constantine and King Trdat (both bearing the names of the fathers) reigned in their respective parts of the world. The two leaders (the new Constantine and the new Trdat) meet in Jerusalem, on the Golgotha, where they conceive ‘a good counsel’: the Pope of Rome (no name is given) ordains Gregory. It is as if the author of the *Sermo*, while being aware of a tradition where a Roman pope ordains Gregory as an Armenian Catholicos, considered it better to name another Gregory, still from the same family of St. Gregory, but not the Illuminator himself, to be ordained by a Bishop of Rome. SA 1976, 54.

¹⁹⁵ There is a grammatical problem in the Armenian. While the ‘right hand’ is in singular, the ‘Apostles’ is in gen. pl. with no competing variants. Thus, I have translated the expression as the ‘right hands of the Apostles’.

¹⁹⁶ TD, 19.17–20.

but when the time for the momentous ‘putting of his hand’ on Gregory’s head came—the culminating point of the ordination rite¹⁹⁷—Sylvester used a relic of St. Peter!

և արինեցաք զսա ահաւոր անուամբ սուրբ երրորդութեան՝ ղնելով ի վերայ արժանաւոր գլխոյ սորա զաջ սրբոյս Պետրոսի՝ վարշամակաւս Քրիստոսի

... and we blessed him with the awesome name of the Holy Trinity, putting on his worthy head the right hand of St. Peter with the *sudarium* of Christ.¹⁹⁸

Any reader of the text would have understood that the head-cover of Christ was a reference to John 20.7 ‘the cloth that had been on Jesus’ head’, which Peter found placed separately from other linen clothes in the Tomb. The Armenian word *varsamak*, used here, as well as in John 20.7, stands for τὸ σουδάριον or *sudarium*. Thus, the Pope did have the authority to ordain Gregory, but it was not really him who passed on the Divine Grace through the imposition of hands, but rather St. Peter, whose right hand was wrapped in Christ’s *soudarium*. The act of putting St. Peter’s right hand on Gregory’s head was not a reminiscence of the actual Armenian rite of catholical ordination, since the latter included the use of the Bible only for that purpose. There is only one occasion where we learn that Nersēs Šnorhali ordained priest Xač’atur as bishop by putting on his head the Bible and the right hand of St. Gregory. However, Hac’uni, who studied the ordination rites in depth, found this detail to have been a ‘voluntary’ addition of St. Nersēs and not a required element in the ceremony.¹⁹⁹

When enumerating the other Eastern Patriarchal Sees that were to fall under the jurisdiction of St. Gregory, the Pope mentions only three of them, omitting Constantinople. In another section, Sylvester makes it clear that St. Gregory is his representative in ‘Middle Asian Lands’ and of higher dignity than Patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria. Moreover, any newly elected Patriarch of one of these Sees would have to present his profession of faith to the Armenian Catholicos. The

¹⁹⁷ The actual ‘putting of the hand’ on the head of the one to be consecrated was the culminating moment of the ordination liturgy. In Greek, *cheirotomia*, as in Armenian, *jernadrut’iwn*, the word for ordination implies this practice. For the importance of this action in Armenian rites of ordination and a discussion on their ancient origin, cfr Gugerotti 2001, 39–41.

¹⁹⁸ TD, 19.20–22.

¹⁹⁹ Hac’uni 1930, 138.

Armenian Catholicos was also given the authority to oversee the Churches of Georgia and Albania, and towards the end of TD Romans (i.e. Byzantines), Assyrians and Persians are also mentioned.²⁰⁰

At this junction one must remember that during Byzantine-Armenian negotiations of the second half of the twelfth century the question of the relationship between the See of Antioch and the Armenian Catholicosate was one of notable importance for the Armenians. So much so that at the Synod of Hromklay of 1178, among the answers to the requests for changes made by the Byzantine Church and Emperor, it was proposed that the Armenian Catholicos have jurisdiction over Antioch.²⁰¹ In view of such discussions related to hierarchical issues, Nersēs Lambronac'i translated the *Order of Patriarchal Chairs* by Neilos Doxopatrios and *The Order of Mother Churches of Patriarchs and Metropolitans* by Epiphanius of Cyprus.²⁰² Both of these translations contain many additions in their Armenian version. In Epiphanius, for example, the Armenian version states that:

And Armenia is an autocephalous [See] thanks to St. Gregory, and [their catholicos] receives ordination from their own *vardapets*.²⁰³

A very similar expression can be found also in the *Order of Patriarchs* of Neilos Doxopatrios.²⁰⁴ Moreover, a whole section in the Armenian version of Doxopatrios's work (missing in the Greek original) explains the reasons for the Roman primacy with administrative considerations, as a former capital of the Empire and expressly negates the 'Latin opinion' of this primacy based on Petrine foundations.²⁰⁵

The mode of catholicos' ordination, as expressed in the Armenian translations of Epiphanius of Cyprus and Neilos Doxopatrios, resembles what TD has to say about it. In the latter, Sylvester affirms that:

... ինքնս և ամենայն աթոռաժառանգ տրա ինքնագլուխք եղիցին՝ յիրեանց եպիսկոպոսացն առնելով ձեռնադրութիւն, առաջարկութեամբ իրեանց թագաւորին:

²⁰⁰ TD, 19.32–37 and 24.11–12.

²⁰¹ Bozoyan 1995, 182–191 and 202–205. Bozoyan thinks that the answers were redacted by Nersēs Lambronac'i.

²⁰² Cfr Chapter 1, note 107.

²⁰³ EC 1902, 16.

²⁰⁴ ND 1902, 10.

²⁰⁵ Ibid, 15 specifies that if Peter was the reason for Roman Primacy, then Antioch would be of higher dignity since Peter ordained bishops there *before* going to Rome.

[May] he [i.e. Gregory] and all the successors on his Chair be autocephalous, taking their ordination from their own bishops with the proposition of their king.²⁰⁶

In previous centuries and also during the Cilician period powerful secular lords, including kings when there was one, were often instrumental in electing a catholicos.²⁰⁷ Levon's interference (before he became king) in the election of Catholicos Grigor V K'aravež in 1193, his subsequent imprisonment and death, as well as the eventual election of Grigor VI Apirat in the same year, was known by the contemporaries such as Nersēs Lambronac'i who alluded to these events with disapproval in his Letter to Levon.²⁰⁸ Historians who wrote somewhat later, such as Kirakos Ganjakec'i, also commented upon this episode.²⁰⁹ TD's author or its commissioner, based on this practice, wished to legitimise a king's interference in the election of the catholicos by claiming that it went back to the time of Trdat and Gregory. This was a way of attenuating or glossing over tensions between secular and religious authorities of his time.

A couple of decades after the composition of TD the question of the Latin Patriarchate of Antioch and the Armenian See would also come up and the *Letter of Love* would serve as a convenient proof for the independence of the Armenian Catholicos. Thus, when in 1238 Latin bishops of Apamea and Mamistra wrote to the Pope insisting that the Armenian Catholicosate be subject to the Latin Patriarch of Antioch, the Pope first acknowledged their requests and sent necessary premonitions.²¹⁰ Later, however, upon the request of King Het'um I and his wife, Queen Zabel (the daughter of King Levon I), the Pope revised his decision, confirming the independence of the Armenian Church from the Latin Patriarch of Antioch on the basis of: 'rationabiles consuetudines vestras in regno Armeniae a tempore felicitis recordationis beati Silvestri papae praedecessoris nostri et sancti Gregorii Catholicos eiusdem regni, ..., obtentas et hactenus inviolabiliter observatas, quae Sanctorum Patrum regulis minime contradicunt et canonicis non obviant institutis ...'.²¹¹

²⁰⁶ TD, 19.22–25.

²⁰⁷ Maksoudian 1995, 44–51 for the period of interest to this study.

²⁰⁸ NL 1865, 224–225.

²⁰⁹ Maksoudian 1995, 47–50 for sources and analysis.

²¹⁰ Täutu 1950, Nos. 241 and 242 from 1238, 319–320. Cfr also Halfter 1996, 169.

²¹¹ Täutu 1950, No. 254 to King Het'um from 1239, 333.

Besides the question of Antioch, which was what most worried the Armenians, other aspects of the ecclesiology as spelled out by TD trigger our interest. Traditionally, Armenian theologians were well aware of an ecclesiology based on the notion of four Patriarchates on Earth as symbols of four rivers of the Paradise, four evangelists and four corners of the world.²¹² The Chairs of four Evangelists were: Mark in Alexandria, Matthew in Antioch, Luke in Rome, and John in Ephesus. The notion of the Pentarchy, built on the basis of the original four patriarchate theory, and made official by Justinian with the firm purpose of strengthening the prestige of Constantinople, was also known to the Armenians.²¹³ Since the Armenians envisioned the See of St. Gregory as another independent and autocephalous Church, they faced some difficulties in placing it within the four or five patriarchate hierarchy, as evidenced by sources that tell us about sixth century Greek-Armenian discussions in Constantinople (in 572) on the union of Armenian and Byzantine Churches, as well as reflections of later authors on the subject.²¹⁴ They often referred to the martyrdom of Apostles Thaddaeus and Bartholomew in Armenia for justifying the independence of their See. According to the Pentarchical hierarchy, the order of dignities of the five 'mother churches' are as follows: Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem.²¹⁵ In the *Letter of Love and Concord* not only is the See of Constantinople completely absent, but its place is occupied by the See of St. Gregory, since this was told to be second to Rome and higher in dignity than all other Eastern Patriarchates. And even so, Rome receives only

²¹² van Esbroeck 1991, 503–510, where one can find detailed quotations and translations of Armenian sources; for the most recent study on the issue, with ample discussion of sources, cfr Shirinian 2009.

²¹³ Amadouni 1968, 140–141; 168–171; van Esbroeck 1991, 507–508.

²¹⁴ Amadouni 1968, 166–167; van Esbroeck 1991, 504–507, fully translated the *Letter of Maštoc* (897–898) before he became Catholicos that was itself based on an earlier source by Solomon of the monastery Makenoc', written between 733 and 736, and which tells us about the Armenian-Byzantine discussions of 572. Van Esbroeck 1991, 507–508, also demonstrates how Catholicos Yovhannes Drasxanakertc'i, who was familiar both with the theory of four patriarchates as well as various transfers of relics that became the basis of the theory on the Pentarchy, used similar arguments, i.e. appealing to the presence of relics in Armenia, to justify the elevation of Catholicos St. Nersēs to the dignity of a Patriarch. Drasxanakertc'i relied on the tradition of the martyrdom of Bartholomew and Thaddaeus in Armenia, and, consequently, the presence of their relics in this country. I will return to Drasxanakertc'i's testimony further below. For more sources and speculation on the number of patriarchates and church hierarchy cfr also Shirinian 2009.

²¹⁵ Amadouni 1968, 139–140; van Esbroeck 1991, 513.

the dignity of honour as the First Church, since Sylvester also states that the Chair of Gregory 'was equal in dignity to our own [chair], and to that of Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria,' each of which had to elect a new Patriarch with the agreement of the Armenian Catholicos. Moreover, any newly elected Patriarch on one of the three Eastern Sees was to send his confession of faith to the Armenian Catholicos, who was the Pope's *vice* in 'Middle Asian lands'.²¹⁶ Furthermore, Sylvester reconfirms Gregory's authority over the other Patriarchates who occupy Chairs founded 'by the Evangelists' by stating that the latter should understand that Gregory's Chair was higher than theirs, since 'four of the twelve apostles died there'. At the end of TD the Pope also enumerates the multiple relics preserved in Armenia which was most likely intended as another way of legitimising the authority of the Armenian Catholicos.²¹⁷

The order of the three Eastern Patriarchates as presented by the Pope does not follow that of the Pentarchy but is exactly the opposite. Perhaps because of the proximity of Jerusalem and the elevation of its role since the Crusader conquest, it was mentioned first, followed by Antioch, another important See throughout the Crusader period and one tightly linked to Armenian affairs, and finally Alexandria, which had long been under Muslim domination, and, thus actually had very small impact on religious-political affairs of the Levant during this period.

The theory of Four Patriarchates, mixed with other concepts of ecclesiology is evident in another section of TD. After his cure and baptism by Sylvester, Constantine declares that he submits his secular powers to the spiritual guidance of patriarchs and saints. This section, with changes, seems to be taken from the *Martyrdom of St. James of Nisibis*.²¹⁸ Below, are the relevant sections in Armenian with English translations of both texts:

²¹⁶ TD, the entire Section 19.

²¹⁷ TD, 23.1–4 and all of Section 24.

²¹⁸ *Martyrdom of St. James (Arm)* 1813. Peeters 1920, dedicated a detailed study on the various texts that have come down to us related to St. James of Nisibis. He mentions, 343, that the title of the Armenian edition of the *Martyrdom* is not given in any of the manuscripts which the editor must have used. Although the manuscripts are not explicitly mentioned in the edition, Peeters identified them based on the comparison of the published text with their content. This scholar did not date the Armenian translation of the *Martyrdom*, while he showed that it was a compilation based on various ancient texts. However, he mentions that the oldest manuscripts containing the text

TD:

Զի հաւատամ ճշմարտութեամբ, եթե եաւթն սիւնք են յաշխարհիս ի մեր-
ում ժամանակիս սուրբս Սեդրեստրոս յարևմուտս, և սուրբս Գրիգորիոս
յարևելս, և սուրբն Անտոն ի հարաւ, և սուրբն Նիկողայոս ի հիւսիս,
սուրբն Մակար Երուսաղէմայ, և սուրբն Յակոբ Մծբնայ, և սուրբն Եփրեմ
յՈւռհայ: Յիշատակ սոցա արհնութեամբ, և աղալթք սոցա և ամենայն
սրբոց ի վերայ ամենայն աշխարհի և ի պայազատ պաղատանս մերոյ:

Since I truly believe that there are seven pillars in the world in our times:
St. Sylvester in the West, St. Gregory in the East, St. Antony in the South, St.
Nicholas in the North, St. Macarius in Jerusalem, St. James in Nisibis and
St. Ephrem in Urha [Edessa]. May their memory [remain] with blessings
and may their prayers and those of all saints be [present] in the whole world
and for the successor in our palace.²¹⁹

In the *Martyrdom of St. James of Nisibis* it is told that Emperor Constan-
tine receives a letter from his ‘brother’, a certain ‘eparch’ whose name is
not given, which describes all the miracles performed by this Saint, and
especially that he had resuscitated the eparch’s young son from the dead.
In response, the Emperor writes the following:

Երեք են որ փայլեն յաշխարհիս ի ժամանակս մեր, ընտրեալ ծառայք
Աստուծոյ կենդանոյ, և որպէս ի սիւն հաստատութեան կայ աշխարհս
նոքոք, և որպէս զջահս լուսաւորս փայլեցին ընդ տիեզերս, լուսաւորե-
ցին զհաւարեալ միտս մարդկան ... սոքա են պանդոխտք և աղքատք և
օտարք աշխարհին և բազմաց պարզևս ստացան. Անտոն յերկրին Եգիպ-
տացոց, և Սեդրեստրոս ի Հռոմ ի յերկրիս մերում, և Յակովբ ի Մծբին
քաղաք, որ է ի Միջագետս. յիշատակ նոցա օրհնութեամբ եղիցի, և աղո-
թք նոցա ի վերայ ամենայն արարածոց: Արդ աղաչեմ զդոսա և խնդրեմ
զի աղօթս արասցեն վասն մեր և խնդրեցեն ի Տեառնէ, զի ընդ հովանեաւ
ողորմութեան իւրոյ պահպանեսցէ զիշխանութիւն թագաւորութեանս-
մերոյ.

were from the 10th–12th centuries. This article contains also the Latin translation of the *Martyrdom*. Whatever the eventual date of the composition of the *Martyrdom*, for this study the important issue is that this text was available to the author of TD. I have quoted the text of the *Martyrdom* from the Venice 1813 edition. This series of saints *vitae* and *martyria* (in 12 volumes) is often the only available or accessible text of many hagiograph-
ical texts and I have used them in my work on other occasions as well, even though I am aware of the various philological/text-critical problems that these editions present. Cfr, for example the remarks of Bartikian 2002A, esp. 741–746, who notes that the edition is far from being a satisfactory scholarly publication, as it often contains interpolations into the original text or corrections without any warning. Wherever possible, I have checked other editions of these *Lives*.

²¹⁹ TD, 17.4–9.

There are three [men] who shine in the world in our times, chosen servants of the living God, and the world stands as if on a pillar of stability thanks to them, and as luminous torches they glowed throughout the universe and illuminated the dimmed minds of men ... they are the pilgrims and the poor and the strangers of the world and received gifts from among many. Antony in the land of the Egyptians, and Sylvester in Rome in our land, and James in the city of Nisibis, which is in Mesopotamia. May their memory [be] with blessings and may their prayers be on all creatures. Thus we beg them and ask them to perform prayers for our sake and to ask the Lord to preserve the power of our kingdom under the auspices of his mercy.²²⁰

The verbal parallels between the two texts are significant, but there are also differences. In TD, the number three is replaced with number seven which may be a reference to the seven pillars in the House of Wisdom.²²¹ The employment of the concept of the 'pillars of the world' is probably based on the idea of 'pillars of faith' or, in some authors 'pillars of the church', employed by various early Christian (or late antique non-Christian) thinkers, such as Gregory of Nyssa, Didymus the Blind, Theodoret of Cyrus, etc.²²² The first four saints at four corners of the world seem to be a reminiscence of the four patriarchate theory. The number seven could also have come from other sources, namely reflections of Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc'i on the four patriarchates and the expansion of this number, according to him, to six and then to seven. To justify how catholicos St. Nersēs the Great (IV c.), and consequently the chair of St. Gregory, was elevated to the dignity of a Patriarchate, Drasxanakertc'i says that seeing his perfect behaviour and ascetic life, they decided to promote him to the honour of a Patriarch:

Since not so much time ago Constance, the son of the great Constantine, having displaced the relics of bones of the Evangelist John from Ephesus to Constantinople, found, in this way, good reason to place a Patriarch in Constantinople. Then, for the same reason the Jerusalemites did the same and elevated their own see to the Patriarchal dignity ... Now, before this, there were only four Patriarchates on earth according to four evangelists:

²²⁰ *Martyrdom of St. James (Arm)* 1813.

²²¹ Prov 9.1. It must be noted that two mss, A₁ and T include only 'four pillars of the world'; Cfr Chapter 3, p. 271. Given the uniformity of number seven in mss belonging to very different branches of transmission, I do not believe that there is enough ground to affirm that the original number may have been four.

²²² For sources and analysis of this concept cfr Shirinian 2005, 86–87 where she states that only Gregory of Nyssa uses the expression 'pillars of faith' which was employed by Armenian theologians. Thence, their source was Gregory of Nyssa.

Matthew in Antioch, Mark in Alexandria, Luke in Rome and John in Ephesus. But since those times, given these circumstances, they became six. For the same reason, our King Aršak and the *naxarars*, took courage and put Nersēs the Great as Patriarch of our house of Torgom, producing as valid justification the fact that our Holy Apostles, Bartholomew and Thaddaeus had received the nation of Aškenaz as their lot for apostolic activities and evangelisation. Their relics are found in our country, where the living martyr of God, Gregory, received his chair.²²³

If we follow Drasxanakertc'i's reasoning, then the final number of Patriarchates is seven, as the See of St. Gregory would be number seven in his list. A college of seven bishops collaborating with the Pope can also be found in a letter of Innocent III to Grigor VI Apirat from 1198. While this may not be the direct source of TD, it is nevertheless interesting to see Innocent III's reference to this:

... venerabilem fratrem nostrum, ... Maguntinum archiepiscopum, episcopum Sabinensem, unum *ex septem episcopis, qui nobis in ecclesia Romana collaterales existunt*.²²⁴

The choice of the five saints (besides Sylvester and Gregory) is also intriguing. They all had some connection to Constantine and his family, as well as to the Council of Nicaea.

St. Antony is one of the 'three pillars' of the world in the *Martyrdom of St. James*, mentioned above. But more importantly, he was believed to have been close to Constantine with whom he corresponded, particularly defending St. Athanasius of Alexandria against the Arians and requesting the Emperor for his return to the Bishopric of Alexandria.²²⁵

St. Nicholas of Myra, whose relics were stolen by sailors from Bari and transferred to this Southern Italian city in 1087, was a popular saint amongst Greeks and among Latins. His *Vita* also exists in Armenian, where we learn that St. Nicholas participated in the Council of Nicaea and took care that his bishopric be free of the 'Arian heresy'.²²⁶ Some of the Saint's miracles associated him with Constantine the Great. He was believed to have appeared to the Emperor in a vision and asked for the

²²³ YD 1912, 47. Van Esbroeck 1991, 508 for analysis of sources and ideology behind this section.

²²⁴ Haluščynskij 1946, 200. Italics are mine.

²²⁵ The Armenian translation of the *Life of Antony* includes all these details, cfr *Life of Antony (Arm)* 1813. On Antony's relationship to Constantine and their correspondence, 79.

²²⁶ *Life of St. Nicholas (Arm)* 1813, 305–338, especially 317 for St. Nicholas' participation at the Council of Nicaea and 320–322 on Nicholas appearing to Emperor Constantine in a vision and saving the lives of three *stratelatai*.

liberation of three unjustly imprisoned *stratelatai*. He was also believed to have visited Constantine and interceded on behalf of Myra to receive tax exemptions.²²⁷

St. Macarius of Jerusalem, a contemporary of St. Athanasius of Alexandria and St. Epiphanius of Salamis, was renowned for his purity in faith and sanctity in life. Moreover, it was during the bishopric of Macarius that at the Council of Nicaea, in which the Bishop himself participated, the status of Jerusalem was elevated. It was given 'an honour of precedence' although the exact sense of this phrase may be debated between scholars. Moreover, Macarius was supposed to have had the honour of receiving Empress Helen in Jerusalem and to have been present at the discovery of the True Cross. When Constantine decided to build the Basilica of Anastasis (Resurrection) in Jerusalem, he wrote to Macarius to oversee the execution of the project.²²⁸

St. James of Nisibis and St. Ephrem were venerated Syriac saints in the Armenian Church. As we saw above, the section on seven pillars was inspired by the text of the *Martyrdom of St. James of Nisibis*. The cult of St. James must have developed particularly early among Armenians, as we know about him since the fifth century historian P'awstos Biwzand told about his miracles on Mt. Sararad or Ararat in the province of Karduk'. St. James participated at the Council of Nicaea, where, according to P'awstos Biwzand, he alone was able to see that Emperor Constantine wore an ascetic's habit under his imperial purple.²²⁹ This testimony and the section from St. James's *Life* quoted above indicate that these texts implied a close connection between St. James and Emperor Constantine. At least this could well have been the conviction of those who had access to these texts, including the author of TD.

Armenians highly venerated St. Ephrem and many of his works survived only in Armenian, translated since the fifth century. His *Vita*, however, was translated from Syriac into Armenian only in the twelfth century, in 1101, commissioned by Grigor V kayasēr.²³⁰ Here we learn that

²²⁷ Kazhdan-Ševčenko 1993, 1469–1470.

²²⁸ Raggi 1966, 421–425; for the construction of the Church of Anastasis and Constantine's appointment of Macarius for its supervision, cfr Eusebius of Caesarea, lib. III.XXIX–XXXIII, 1089–1094. This information is found also in Socrates Scholasticus' *Ecclesiastical History*, including its Long Armenian Recension, cfr SSEH 49.

²²⁹ PB 1987, 3.10, 42. Cfr also Peeters 1920.

²³⁰ The Armenian text in Ephrem Syrus 1985A, p. XVII for the date of the translation. The French translation: Ephrem Syrus 1985B, cfr p. VII for the date, where Outier notes that compared to the two Syriac recensions of Ephrem's *Vita*, the Armenian translation seems to constitute a third one.

when St. James (of Nisibis) was invited ‘with great honours’ to participate at the Council of Nicaea, he took with him ‘the sage Ep’rem’ and went to fight the enemies of the true faith.²³¹ Thus, the choice of Ephrem not only for his renown but also his connection to the Council of Nicaea assembled by Constantine can be established here as well.

All the above-stated considerations allow one to come to at least two conclusions regarding the ecclesiology of TD. It is not centered around Rome, but gives a vision of a Universal Church governed by Five Patriarchs (Rome, Armenia, Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria) and standing on ‘seven pillars of the world’ which are all renowned saints. Moreover, through various hagiographical or historical sources, possibly well known not only to clerics but also to any educated contemporary of TD’s author, one could have established that these saints had either a strong connection to Constantine himself (whether historically accurate or not) or to the Council of Nicaea. Their choice cannot have been accidental, given that the Council of Nicaea and its creed were considered as the expression of ultimate orthodoxy among Armenians.

The role of the Armenian Catholicos in this *collegium* of patriarchs and saints is upheld throughout. Even though TD accepts that the Pope has the keys of binding and loosing on earth and in heaven, the same prerogative is later given to St. Gregory. Even if the Pope has the authority of ordaining Gregory as ‘Pope, Patriarch and *Hayrapet*’, during the ordination rite Sylvester uses a relic of St. Peter, thus establishing a more direct relationship between the Apostle and the Armenian Catholicos. Even if Constantine recognises the spiritual supremacy of Sylvester, a detail much emphasised also in *Constitutum Constantini*, he, nevertheless, believes that there are seven pillars in the world whose prayers he considers indispensable for the well-being of the world and his own successor.

Gregory’s holiness is underscored in another highly emphatic episode which describes a miracle of light that took place during a Eucharistic service, when:

... յանկարծակի լոյս անճառելի և անընդել ի մարդկանէ էջ յերկնից ի վերայ սրբոյ սեղանոյն և աղեղնանման առդարձ ետալն կրկին կամար կապեցաւ ի վերայ սրբոյն Գրիգորի, և հիսաւրաշ փայլմամբ ճառագայթափայլեաց լոյս երեսաց նորա, որպէս գղենսն Քրիստոսի ի Թափովր:

²³¹ Ephrem Syrus 1985A, 9.

suddenly an indescribable and unseen by humans light descended from the heavens to the Holy table and with bow-like [appearance of] air formed seven double-arches above St. Gregory and the light of his face shone with marvellously gleaming rays as the face of Christ on Mt. Tabor.²³²

According to Uluhogian the 'miracle' is an allusion to the miracle of the dove posing on St. Nersēs' head when he was ordained in Caesarea, itself based on an analogous story from the *Life of St. Basil*, with an 'archetypus' of the image going back to the Baptism of Jesus in the river Jordan.²³³ The intention of the author to compare St. Gregory to Jesus himself can be based on a passage in the Bible. TD declares that the miraculous light descended on St. Gregory in the form of seven arches. Because of this, Gregory's face 'shone with marvellously gleaming rays as the face of Christ on Mt. Tabor'. Thus, there is a direct reference to the Transfiguration of Jesus, which, according to tradition took place on Mt. Tabor.²³⁴ The structure of the narrative has similarities to the version of the Transfiguration as described in Mt 17.1–8. When the disciples Peter, James and John hear the voice of God, they fall on their faces with fear. Then, Jesus approaches them and raises them up.²³⁵ In TD it is 'Constantine crowned by God' who falls on his knees and kisses, first the cushion (presumably where Gregory was kneeling for prayer), then his right hand, the cross and his face 'as if uniting with Christ himself through the kiss of his lips'.²³⁶ Then he begs Gregory to bless himself and his Kingdom. The author could not have been clearer than this in comparing St. Gregory to Christ; a daring move, indeed.

2.8.1. *Papal Gifts to St. Gregory and Privileges in Jerusalem*

As many details of this text show, nothing is there by chance, every single element has a function in a complex chain of symbols. The same can be said about various honourable insignia presented to Gregory by Sylvester, all aimed at elevating his status by endowing him with precious possessions.

²³² TD 20.1–6.

²³³ Uluhogian 2003, 378–379.

²³⁴ Lesêtre 1912, 2302 and 'Thabor' 1912, 2130–2140. The article (the author's name is not indicated) suggests that St. Cyril of Jerusalem was the first author to have identified Mt. Tabor as the location of Jesus' Transfiguration.

²³⁵ This detail is absent in the parallel accounts of Mk 9.1–8 and Lk 9.28–36.

²³⁶ TD 20.9–14.

The first gift presented was Sylvester's orarium, *vakas* in Armenian:

... զվականսն իմ պատուական, որ էր լեալ սրբոյն Յակովբայ տեառն եղբարն, առաջին եպիսկոպոսի Երուսաղէմի

[I gave] my honourable *orarium*, which was [that] of James, brother of the Lord and the first Bishop of Jerusalem.²³⁷

In *Constitutum Constantini* Constantine gives his *superhumurale* to Sylvester.²³⁸ The word *vakas* and *superhumurale* are perfect translations of each other. These terms are found in the Bible, denoting one of the constituent parts of Aaron's and his sons' priestly habits.²³⁹ Consistently, in the entire section (Exodus 27.4–9), wherever the Armenian uses *vakas* we find *superhumurale* in the Vulgata and *επωμίδιον* in the Septuagint. Yet only one of the Greek translators of the *Constitutum*, that of version A, used the word *επωμίδιον* to render the *superhumurale*. Moreover, both translators had difficulty in envisioning how the *superhumurale*, *id est lor[u]s* could become part of the Pope's clothing, since in the Byzantine court it was the Emperor who wore the *lorus*.²⁴⁰ The author of TD had no such trouble, since a *vakas*—*superhumurale* for him was a usual detail of ecclesiastical dressing, something that a Pope could easily send to a high member of another church. In fact, we know that Lucius III did send a *pallium* to the Armenian Catholicos Grigor T'lay. In the Armenian translation of Lucius' letter we read that he sent:

the *homopóron* to you, brother Catholicos, the *paliun*, which is the first among all honours.²⁴¹

In his colophon attached to the translation of Lucius' letter, Nersēs Lambronac'i, writing in 1190, used the Latin word, in the form of *palion*, transcribed into Armenian. In this case Lambronac'i used only the Latin transcription and not its Armenian equivalent which, besides *homopóron* of obvious Greek provenance, could also be *vakas*. Lambronac'i uses

²³⁷ TD, 21.4–5.

²³⁸ CC 1968, 87. This *superhumurale* is described as *id est lorum, qui imperiale circumdare assolet collum*, an explication that created difficulties for CC's Greek translators, since he was perplexed about the use of this imperial piece of vestment by an ecclesiastical figure. Cfr Loenertz 1974, 199–245, esp. 202–203 for a very detailed discussion of this issue.

²³⁹ Exodus 27.4–9. Muyldermans 1926, 252–324, 275 for *vakas*. This term originally meant *orarium*, while later (after the 16th century) it came to denote also a *collar* worn by clerics.

²⁴⁰ Loenertz 1974, 203.

²⁴¹ Ananean 1996, 217.

vakas and *ourar* (orarium) interchangeably in his *Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*, while the tenth century Armenian Catholicos Anania Mokac'i mentions that Trdat had honoured Gregory by giving him a *vakas* adorned with twelve precious stones.²⁴² The fact that the author of TD opted for the word *vakas* demonstrates that he was not necessarily inspired by the text of this Papal letter where this part of the ecclesiastical habit was called *pallium*.

We may legitimately question how this *vakas/pallium* which belonged to James 'the brother of the Lord' was then passed on to Sylvester. From the Greek version of *Vita Sylvestri* we learn that Sylvester had the *colobion*—ancestor of the pallium—of 'the great Apostle and the brother of the Lord, James'.²⁴³ The Armenian translation, both the Long and the Short Versions, mention that Sylvester had the *kolobion* of St. James, without specifying that the latter was the brother of the Lord as the Greek version does. In the Latin text of the *Sylvester legend*, it is further stated that Sylvester received the *colobium* from St. James the Apostle, through the kindness of Bishop Euphrosynus of Pamphylia.²⁴⁴

Next, Sylvester gives to Gregory his own cross-shaped ring, his staff and his *mitre*.

... զմատանին իմ խաչաձև, և զգաւազանն իմ գեղեցիկ ի գեղաղէշ ականց
և ի մաքուր մարգարտաց յարինեալ ...

... my cross-shaped ring, and my beautiful staff adorned with marvelous
stones and embellished with pure pearls.²⁴⁵

The bestowal of personal clothes or items when transmitting authority was a custom well attested in various sources, including Arabic and Byzantine ones.²⁴⁶ In TD we have exactly this type of donation. The use of the ring, although attested earlier, became a more common part of the liturgical clothing of Catholicoi under Latin influence, while the staff was always one of the most important symbols of Catholic power.²⁴⁷ But it is significant that Grigor VI Apirat, in a letter addressed to Innocent III

²⁴² The historian Vardan Arewelc'i, writing in the second half of the thirteenth century, uses the word *vakas* to indicate the *pallium*. The section above is based on Muyldermans 1926, 288, where one finds also excerpts from sources quoted in French translation.

²⁴³ Combefis 1690, 266. SSEH 701–702.

²⁴⁴ Cited in van Esbroeck 1982, 93.

²⁴⁵ TD, 21.6–7.

²⁴⁶ Cutler 2005 where he analyzes numerous Byzantine and Arabic sources. Cfr also p. 68 note 76.

²⁴⁷ Muyldermans 1926, 304–305.

from 1202, asked for ‘anulum, mitram et pallium’.²⁴⁸ In fact, further on in TD, Sylvester tells us that he gave also:

... և գւիթրն իմ սատակ և սպիտակ, որ էր փակեղն Յիսուսի
[I gave] also my *mitre* of pure white colour, that was Jesus’ veil.²⁴⁹

The first time the Armenians received a mitre from a Roman pope was in 1184, when Lucius III sent ‘the mitre of [his] head’ to Grigor Tlay.²⁵⁰ In his colophon, quoted many times, Nersēs Lambronac’i called this *mitre* by the Armenian word *xoyr*, while in his *Commentary on the Divine Liturgy* he mentioned that the Latins use the *xoyr*, intending, again, the mitre.²⁵¹ This has led Muyldermans to deduce that for Lambronac’i *mitre* was something new and associated only with Latin usage. The *mitre* became common in Rome itself only from the tenth century, spreading slowly in other parts of Western Europe. After the twelfth century, it was habitually worn by Armenian catholicoi, under Latin influence.²⁵²

In TD the *mitre* of Sylvester was supposed to be the ‘veil of Christ’, where the Armenian word *p’akełn* is a transcription of Greek *φάκελος* (veil, lat. fasciculus) of Christ. Since the early days of the Armenian Church, the *p’akeł* had been considered the symbol of Patriarchal power, as is evidenced in many sources. From the thirteenth century on it was used only during the ordination rite of a new patriarch, however.²⁵³

Thus, the honourable insignia bestowed upon Gregory link him not only to the See of Rome, but, more significantly, to Jerusalem, Apostle James and Jesus himself.

This brings forth the next issue to be discussed: Armenian privileges with regards to Holy sites in Jerusalem. Traditions on such privileges go as far back as the acceptance of Christianity by this people, and is based on historically and ecclesiologically strong ties between Armenia and Jerusalem as attested in literary, epigraphic and archaeological sources.²⁵⁴ An expression of this idea can be found in an apocryphal document attributed to the seventh century Vardapet Anastas, which enumerates

²⁴⁸ Haluščynskyj 1946, 568–569.

²⁴⁹ TD, 21.9–10. The white clothes of Sylvester are mentioned in the *Vita Silvestri* as well, SSEH 701–702.

²⁵⁰ Ananean 1996, 217.

²⁵¹ Ibid, 218. Muyldermans 1926, 292–294.

²⁵² This section is based on Muyldermans 1926, 292–294; cfr also Gugerotti 2001, 194.

²⁵³ Muyldermans 1926, 292–294.

²⁵⁴ For some aspects of this relationship, see Chapter 1, p. 25 note 69 and p. 39 note 117. For an overview on the subject, Thomson 1986, 77–91.

monasteries and churches that Constantine and Trdat built in Jerusalem for the salvation of their souls.²⁵⁵ Among those are:

Նա ևս զմեծամեծ եկեղեցիս, զՍուրբ Գողգոթայն, զՍուրբ Ծնունդն, աստ-
ուածընկալ Սուրբ Գերեզմանն, զՀամբարձման Ոտնատեղին, զՍուրբ
Յակոբն ...

Also, the great Churches, the Holy Golgotha, the Holy Nativity, the Holy
Sepulchre which received God ... the location of the foot[print] at the
Ascension, Saint James ...²⁵⁶

In TD the Holy places donated to St. Gregory in Jerusalem include the
Martyrion of St. James, as well as

... տեղի պատարագի սրբոյն Գրիգորի ի Յարութեան մեծի եկեղեցւոյն,
և ի Գողգոթայ խաչելութեան, և զսնարից կուբայն և զմիջի կանթեղն
մշտավառ. որ կան երեք կանթեղք ի վերայ գերեզմանին Քրիստոսի յի-
շատակ լատինացոց. և հայոց և հելլենացոց

... a place for Liturgy for St. Gregory in the great Church of Resurrection
and on the Golgotha of Crucifixion, and [a place] from the upper part in
the Dome and a lantern inside it that is always lit, as there are three lanterns
on top of the Sepulchre of Christ in the memory of Latins, Armenians and
Hellenes.²⁵⁷

Armenians still share privileges and responsibility for parts of the Holy
Sepulchre in Jerusalem, while the Church of St. James is the Patriarchal
Seat of the Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem. The division of Holy sites in
Jerusalem is a topic expanded upon both in the *Sermo* and in the Third
recension of *PA*. They differ from TD in that they speak about a joint
trip by Trdat and Constantine to Jerusalem in order to divide the Holy
places, while the *Letter* is silent on the subject.²⁵⁸ Naturally, the physi-
cal proximity of the Cilician Kingdom and Jerusalem strengthened the
already existing ties between the Armenians and the Holy City. More-
over, the conquest of Salah al-Din may have reinforced their position in
Jerusalem even further, as the Sultan guaranteed ‘the community’s secu-
rity and freedom of worship throughout his entire domains, as well as the
integrity of its possessions and prerogatives in the Holy Places.’²⁵⁹ The

²⁵⁵ Sanjian 1969, 265–292.

²⁵⁶ Ibid, 272 for the Armenian text, 278 for the English translation.

²⁵⁷ TD, 22.7–10. For problems of translation of this phrase cfr the relevant section in the English translation.

²⁵⁸ SA 1976, 27. Thomson 1997, 286–287. Thomson cites other sources which talk about the partition of Holy places between Armenians, Greeks and Latins.

²⁵⁹ Sanjian 1979, 12. On Armenian communities in Bethlehem and their important privileges in the Church of Nativity, cfr 15–16, where a ‘carved wooden door was executed

desire to reinforce the Armenian rights on the Holy sites in Jerusalem may be linked to apprehensions that a possible reconquest of the Holy City by a future Crusade, e.g. by Barbarossa or Henry VI, would abrogate these privileges.²⁶⁰

The difficulties related to the translation of this phrase do not allow one to make any definite conclusions as to the architectural structures or objects to which the author is referring. One may suppose that 'the big Church of the Resurrection' reflects the Crusader reconstruction of the entire area of the Holy sites encompassing in one large structure the ancient Church of the Resurrection (the Anastasis), which from the Crusader period on was more commonly referred to also as the Holy Sepulchre,²⁶¹ and the Golgotha, as well as other important places related to the Passion of Jesus. The Golgotha, which was once outside, constituting a small chapel, was enlarged and included in the whole complex of the new building.²⁶²

It is not altogether obvious whether the 'lantern' hanging in the Dome, 'on top of the Holy Sepulchre' is related to the lamp of the Holy Fire. If so, the sentence would be of utmost significance for an apology of Armenian traditions, particularly those related to the date of Easter. This lantern had a great significance for the celebration of the Easter liturgy from the earliest days of Christianity. It was supposed to be miraculously lit during the Easter Sunday service, as the crowd of believers was singing *Kyrie eleison*.²⁶³ Due to differences in the liturgical calendar, the Armenians, once in 532 years, would celebrate Easter a week later. This happened, for example, in 1007 and caused great disturbances especially among Armenians and Greeks in Jerusalem, recorded by historian Matthew of Edessa.²⁶⁴ This historian tells us that on that day, which according to him (and the majority of the Armenians) was the wrong date for Easter, when the Greeks were celebrating the Easter liturgy 'the lanterns on the Holy Sepulchre of the god-trodden city of Jerusalem did not light'.²⁶⁵ TD

during 1227, during the reign of King Hethum I (1226–1270) of Cilicia and bearing inscriptions in Armenian and Arabic, attests to the important privileges which it enjoyed in this hallowed sanctuary?

²⁶⁰ Halfter 2006, 416–420.

²⁶¹ Vincent-Abel 1914, 252.

²⁶² Corbo 1981, vol. 1, 183–204 for the text and vol. 2, Tables 4, 5 and 6, which allow one to see the transformation of the site due to the new structures built after the Crusader conquest of Jerusalem.

²⁶³ Vincent-Abel 1914, 228–229.

²⁶⁴ ME 1993, 50; Thomson 1967, 435; Sanjian 1966.

²⁶⁵ ME 1995, Ibid.

mentions that the lantern given to Gregory ‘was always lit’ and thus may refer to another object than the one associated with the Holy Fire. The confusing phrasing of the sentence adds further difficulties for a more explicit interpretation. But, independently of the exact lantern referred to, it is likely that by stating that the Armenians possessed a lantern (one out of three) that hung on the Holy Sepulchre, the author of TD wished to strengthen the rights of the Armenians at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

2.8.2. *Apostles of Armenia and the List of Relics*

To confirm Gregory’s privileged rank among the three other Eastern patriarchates St. Sylvester makes a reference to ‘four Apostles that died there’²⁶⁶ as well as enumerates a whole list of relics preserved in Armenia. According to the widely accepted tradition, Armenia was evangelised by two apostles: St. Thaddaeus and St. Bartholomew who were martyred in this country.²⁶⁷ No doubts were ever raised that Bartholomew was one of the twelve apostles,²⁶⁸ while there is certain inconsistency in Armenian sources, sometimes deliberate, on whether they considered Thaddaeus as one of the twelve or one of the seventy disciples of Jesus.²⁶⁹ In one of the apocryphal texts from the cycle of stories on St. Bartholomew, in an

²⁶⁶ TD 23.3–4. Bartikian 2004, 80–81 interprets ‘there’ as referring to the East in general. According to this author, since TD mentions only three patriarchal chairs founded by the Evangelists, the ‘four Apostles’ is a reference to these three Evangelists and by the fourth one the author alluded to St. Gregory as the fourth ‘evangelist’. This interpretation is not supported by the context. The purpose of TD’s author is to emphasise the importance of Armenia by claiming that four of the twelve Apostles died there (i.e. in Armenia), as well as enumerating the various dominical relics preserved there. There is no ambivalence in the usage of the terms ‘Evangelists’ (who founded the three Eastern chairs) and ‘Apostles’, and, thus, there is no reason why the ‘four Apostles’ should be read as ‘four Evangelists’ which is what Bartikian implies. The enumeration of relics can be found at TD 23.4–20.

²⁶⁷ For the various aspects related to the origins and the spread of their cults in Armenia, cfr van Esbroeck 1983 and Idem 1972. For an overview of these and the next two Apostles’ (discussed below) apocryphal *Vitae* or *Martyria*, their circulation in Armenia, as well as a French translation of these texts, cfr Leloir 1992, for Bartholomew 479–530, where we find notices also about Judas of James, for Thaddaeus 681–704, and for Thomas 531–646.

²⁶⁸ And this is why, according to van Esbroeck, it was so important for the Armenians to link the origins of their Church to this Apostle, van Esbroeck 1983, 188. He demonstrates that this tradition was fixed in writing and gained much more significance due to the tenth century Catholicos Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc’i.

²⁶⁹ van Esbroeck 1977, 294–295.

abridged version of his *Martyrdom*, there is included also the story of Judas (Yuda) of James.²⁷⁰ He is identified as ‘Lebēos, who is also named T’adēos, and is called Judas of James’. According to this text the apostle was ‘one of the twelve chief [apostles]’ and he died in the city of Ormi of Armenia ‘which is called Barm and now is [named] Ałbak’.²⁷¹ He was supposedly another son of Joseph ‘the father of the Lord, and [he was] the brother of James, the brother of the Lord. This is why he is called Judas of James’.²⁷² Judas of James could have been the third apostle that the author of TD had in mind. Actually, the fact that three apostles died in Armenia, implying that this was more significant than the two Apostles of Rome, was mentioned in a later source, namely in Vardan Arewelc’i’s letter from 1246 in response to Pope Innocent IV’s bull *Cum simus super*, discussed in Chapter 1, where he proposed various arguments against the supremacy of the Roman Church.²⁷³ Similarly, Kirakos Ganjakec’i names three Apostles of Armenia: Thaddaeus, Bartholomew and Judas of James.²⁷⁴ Even though TD does not mention the names of the apostles, it is very likely that its author had these three and another one in mind. It is difficult to identify the fourth Apostle. One may suppose that there may have been a confusion between numerals three and four as a result of corruption through copying the respective Armenian letters q (3) and η (4). However, many manuscripts spell out the numeral *four* and do not designate it with the corresponding letter η. The only other Apostle that could be proposed here is Apostle Thomas. Of course, he was known to be the Apostle of India and this fact is reported in the various versions of his Armenian *Vita* and *Martyrdom* as well.²⁷⁵ However, there exists a text on the *Discovery and Translation of the Relics* of St. Thomas, which affirms that the Apostle’s relics were transferred by a certain Syriac disciple of his to Mesopotamia, and, thence, to Armenia during the reign of the

²⁷⁰ AA 1904, 358–364 for this text. On the sources of the text, van Esbroeck 1983, 192–193. He thinks that this abridged *Martyrdom* is from the thirteenth century, although its sources are earlier, and the tradition of the grave of Judas as being in Armenia can be traced to Movsēs Xorenac’i, cfr van Esbroeck 1971, 13–167, esp. 162–167.

²⁷¹ AA 1904, 362. For the significance of these toponyms in texts influenced by cycles of Thaddaeus and Bartholomew, cfr van Esbroeck 1983.

²⁷² AA 1904, *ibid.*

²⁷³ BL, 504. See Chapter 1, pp. 42–43.

²⁷⁴ KG 1961, 192.

²⁷⁵ The Armenian text is in AA, 369–436. The relationship of these texts to Greek and Syriac models, as well as to each other (i.e. short and long versions) with further bibliographic indications in Leloir 1992, 525–542.

‘Impious Emperor Julian.’²⁷⁶ Naturally, this text exists only in Armenian. It was created in Armenia, most likely in the tenth century, in order to provide proof that some of St. Thomas’ relics which were in the Monastery of St. Thomas near Manazkert were authentic. Thus, while St. Thomas did not die in Armenia, his relics were believed to be there too. Besides, we are told in the *Discovery of the Relics* that St. Thomas illuminated ‘Indians, [Caucasian] Albanians and Armenians, and almost the whole universe.’²⁷⁷ For the author of TD this may have been enough to claim four out of twelve Apostles for Armenia. The identification of the ‘fourth Apostle’ with St. Thomas is, however, only hypothetical.

The relationship between religious authority and relics was a theme well developed from the early Christian centuries and gained more importance as time went on. The hunger for relics was tragically demonstrated during the sack of Constantinople in 1204, so well known that it is needless to bring forth further details. Moreover, some specifically Armenian relics, such as the True Cross of the monastery of Varag, were greatly popular and used by the Frankish lords in the Levant as well.²⁷⁸ The quotation from Drasxanakertc‘i, mentioned above,²⁷⁹ is just one example of how the Armenian Church also tied its autocephaly not only to the apostolic activities of Bartholomew and Thaddaeus, but also to the physical presence of their relics on Armenian soil. The examples can be multiplied. The impressive inventory of relics provided by TD fulfills a specific purpose: to demonstrate a vitally close link between Armenia and the life of the Lord, and thus elevate the importance of the Armenian Church (and its head) among all other churches. Almost all relics mentioned are directly related to Christ or the Mother of God. However, besides bolstering pretensions for an Armenian ecclesiastical supremacy in the Levant, the enumeration of the relics could have two other functions. It could be read in an anti-Byzantine and eschatological sense. Any interested contemporary should have known that a piece of the True Cross, the Holy Lance, the Crown of Thorns, the *Mandylion* and other dominical relics were preserved in Constantinople, at the Church of the Virgin at

²⁷⁶ The text of the *Discovery* is in AA, 417–427 and another version on 428–436. On the composition and dating, cfr Leloir 1992, 615–621, esp. 619.

²⁷⁷ AA, 420.

²⁷⁸ Dédéyan 2003, 784–787. MacEvitt 2008, 90–91 where the author discusses the use of ‘Armenian cultural and religious expressions’ by Franks, specifically in the Principality of Edessa.

²⁷⁹ Cfr pp. 102–103 and note 223.

the Pharos and much coveted.²⁸⁰ As long as they stayed in Constantinople the Empire would enjoy divine protection. This, then was tied to the End of times, since as long as Constantinople survived, the End was not imminent.

The Armenian sources agreed with this logic. Thus, according to the *Sermo*, the 'Kingdom of the Greeks' was and would remain stable due to the innumerable amount of relics that were preserved there. And as long as that 'Kingdom' did not fall, there was no danger of the End of times approaching. Among the relics preserved in Constantinople that the *Sermo* mentions are the 'tunic and vestments of Christ, his *sudarion* and baby-linen.' The list also includes a relic of the True Cross.²⁸¹ TD contrasts this by enumerating not only the True Cross of Varag, but also claiming that another piece of the True Cross, brought to Rome by Empress Helen, was given to Trdat by Constantine himself. Thus, the special protection of the Lord could be claimed to be extended, also (perhaps exclusively), to Armenia, and not only to the 'Kingdom of the Greeks' as in the *Sermo*. If this interpretation is correct, then a divine protection, due to the existence of relics, would ensure the endurance of an Armenian state until the End of times. The significance of Constantine's gesture in TD becomes even more remarkable if one considers the discoveries, re-discoveries and the use of the True Cross symbolism in the Crusader milieu.²⁸² Among numerous examples one may mention the 'laments' for the loss of the True Cross after the capture of Jerusalem in the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*.²⁸³

The other 'piece of the True Cross of Patronike' refers to the *Discovery of the True Cross by Patronikē* that is found as an appendix to Labubna.²⁸⁴ This story is known in other languages as well. But according to the *History of Hrip'simeank' Virgins*,²⁸⁵ attributed to Xorenac'i but datable to the tenth century, Gayanē, the Abbess of Hrip'simē's monastery in Rome, named the Monastery of St. Paul in this text, bestowed this precious relic upon the saintly virgin owing to her great ascetic labours and spiritual

²⁸⁰ Magdalino 2004 and Kalavrezou 1997. The church was looted at the conquest of Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade.

²⁸¹ SA 1976, 30–31.

²⁸² MacEvitt 2008, 90–92 and 112 (with relevant primary source citations) on the 'donation' of the True Cross to Richard the Lionheart by a Melkite Bishop.

²⁸³ Nicholson 1997, 32–33 where evidence from other sources is also cited.

²⁸⁴ Labubnay 1868, 12–17, another version is found in an old manuscript of a *Lec-tionary*, cfr Ibid, 62–68.

²⁸⁵ MX 1865, 297–303. For the dating of the text to the tenth century based on archaeological and art-historical evidence, cfr Outtier—Thierry 1990, 695–733.

achievements. When Hrip'simē and her companions fled to Armenia, she hid the cross in a 'tiny hut' which they had built in the 'Region of Tosb' (near Lake Van), not far from the Mount Varag, since she was scared that her persecutors would find it on her had she not left it somewhere else. The renowned Monastery of Varag was built in the location where that small hut was supposed to be, and had preserved the relic of the True Cross throughout centuries. The True Cross of Varag enjoyed immense popularity, including throughout the Cilician period and beyond, not only among the Armenians but also the Latins.²⁸⁶ The last king of Vaspurakan, Senek'erim, was reported to have taken the cross with him to Sebastea when he emigrated there from Armenia in 1021. But he required that it be restored to the Monastery of Varag upon his death.²⁸⁷ That the author of TD had a high esteem for the Monastery of Varag can be deduced from the fact that it is singled out in the text as the monastery to whose 'religious brethren' Sylvester sends numerous gifts.²⁸⁸

As for the other relics, the author of TD relies on pre-existing Armenian traditions about how each of them appeared in Armenia.²⁸⁹ Moreover, it is St. Sylvester who enumerates the relics. Thus, TD legitimises various Armenian traditions by 'citing' Sylvester's words. The 'image of the Lord sent to Abgar' is a reference to a well-known tradition, going back to fifth century Armenian sources. These were based on and elaborated themes found in the *Legend of Abgar*, the King of Edessa, who was the first sovereign to have become Christian and to whom Christ himself had sent his image to cure him from an ailment. As is well-known, the story had a long and significant tradition among various Christian denominations of multiple languages, including Armenian.²⁹⁰

The wooden 'image of the Mother of God, which the Lord had outlined' is found in an apocryphal *Letter to Sahak* attributed to Movsēs

²⁸⁶ Dédéyan 2003, 784–787 and cfr notes 278 and 282 above.

²⁸⁷ Thierry 1989, 132–148, esp. 133.

²⁸⁸ TD, 21.30.

²⁸⁹ It is not my purpose here to explore the historicity of these relics' translations to Armenia, but to indicate the textual sources used by the author of TD, whenever possible. Whenever I was not able to identify the sources of TD I have provided no comments.

²⁹⁰ Labubnay 1868, 6. Many Armenian historians refer to the so-called *Abgar Legend*. For the textual tradition and elaboration of the legend in the Armenian milieu I have relied on Karaulashvili 1996. The text of Labubnay was translated into Armenian from Syriac as early as the fifth century. Cfr Calzolari 1997, esp. 105–106 for evidence and further bibliography. Cfr also Pogossian 2004A for the importance of Abgar and Thaddaeus in the Armenian tradition.

Xorenac'i, written sometime after the ninth century, which tells how Christ made the imprint of the image of His mother on a piece of wood the day of her Dormition. She had begged for this image to be used as a shield against misfortunes of the world. It was brought to Armenia, according to this text, by Apostle Bartholomew.²⁹¹

The entire story of how the relics of St. John the Baptist arrived in Armenia is based on Yovhan Mamikonean. While both Aa and Vg speak about Bishop Leontius of Caesarea's donation of some relics of St. John the Baptist to Gregory the Illuminator,²⁹² it is Yovhan that presents a long tale²⁹³ of how St. John the Evangelist took the 'holy body of the Precursor' from his grave and gave it to his student Bishop Pawlikarpos²⁹⁴ who buried them in Ephesus. Later, Bishop P'armelos of Ephesus, a student of Origen,²⁹⁵ took the relics to Caesarea when he had to flee his bishopric in Ephesus because of his 'heretical leanings'. When St. Gregory arrived in Caesarea to be ordained by Bishop Leontius he asked to be given something from the relics. Although first refusing this request, Leontius later received a 'command from the Lord' and gave half of the relics to St. Gregory. TD took also the name of the Bishop P'armelos from Yovhan, but here it is spelled as P'ermelianos/P'ermelianos.

Nor was the gift of the 'arms and hands of Sts. Paul and Peter' (and in some Mss. also the left hand of Andrew) the invention of TD's author. His source was Uxtanēs' *History*, according to whom St. Gregory asked

²⁹¹ MX 1865, 282–296. van Esbroeck 1983, 174 thinks that this text was written not long after 1080, and (on p. 194) considers it to be 'un des derniers avatars de la légende de la Dormition de la Vierge', but restates that a more precise *terminus ante quem* is the foundation date of the Monastery of *Hogeac' vank'*, according to the architectural-stylistic analysis dated to the thirteenth century (Ibid, 171). Nevertheless, van Esbroeck thinks that the story can be much older than the text itself, cfr Ibid, 195. Thomson, in his translation of Movsēs Xorenac'i thinks that the *Letter to Sahak* is probably from the ninth century. Cfr MX 1978, 175. The 'image of the Theotokos' brought to Armenia by Apostle Bartholomew was mentioned in various sources, among them in the *Life of St. Nersēs*, where it specifies the healing properties of this icon as well as the importance of the church (without naming) where it was preserved as a pilgrimage site, particularly for healing leprosy. Cfr LN, 41.

²⁹² Aa §810, Vg §147.

²⁹³ YM 1941, 75–77.

²⁹⁴ Avdoyan clarifies that this was Polycarpus, Bishop of Smyrne, martyred in 169. Polycarpus's connection with the relics of the Precursor is found for the first time in Yovhan Mamikonean whence they enter into a thirteenth century *Yaysmawurk'*. Cfr YM 1993, 194.

²⁹⁵ Avdoyan identifies him as Firmilian, a disciple of Origen, mentioned by Movsēs Xorenac'i, who was most likely Yovhan's source, and found also in Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*. YM 1993, 195.

for a part of (it does not say exactly what) St. Paul's and St. Peter's relics and received them, along with the left arm of Apostle Andrew.²⁹⁶ But the *Document on Borders* also contains similar information.²⁹⁷

To reiterate the importance of the Armenian Catholicos after the enumeration of the relics, Sylvester once more claims that he has authority over all eastern nations, this time including also Romans (Horoms, i.e. Byzantines), Syrians and Persians. Thus, as the political ideology in TD expresses the wishful thinking of the Armenian King, the ecclesiastical aspects articulate the same about the authority of the Armenian Church in the East.

2.9. DATING

A scholar and cleric of the Armenian Apostolic Church, K. Šahnazareanc', proposed a time-frame for the composition of TD based on a linguistic, philological and historical analysis of the text.²⁹⁸ He demonstrated that the *Letter of Love and Concord* was composed in Cilician Armenia in the period of the Crusades, thus more or less from the beginning of the twelfth to the middle of the fourteenth century. After him, most scholars accepted that the *Letter of Love* was a medieval forgery and tried to propose a more specific date for its composition. Thus, in a voluminous *National History*, M. Ormanean, the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople, considered the *Letter* to be a product of the Antiochene succession wars between King Levon I and Bohemond IV, as well as an expression of the efforts of Levon to stress the independence of the Armenian Church from the Latin hierarchy in the East, and to distance it from subjection to the Pope, thus 1203–1216.²⁹⁹ A. Hovhannissyan suggested that behind the names of Constantine and Trdat or St. Gregory and St. Sylvester, one should read the names of rulers and religious leaders of the late twelfth and the early thirteenth century, such as Catholicos Grigor VI Apirat and King Levon I, Pope Innocent III and Emperor Henry VI. He proposed that the period between the Third and Fourth Crusades was the most likely time-frame for the *Letter's* composition, while on another

²⁹⁶ Uxtanēs 1871, 108.

²⁹⁷ Alishan 1901, 98.

²⁹⁸ Šahnazareanc' 1862, 55–144.

²⁹⁹ Ormanean 1913, 1555.

occasion he suggested that it was written after the Fourth Crusade.³⁰⁰ G. Frasson, who edited the *Sermo de Antichristo* observed that the *Sermo* was used by the author of TD as a source.³⁰¹ Since he placed the *terminus ante quem* of the *Sermo* to the years 1149/1150, the *Letter* should have been written after that date. R. Thomson mentioned that the first source to cite ideas expressed in the *Letter* was the *History of the Armenians* of Kirakos Ganjakec'i.³⁰² This would mean a composition date before 1265/6, when Kirakos' *History* was finished. However, in another section of his article Thomson proposed that the *Letter* may have been composed after the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem became independent from the Catholicos, i.e. after 1311.³⁰³ G. Uluhogian suggested that the *Letter* implied a strong Armenian presence in Jerusalem and could be dated to some time after 1142 or to the second half of the twelfth century without any further specifications.³⁰⁴ The latest article on the date and a detailed study of TD is by H. Bartikian.³⁰⁵ This author proposes a radically different hypothesis about the origin and structure of TD which was discussed above.³⁰⁶

2.8.1. *Dating Anew*

The oldest ms with the text of TD was copied in 1307 and is P118.³⁰⁷ P118 was copied for the foundation of a monastery in Caffa, Crimea. It contains very popular apocryphal lives of apostles, various *martyria* and *vitae* of saints. The date of the manuscript is not helpful in establishing the date of the composition of TD with precision.

It has been suggested that the first author to have quoted from the *Letter* was Kirakos Ganjakec'i, thus c. 1265/6, as stated above.³⁰⁸ However, earlier authors refer to the ordination of St. Gregory by St. Sylvester in Rome, i.e. Grigor Tlay who explicitly mentions this in one of his letters to Northern Armenian bishops.³⁰⁹ Grigor's reference is too brief to give

³⁰⁰ Hovhannissyan 1957, 65, 70, 75.

³⁰¹ SA 1976, LIV, the editor Frasson dates the text to 1113/14–1149/50, based on internal evidence. This could be questioned, however. Cfr Pogossian 2008.

³⁰² Thomson 1997, 285.

³⁰³ Ibid. 288, note 53.

³⁰⁴ Uluhogian 2003, 383.

³⁰⁵ Bartikian 2004.

³⁰⁶ Cfr p. 51 note 13.

³⁰⁷ Cfr Chapter 3 pp. 133–134 for the description of ms F.

³⁰⁸ Cfr note 302 above.

³⁰⁹ Cfr p. 95.

us any positive indication that the *Letter of Love* already existed and was known to this Catholicos.

There is another text that refers to the same traditions. It is a composition by theologian Vardan Aygekc'i known as *On the unjust slanderers of the Armenian Church*.³¹⁰ This work was written after 1198 and before 1205 and its author, Vardan, may have known the *Letter of Love and Concord*. Aygekc'i writes: '... and St. Gregory was ordained in Caesarea, as was prescribed by Apostle Thaddaeus. Then King Trdat took him and [they] went to Rome to Constantine, and *Gregory took his authority of autocephaly from Sylvester, from the Chair of St. Peter* [italics are mine]. [Then] Constantine, Trdat and the Holy Patriarchs went to Jerusalem and divided all the Holy Places that were in Jerusalem by casting lots'.³¹¹ While we saw that Catholicos Grigor Tlay mentioned St. Gregory's ordination by Pope Sylvester as early as 1178, the conferral of autocephaly as a result of Gregory's and Trdat's voyage to Rome was strongly insisted upon in the *Letter of Love and Concord*. However, TD does not mention the 'casting of lots' for the division of the Holy sites between Armenians and Romans. Thus, even Vardan Aygekc'i's testimony is weakened by the fact that it is too brief and contains different details not found in TD.

Elements reflecting the political and ecclesiological outlook of TD's author can further help to define a narrower time-frame for its composition. The *Letter* has a very strong emphasis on the independence of the Armenian Kingdom and the Armenian Church, even though it recognises a primacy of honour reserved for the Roman Pope. As discussed above, the coronation of Trdat as King was described using symbols of imperial authority and rhetoric. The conferral of numerous Eastern provinces to Trdat and his appointment by Constantine as his second man and the supreme ruler of the East are equally meaningful. Such pretensions could have been raised in a period when the Armeni-

³¹⁰ Published in Anasyan 1968, 272–273, dating on 243 and 248. Its first exemplar is dated to 1205 but based on the content and language of this source, Anasyan thinks that it was written very shortly after the coronation of Levon I in 1198.

³¹¹ Ibid, p. 272. Thomson 1997, 286 mentions *Ban hawatali* of Vanakan Vardapet (13th century) where this author also speaks about the partition of the Holy Places in Jerusalem and mentions casting of lots for the Church of the Anastasis. There are, however, doubts whether Vanakan was the author of *Ban hawatali*. Vanakan could have either relied on Vardan Aygekc'i or they both may have tapped into the same traditions, either oral or written, on the partition of Holy sites through casting of lots. The voyage to Jerusalem and the partition of Holy places were described also in the *Sermo* and the Third Recension of the *Prophecies of Agaton*. Both of these texts were known to the author of TD although he omitted the description of the trip to Jerusalem in his own work.

ans of Cilicia believed themselves to have or actually did have a strong ruler. At the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century this could be no one other than Levon II (I as King) Rubenid. With his ambitions of extending his Kingdom and even encompassing the Principality of Antioch within it as well as presenting himself as the 'King of all Armenians' (including those living outside of his domains), he would have been a good candidate and prototype for King Trdat as he appears in the *Letter of Love and Concord*. The *Letter* could have been used for several purposes. Firstly, it was a good 'document' for legitimising Levon's request for a crown made to the Western Emperor, particularly in the circumstances when his crowning was not at all certain because of the death of Frederick Barbarossa in 1190. Furthermore, TD's insistence on the supremacy of the Armenians in the East could be useful not only during Barbarossa's expedition to the East but especially during the reign of his son, Emperor Henry VI. The *Letter* could become quite significant in the light of Henry's anti-Byzantine politics, aimed at achieving 'world dominance', making the Mediterranean Sea the *Mare nostrum* of the Holy Roman Empire.³¹² By producing a 'document' such as TD, the Armenians would not only protect their sovereignty but also pretend, on the basis of an 'ancient alliance', that they represented the Holy Roman Empire in the East. Following this reasoning, the best time-frame for the composition of TD can be proposed as between 1190 (after the death of Barbarossa and increased efforts to request the crown from Henry VI) and not long after 1198, the date of Levon's coronation.

Other *termini* can be brought forth, too. The Fourth Crusades and the establishment of a Latin Emperor in the city is one. As argued above, the *Letter of Love* employs a strong imperial rhetoric for Trdat and this king is presented as the ruler of the East. Although not saying it explicitly, TD implies that Trdat was, indeed, the Emperor of the eastern part of the Roman Empire. Now, as long as there was a weak Byzantine emperor, which was the case throughout the 1190's, under a constant real or imaginary threat of being on the verge of attack and conquest by a Western Crusading army, such aspirations or, what we may call wishful thinking

³¹² Johnson 1962, 88. On Henry VI cfr esp. Engels 1993, 114–119; Jakobs 1994, 73–74 and Csendes 1993, 197–202. I am grateful to Dr. Peter Halfter who indicated these works to me. Halfter 2006, 415 rightly states that the Armenians could well be aware of Henry's foreign policy. They could have learned about his plans when, for example, the Armenian embassy (with the request of a crown) visited his court in Milan in 1194. Halfter suggests, that TD must have been written before the death of Henry VI who could be the prototype of Constantine in TD, i.e. before 1197.

on the part of the Armenians, perhaps even hoping to reach such a position with the help of a Western Crusading Emperor, could have seemed not totally impossible. In fact, the *Prophecies of Agaton* go even further in this direction, foretelling that an Armenian king will overthrow the Byzantine Emperor and conquer Constantinople. On the contrary, once there was a Latin Emperor enthroned in Constantinople, recognised by the Pope and other Western rulers, even if considered a usurper from the Byzantine point of view, it is difficult to envision that a text insisting on Roman-Armenian alliance would completely ignore Constantinople, its new Latin Emperor, and new Latin Patriarch, replacing the city's political and religious position with that of the authority of an Armenian king and catholicos.

However, if one accepts Halfter's hypothesis that by Constantine the Great the author of TD envisioned Henry VI, then the *terminus ante quem* should be pushed back to September 1197 or only somewhat later. By then the Emperor was dead, but the news reached Cilicia later.³¹³ The detailed analysis of Henry VI's foreign policy and pretensions in the East provided by Halfter make it plausible that he could be considered to be a 'new Constantine'. However, it is not altogether automatic that he would be perceived as such by an Armenian author or his audience. TD is only one among several texts written throughout the twelfth century in the Cilician milieu which demonstrate a growing interest in Constantine (and Sylvester) for various reasons,³¹⁴ such as: for proving the orthodoxy of the Armenian church, predicting the revival of a new Armenian Kingdom before the End of Times or, as in TD, expressing hopes of a strong Armenian presence in the Levant. Thus, while Halfter makes a good case for Henry VI as 'Constantinus Novus', this hypothesis remains only that as far as the Armenian perceptions of Henry are concerned. Therefore, TD could be written even after the death of Henry VI and allude to any Holy Roman Emperor (present or future) under the guise of Constantine the Great.

However, another related question may give further weight to Halfter's hypothesis. That is whether TD was written before or after Levon's coronation. As already mentioned, there are no clear indications in the text to allow a definitive conclusion. What can be noted, however, is that no allusions to the *Ordo of the Royal Coronation* translated by Nersēs Lam-

³¹³ Halfter 2006, 408–409.

³¹⁴ This issue was discussed on pp. 36–41 and 49–50. Cfr also Pogossian 2008, for the revival of interest in Constantine as part of Armenian eschatological expectations.

bronac'i after 1190 and which was most likely performed at the coronation of Levon are found in TD. While this may simply be due to the sources used (or not used) by TD's author, it could also indicate that TD was written before 1198. The latter hypothesis, based on an *argumentum e silentio*, cannot be proven any further at this stage of research.

An element to be considered when dating TD is its position on ecclesiology. The *Letter* states several times that Pope Sylvester himself recognised Gregory's chair to be autocephalous, 'equal in dignity to his own' and higher than all other Eastern Patriarchates. Such argumentation, that is recognising a primacy of honour to the Pope but insisting on the autocephaly of their own church, became an important issue in Cilician Armenia especially after the time when an official Union was signed by the representatives of the Armenian Church in 1198 as a condition for Levon's coronation.³¹⁵ This would imply that TD's insistence on the independence of the Armenian Church and St. Gregory's almost-equality with the Pope of Rome was a reaction to a Union that did not satisfy many. By implication, TD must have been written after 1198. Similarly, the description of Trdat as an emperor-like king, could be interpreted as taking preventive measures lest the coronation of Levon lead to his increased dependence from the Holy Roman Emperor. Again, by implication TD could have been written after the coronation of Levon.

Last, but not least, one must take into account the anti-Byzantine subtext in TD. While it has no overt anti-Byzantine remarks, the absence of Constantinople and of the Byzantine Empire is an eloquent testimony to its author's attitudes towards the Eastern Roman Empire. There was always an anti-Byzantine current in the Cilician milieu, both in ecclesiastical and secular circles. This attitude was pronounced with different levels of intensity at different times and by the representatives of different noble families or the church hierarchy. During the last decade of the twelfth century one may call attention to the year 1197 as a breaking point in Armenian-Byzantine relations; specifically, when Nersēs Lambronac'i returned from his Constantinopolitan embassy embittered and with a great sense of disillusionment.³¹⁶ The man who, a couple of years before, stated that he had no problem in 'communicating' (in the religious

³¹⁵ Hamilton 1978, 72–75. As opposed to the *Letter of Love*, the *Sermo de Antichristo*, for example, which was composed before the *Letter*, insisted only on the political equality and the division of the world between Armenians and Latins, leaving aside the religious aspect. SA 1976, LXXI. References to ecclesiology or the church are practically absent in PA. Cfr Pogossian 2008.

³¹⁶ Hovsepyan 1951, 602.

sense) with the Greeks or any other Christians of various denominations, now grieved over the thick wall of stereotypes against his faith that he felt while in Constantinople. If the suggestion is true that Lambronac'i was also to test the waters for a political alliance between Prince Levon II and the Byzantine Empire, then his disappointment had both political and religious dimensions. This could be another impetus to commission a work that envisions a political and religious alliance with the Western Roman Emperor and ignores the Eastern one, since the latter was no longer viewed as a useful ally in political and religious spheres among the highest representatives of the respective hierarchies. Finally, Lambronac'i's embassy to Constantinople attests to his restored good relations with Levon, after the tumultuous years between 1193 and 1195, the date of his apologetic letter to the Rubenid prince. Thus, around 1196–1198 there must have been an overall calm in relations between the secular lords, i.e. the Rubenids, and the high-ranking religious leaders in Cilician Armenia. This is the impression left in TD. It envisions a unified Church and State. While it suggests that the Armenian king should approve of the choice of a Catholicos before he is consecrated, it also implies a highly reverential attitude towards St. Gregory and his chair, as the kings (including Trdat) fall to his feet and ask him for blessings in their military enterprises. Thus, the relationship can be characterised as harmonious and, if it were based on reality, the most fitting time-period it reflects would be between 1196 and 1198, when the signing of the Union with the Church of Rome started a new round of conflicts within the Armenian Church.

Let us summarise what was said above in order to propose the most acceptable hypothesis for a date of TD's composition. The content of the *Letter* could best fit a time period stretching from 1190 till 1204. It could be composed to be used as a 'document' when sending requests to the court of Henry VI for Levon's coronation. But it could also be a reaction based on fears that Levon's coronation and the signing of an official Union between the Armenian and the Roman Churches would lead to the newly founded Kingdom's secular and religious 'takeover' by the Holy Roman Empire and the Church of Rome. The *Letter's* anti-Byzantine attitude corresponds to the religious and secular atmosphere in Armenian Cilicia after Lambronac'i's embassy to Constantinople in 1197. On the other hand, the strongest candidate for the 'prototype' of Constantine the Great in the West in this decade could be Henry VI who died in 1197. But this hypothesis is somewhat weakened by the fact that TD fits in a literary milieu where the image of Constantine was revived for various reasons,

independent of a real, contemporary prototype.³¹⁷ Given these premises, the narrowest time-frame that can be proposed at this stage of research is the last five years of the 12th century, while retaining 1190 and 1204 as absolute *termini*.

2.10. CONCLUSIONS

The *Letter of Love and Concord* was composed in the Cilician milieu by an Armenian, most likely, a cleric who had access to a wide range of source material. The author of TD used these sources very cleverly in exalting the importance of Armenia, its King and its Catholicos. While the apparent purpose of TD's author was to forge a document which would pretend to present the text of a fourth century Roman-Armenian alliance, the underlying objectives were much more subtle. Here, the Armenian King was presented as the equal of the Roman Emperor and his representative in the East. To strengthen this point TD made references to various imperial symbols, such as the use of sea-purple, the sitting of two rulers on the same throne, and affirmed the bestowal of provinces of the Eastern Roman Empire to the reign of King Trdat. Trdat was also depicted as a hero, complete with folkloric tales of dragon- and unicorn-killing. The Armenian Catholicos, on the other hand, was presented as second only to the Pope and his representative in the East, to the detriment of the rights of other Eastern Patriarchates, such as Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria. Such ideology expressed the hopes and aspirations of Cilician political and ecclesiastical rulers at the end of the twelfth century, when the power of the newly crowned Armenian King Levon I was on the ascendant. It is particularly significant that Levon I clearly aspired to an *imitatio imperii* at his crowning ceremony. Besides, he was compared to King Trdat and other significant Armenian heroes during his lifetime. Whether he realistically hoped that he could become a representative of the Western Roman Emperor in the East, remains a hypothetical question difficult to answer on the basis of one source. As far as religious ideology is concerned, the role of the Armenian Catholicos as the representative of the Pope in the East and the highest among all Eastern Patriarchs is

³¹⁷ It must be said that the idea of a 'new Trdat' is also not strictly tied to Levon I. However, in no other contemporary text does the 'new Trdat' have such clear imperial connotations as in TD, which is the reason why, I think, in this text one must envision Levon in the guise of Trdat.

also emphasised throughout. Such an attitude becomes understandable in the climate of the last five years of the twelfth century, but especially after 1198, when the Armenians had to formulate a response to Roman pretensions of juridical primacy over the Armenian Church.

Sources that TD's author used are widely varied, including not only those originally composed in Armenian or translated into Armenian, but also those known only in Greek or Latin. It is my hope, that this study has contributed to clarifying further the sources that TD's author used and the way he used them. It is evident throughout that he invented very little on his own part, as he found almost everything that he needed in other, earlier texts and traditions. His task was to put them together and shape this 'document' to uphold the place of the Armenian State and its Church in relation to the Roman Empire and the Roman Church. While previous scholars had analysed some of TD's sources, this study takes the issue further. Some of the sources not discussed previously and illucidated upon here include: the *Vision of the Cross of Constantine*, the Armenian translation of the *Kartlis Cxovreba*, the *Life of St. Ephrem*, particular sections from Yohvan Mamikonean, Uxtanēs, *Prophecies of Agaton*, *Sermo de Antichristo* not analysed previously, *Constitutum Constantini*, the Latin *Life of Sylvester*, various apocryphal letters attributed to Movsēs Xorenac'i (and published under his name), as well as a probable influence of the apocryphal *Martyrdom* of Apostles Bartholomew and *Translatation of Relics* of St. Thomas. It was also possible to detect the influence of emerging papal ideology of the Pontifex as the successor of two Chief Apostles, as well as of new traditions that spread in Rome about the same burial place for the Apostles. All of these attest to the vast information and knowledge that a Cilician member of the religious elite possessed regarding other Christian cultures and traditions. TD is an eloquent testimony to the wealth of this material and one of the ways it could be used.

CHAPTER THREE

THE DESCRIPTION AND THE RELATIONSHIP OF MANUSCRIPTS, GRAMMAR, LANGUAGE

3.1. MSS DESCRIPTION

The mss tradition of TD is very rich. Seventy one mss with the text of TD were identified, of which five have a partial text (not due to fallen folios but scribal choice or inability to copy the whole text).¹ This edition is based on an initial full collation of 54 mss and a sample collation of 9 mss. Of these, 19 mss representing each group and sub-group were maintained in the critical apparatus. The choice of these mss was based on several criteria. Firstly, the great number of mss representing each group allowed the advantage of selecting only such mss which had a full and fully legible text, without important lacunae (either due to physical damage or scribal omissions of large text-blocks). Secondly, the mss selected have the least number of obvious individual corruptions/errors. This criterion did not refer to those common group variants which were judged to be errors but which help define mss groups, since all mss within the group contained those. Thirdly, any contaminated mss were excluded. In cases when the above-mentioned criteria were equal for a group of mss, the oldest mss were given preference. In some cases it was reasonable to represent a group or sub-group with a *siglum*. This allows the reader to have a fuller view on some larger groups whose unitary behavior warranted the use of the *sigla*.

Part 2 of this Chapter (3.2) provides a detailed analysis of mss relationships and explains the basis of how the *sigla* were chosen and assigned, as well as further clarifies which ms(s) from each group were maintained in the critical apparatus.

Each TD ms can be assigned to one of the two main families which are denominated as A and B families. The hypothetical archetypus of each family gave rise to all the other text-types representing the entire

¹ Mss with a partial text will be discussed in the last section of this Part of the Chapter.

tradition. From among 71 mss studied 49 belong to the A family (this number includes also those mss which are contaminated by two different A family text-types) and 19 to the B family, 1 is contaminated between an A and a B family text-type, and 2 are excerpts not assigned to any family. Thus, the prevailing majority of extant mss are of A family text-type. Obviously, this could simply be due to the hazards of survival of mss. Yet, it could also be due to the wider circulation of this text-type, especially because mss where TD follows the text of Agat'angelos—to which it owed its legitimacy—belong to the A family. The oldest extant mss are from the 14th century. Those are F copied in 1307, N₉ copied in 1322, and A₁ copied in 1341. All three belong to the A family. From the B family the oldest extant mss date to the 15th c. Those are I copied in 1409, B copied in 1498, and J dated to the XV c. without a specific date.

Given the large number of manuscripts I had to settle for a comprise when it came to their description. Only a brief description of those mss which were collated or sample-collated are provided below. In this section I have greatly relied on the respective catalogues of mss collections which I consulted. Providing my own detailed catalogue of 71 mss would take me beyond the limits of this work and beyond any reasonable time-frame for finishing such a project. Those mss which are maintained in the critical apparatus are marked with an asterisk (*) and for those, naturally, various scribal, orthographical or palaeographical features are also provided. These features are only those of TD and not necessarily the other texts included in the ms. Moreover, in the description below, any specifics related to the text (e.g. type of script, number of columns, etc.) are those of TD. Since all mss abbreviate the *nomina sacra*, such as the words: աստուած, Յիսուս Քրիստոս, Տէր and սուրբ, those are not specifically mentioned in the description of abbreviations employed in individual mss. Only in two cases the word սուրբ (saint) is not always abbreviated and this is mentioned in the description of the relevant mss. The name of the city of Jerusalem is also consistently abbreviated.

Mss are described according to groups and sub-groups. This allows an easy overview of their content which in some cases is revealing as far as the text-transmission process is concerned and provides external evidence for a common descent of a given group, sub-group, etc.

A full list of mss with their date and provenance (when available) is presented in Appendix 3, arranged in four different ways: according to location where they are currently preserved, in alphabetical order, according to group and sub-group affiliation and according to date.

3.1.1.1. *A Family Mss*

3.1.1.1. C Group

CC₁ (the latter is contaminated)

C* = VAT Borgiani Armeni 30²

Date: 1631

Place copied: partially in Lvov (but not TD)

Scribe(s): 3 hands, one of them Yovhannēs, Patriarch of Constantinople, but not that of TD

Dimensions: 193 × 147

Material written on: paper

Total number of folios: 435

Binding: leather-bound wood

Flyleaves: none

Colophons: 435^v

Columns: 1 and 2

Lines per folio: 21

Letters per line: 33–35

Script: *notrgir* (3 different hands)

Other texts in the ms.: TD; *The Vision of St. Sahak*; *On the Relics of Christ which were Preserved in Constantinople*; Grigor Tat'ewac'i *Book of Questions*; *Homilies of Grigor Tat'ewac'i*; *On Nersēs Šnorhali*; *On the Holy Spirit* (a fragment from Kirakos Ganjakec'i's *History of the Armenians*); Grigor Tat'ewac'i *On the Definition of Sins*; *A Sermon*; *On [Catholicos] Petros Getadarj*; Vardan Arewelc'i *Historical Compilation*; *The Canonical Letter of Catholicos Constantine* (from 1243).

TD: fols 27^r–39^v

Palaeographical and Orthographical Features

The beginning of TD is copied twice: on fols. 27^{r-v} the text is written in 2 columns and reaches until 4.6 բերկրեցաւ աստուածահաստատ թագաւորութիւնս. On fol. 28^r TD starts again [with the title] and the rest of the text continues without any further interruption in 1 column. The repeated sections of the text are identical with regards to the variant readings and the orthography. This ms is written by 3 different hands and the name of TD's scribe is not known.

² Tisserant 1927, 36–47.

Palaeographical and Orthographical Features

Mixed use of աւ and o. Writes աւ or o for the ending of the present participle, e.g. արձակաւ, յաղթօղ, etc. When -աւ- is used for the case ending of instrumental plural adds a small o above line on աւ.

Inconsistent use of final and intervocalic յ. Sometimes when omitted places a vertical dash above the preceding vowel; there are cases of incorrect use of the intervocalic յ, e.g. հրայմանաւ.

Sometimes writes u before q instead of q.

Sometimes writes u before ն instead of q.

Sometimes writes ը for ա, e.g. աւժընտակէ.

confusion of բ/պ

confusion of գ/ք

confusion of դ/թ and դ/տ

some confusion of է/ե

Sometimes changes ւ/իւ to է, e.g. եղջիւր to եղջեր, but բիւր is also attested.

Uses է for the augment of monosyllabic 3 p. sing. aorist active.

confusion of վ/ւ before aspirated occlusive consonants, e.g. պարսիք

mixed use of the letter լ in oblique cases of n declension words ending in ի, e.g. հոգոյն but կիլիկեցոց is also attested

Uses an ideogram to represent the word աշխարհ.

Abbreviates: some numbers with corresponding letters; the words: ամենայն, sometimes առաքեալ, արիննէլ and words derived from the same root, բազում, եպիսկոպոս, sometimes ընդ including as part of a composite word, ըստ, եկեղեցի and words derived from it, թագաւոր and words derived from it, ժողով, կաթողիկոս, հայրապետ, հրեշտակ, ճանապարհ, որպէս, վասն, վերայ, քահանայ, քաղաք, sometimes the name Գրիգոր, sometimes oblique cases of personal pronouns; collective pronouns, substantives with the suffix ութիւն and its oblique cases.

A horizontal dash is always placed above the abbreviation.

C₁ = M2268³

Date: 1683–1689

Place copied: Adana

Scribe(s): Priest Karapet and Davit' Evdokec'i

³ CMM 1965, 760–761.

Receiver(s): Davit' Evdokeč'i

Dimensions: 212 × 152

Material written on: paper

Binding: wood, bound in leather with blind-tooled decorations

Total number of folios: 185

Colophons: 73^r, 170^r, 175^r, 175^v, 183^v

Columns: 1

Lines per folio: 25

Letters per line: 47–50

Script: *notrgir*

Other texts in the ms.: Konstantin Erzmkac'i *Counsel on the Orthodox Faith, On the Nativity*; Mik'ayel Arckec'i *On the Unity of the Nature and the Word of God*; Pōlos Tarōnec'i *Against the Council of Chalcedon*; Vanakan Vardapet *Ban Hawatali*; Step'anos Orbelean *Against those Who Defile the Divine Mystery with Water and Yeast*; Idem *Against Heretics*; Grigor Anawarzec'i *On the Mixing of Water*; Movsēs Erzmkac'i *On the mixing of water*; Grigor Vkayasēr *On Easter*; Sahak the Hermit *On the Confession of Faith; Life of Clement; On the Council of Nicaea; From the Canons of the Armenians; Canons* by Constantine Barjraberdč'i and Yovhannēs Erzmkac'i; *Questions of Philosophers; On Constantinople; A Question of K'erapat to Roman and Indian doctors; Abu Said On the Constitution of Man; Commentary on the Medical Calendar; TD; Mxit'ar Skevrac'i On the Equal Dignity of the Twelve Apostles; The Question of Vahram and the Answer of Vanakan; On the Incarnation of Christ; A Homily by Cyril of Jerusalem; From the Letter of Grigor, Bishop of Arcrunik'; Against those who defile the [matrimonial] Crown; About not quarreling with Chalcedonians; Grigor Tat'ewac'i Against Saracens; Yovhannēs Iberac'i On the Three Holy Councils; Nersēs Lambronac'i Embassy [to Constantinople]; Vardan Arewelc'i On Nature; The Letter of Constantine [Catholikos] to Het'um; Nersēs Šnorhali Confession of Faith; Books of philosophers; Vardan Aygekc'i On the Benediction of the Church; On the Military Campaigns of Abas Mirza in Naxiževan (from 1811); *Miscellania*.*

TD: fols. 14^v–23^r

3.1.1.2. F Group

FF₁F₂F₃F₄F₅L

Even though it is clear from collation that mss F₁F₂F₃F₄F₅L descend from a common ancestor as F, the former are several generations removed

from F and a number of corruptions have entered those texts compared to F. Moreover, the mss have very different contents. Ms F (P118, part of three mss, including P116 and P117) was copied for the foundation of the Monastery of the Holy Cross in Caffa by its commissioner by *vardapet* Avetik' Xotačarak. He probably selected those texts that he thought to be fundamental for his monastery as the content of the mss indicates. The fact that TD is included here along with the lives of acclaimed saints and martyrs attests to the importance it had acquired by 1307. In Caffa, where Armenians lived in close contact with representatives of the Roman Church TD could be of great significance in Armenian—Latin relations. Given the specific purpose of Ms F, perhaps it is not unexpected that all other mss of the F group diverge greatly from it in content (a similar situation can be pointed out in the case of ms A and its sister ms T₁). Ms L contains a collection of texts of widely divergent typology, including theological treatises, wisdom literature, lists of kings, various canons, grammatical works and dictionaries, sermons, etc. What is surprising is the difference in content between F₂ and F₃ despite the fact that the text of TD leaves no doubt that the two mss were copied from the same exemplar (see Part 3.2 for details). F₂ includes visionary literature (e.g. *Visions* of Kozeŕn and St. Nersēs), some grammatical works, the *Geography* of Vardan Arewelc'i, etc., whereas F₃ is comprised of commentaries, *wisdom* texts, calendars and sermons. It is possible that F₁ was also copied in Caffa.⁴ Thus, one would expect F and F₁ to have close text-types. In some variation places this is the case.⁵ However, ms F₁ has numerous corruptions, often shared by F₄,⁶ which is its sister mss, and both are removed from F by several generations. F₁ includes sermons and polemical texts (against Nestorius, Arius, the Jews, the Muslims, and Chalcedonians) which are not found in F (or F₄). Even though F₁ and F₄ have very similar text-types and several significant common errors, the external evidence does not provide any further proofs with regards to their relationship.

⁴ Sargisean 1924, 981–998, col. 981 for the location of copying.

⁵ Cfr Part 2 of this Chapter.

⁶ For the description Polarean 1971, 73–74.

F* = P118⁷

Date: 1307

Place copied: Caffa

Scribe(s): Simēon Baberdç'i; Grigor Suk'iasanc' and Awag Mxit'arean

Receiver(s): Awetik' Xotačarak *vardapet* and Mixal

Dimensions: 465 × 695

Material written on: paper

Total number of folios: 368

Colophons: more than 20 throughout the ms

Decorations: ornamental capital letters; head pieces

Columns: 3

Lines per folio: 51

Letters per line: 45–48

Script: *bolorgir*

Other texts in the ms.: This is one of three manuscripts (P116–118) which make up one whole, containing a Lectionary, Collection of Homilies and a Martyrologion.

TD: 318^r–322^r

Palaeographical and Orthographical Features

F is the oldest ms with the text of TD and its text is by far superior to that of all the other mss of the F group. However, the ms has several physical problems. Because of later restoration, the older folios were glued to new ones, where the difference of the paper is visible. As a result, the lower edges of the older folios were cut and there is loss of text due to the loss of lines that were cut. The lines with the text of TD that are illegible are the following: fol. 319^r, column 3, lines 50–51; fol. 319^v, column 1, lines 48–51; fol. 321^r, all 3 columns, lines (50–51); and fol. 321^v, all 3 columns, lines 48–51. This situation is quite unfortunate since F could have served as the base text for this edition given its position in the chain of transmission, its date and the quality of its text. Yet, this was not desirable given the physical problems described above.

⁷ Kévorkian and Ter-Stépanian 1998, 414–424. A more detailed description in Macler 1908, 57–61.

Orthographical Features

Consistently writes *ւլ*, except for two cases, i.e. *գօթացւոց* and *օֆրաւն-թի*.

Inconsistent use of final and intervocalic *յ*.

Sometimes writes *u* before *q* instead of *q*.

confusion of *բ/ւյ*

sometimes confusion of *դ/թ* and *դ/ւո*

confusion of *է/ե*

Mixed use of the letter *ւ* in oblique cases of *n* declension words ending in *ի*, e.g. both *հոգւոյ* and *որդոյ* are attested.

Employs very few abbreviations, such as: numbers with corresponding letters; the word *եպիսկոպոս* in only one case, substantives with the suffix *նաթիւն* and their oblique cases.

A horizontal dash is always placed above the abbreviation.

Overall, the text was copied with great care, with an easily legible hand and is of high calligraphic quality. There are very few errors corrected by the scribe.

F₁ = V283⁸

Date: 1601

Place copied: Caffa (?)

Scribe(s): Notary Simon of Caffa

Receiver(s): *Paron Xočay Sefer*

Dimensions: 307 × 195

Material written on: paper

Binding: leather-bound wood

Total number of folios: 562

Flyleaves: two at the beginning and at the end, possibly placed by the restorer of the binding

Colophons: numerous, including 2^r (the date), 205^v–206^r (most important); 17^v, 22^v, 29^r, 36^r, 46^v, 57^r, 67^r, 75^r, 129^r, 131^r, 277^v, 358^v, 371^r, etc.

Decorations: marginal decorations

Columns: 2

Lines per folio: 32

⁸ Sargisyan 1924, 981–998. While the ms is described under no. 283, its (old) number in the Library is given as 838.

Letters per line: 30–32

Script: *notrgir*

Other texts in the ms.: more than 100 works, including *Sermons; Lives and Martyria* of saints; *Prophecies of Agat'on; Counsels of Xikar; A List of Requests Presented by Romans* [e.g. the Byzantines, during negotiations of 1170s]; *an Excerpt from the 'Commentary on the Liturgy' by Nersēs Lambronac'i; Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Spiritual Counsel; Questions of St. Gregory the Illuminator and Answers of the Angel.*

TD: 309^v–319^r

F₂ = M1390⁹

Date: 1666

Place copied: New Julfa (1^v, 47^v)

Scribe(s): Yovhannēs

Receiver(s): un-known

Dimensions: 204 × 140

Material written on: paper

Binding: wood, bound in leather with blind-tooled decorations

Total number of folios: 375

Flyleaves: 4 at the beginning and 6 at the end

Colophons: 1^v, 47^v, 220^r and 346^r

Decorations: head pieces, marginal decorations

Columns: 2

Lines per folio: 26

Letters per line: 32–36

Script: *notrgir*

Other texts in the ms.: *Nana Commentary on the Gospel of John; The Book of Job; Wisdom of Sirak'; Questions of Amirpet and answers of Makar; Life of Antigone; TD; Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i Explanation of Beings; Sermons of Ałek Ĵulayec'i and anonymous.*

TD: fols. 318^v–329^r

F₃* = M516¹⁰

Date: 1653, 1670

Place copied: un-known

⁹ CMM 1965, 540–541.

¹⁰ GCM 2004, 1085–1092.

Scribe(s): Yakob, Sahak, Suk'ias

Receiver(s): Aslanbek

Dimensions: 203 × 150

Material written on: paper

Binding: cardboard, bound in leather with blind-tooled decorations

Total number of folios: 172 (Part I: 89)

Colophons: 34^r, 39^r (1653); 102^r, 172^v (1670)

Decorations: head pieces, marginal decorations, ornamental capital letters

Columns: 2

Lines per folio: 26

Letters per line: 35–39

Script: *bolorgir*

Other texts in the ms.: Part 1: *On Good Deeds*; Vardan Arewelc'i *Geography*; TD; *The Vision of Nersēs the Great*, *The Vision of Kozeṛn*; *Calendar*; *Lunar Calendar*.

TD: fols. 9^v–19^v

Palaeographical and Orthographical Features

This mss is comprised of 3 parts, where TD is within Part 1 (copied in 1653). The text of TD has numerous significant common variants with ms F₂, including misplacement of text-blocks, which are identical in F₂ and F₃. (cfr Appendix A for the mis-placed textblocks).

Writes o for աւ, including for the ending of the present participle, e.g. արձաւլօղ.

confusion of աւ/n

Uses final and intervocalic j. At times has an exaggerated use, e.g. վի-այնգամայն, etc.

confusion of ք/ւյ

confusion of գ/լ and լ/ք

confusion of դ/ւն and դ/թ

confusion of ձ/ծ

confusion of դ/լ

Mixed use of the letter լ in oblique cases of n declension words ending in ի, e.g. both հոգւոյն and նրոյն are attested.

Uses an ideogram to represent the word աշխատ but sometimes abbreviates it.

Has numerous abbreviations, many without regularity. Any vowel in any lemma can be abbreviated given its position, e.g. towards the end of the line (for saving space) or for whatever reasons. It is not reasonable to present the full list of all abbreviated lemmata. Below are the most regularly used abbreviations: numbers with corresponding letters; *սմենայն*, sometimes *եկեղեցի*, *եպիսկոպոս*, *ընդ* (as a preposition or part of a composite word), *ըստ*, *թագաւոր* and words derived from it, *որպէս*, *վասն որոյ*, *վերայ*, sometimes *ճանապարհ*, *յաղագս*, the ending *-եալ* of participles, sometimes the word *կաթողիկոս* (sic), sometimes *հայրապետ*, *պատարագ*, *քաղաք*, the name *Գրիգոր* and in one case *Յակոբ*, collective pronouns, oblique cases of personal pronouns; substantives with the suffix *ութիւն* and its oblique cases, etc.

A small horizontal dash is placed above all abbreviations.

Overall, there are several omissions or errors of letters/lemmata corrected by the same hand (presented in the Second apparatus). Moreover, the text ends at 24.9 but a space of about 10 lines long is left empty, probably planning or hoping to fill in at a later date.

$F_4 = J1415^{11}$

Date: XVII c. (the latest colophon from 1692, 2^r)

Place copied: un-known

Scribe(s): Minas Erēc' and Noršah

Dimensions: 155 × 100

Material written on: paper

Binding: wood, bound in leather with blind-tooled decorations

Total number of folios: 540

Flyleaves: 1 at the beginning

Colophons: 2^r; 465^r

Decorations: red capital letters, marginal decorations

Columns: 1

Lines per folio: 14

Letters per line: 15–16

Script: *bolorgir* and *notrgir*, TD in *notrgir*

¹¹ Polarean 1971, 73–74.

Other texts in the ms.: Yovhannēs Arčīsec‘i *Commentary on the Liturgy*; TD; Anonymous *Sermon and Counsel to All Men*; a *Counsel for a Cleric when Consoling [Relatives?] during a Funeral*; *Sermon on the Dead from the Sayings of Sirak*; *On the Second Coming of Christ*.

TD: fols. 303–373 (in this ms folios are enumerated without specifying *verso* and *recto*, but in consequent numbers)

F₅* = M8082¹²

Date: XVIIc.

Scribe(s): Step‘an Erec‘

Dimensions: 200 × 146

Material written on: paper

Binding: leather-bound wood

Total number of folios: 350

Flyleaves: 1 at the beginning and 3 at the end

Columns: 1

Lines per folio: 25

Letters per line: 45–48

Script: *notrgir*

Other texts in the ms.: Various philosophical works, commentaries on the Calendar; TD.

TD: fols 297^v–305^v

Palaeographical and Orthographical Features

Writes o for աւ.

inconsistent use of final j

consistent use of intervocalic j

rare cases of confusion between η/ւո and η/թ.

Letters ծ and խ are not always clearly distinguishable.

Mixed use of the letter լ in oblique cases of n declension words ending in ի, e.g. both նսկոյ and հոգւոց are attested.

Changes իւ to է, e.g. բազմաբիւր to բազմաբէր.

Uses an ideogram to represent the word որպէս.

Employs numerous abbreviations. Any vowel in any lemma can be abbreviated for whatever reason. The most regularly abbreviated words are: numbers with corresponding letters, ամենայն, եպիսկոպոս,

¹² CMM 1970, 669.

ընդ, ժամանակ, հաւատ and words derived from it, հայրապետ, հրեշտակ, պատարագ, թագաւոր and words derived from it, collective pronouns, oblique cases of personal pronouns; substantives with the suffix ութիւն and its oblique cases, etc.

Places a small horizontal dash above all abbreviations.

L = M1495¹³

Date: 1674–1684

Place copied: Constantinople

Scribe(s): Ep'rem *vardapet* (128^v, 158^r)

Dimensions: 293 × 203

Material written on: paper

Binding: leather-bound wood

Total number of folios: 184

Flyleaves: 1, at the beginning

Colophons: 87^r, 128^v, 158^r

Decorations: head pieces, ornamental capital letters, marginal decorations

Columns: 2

Lines per folio: 53

Letters per line: 73–75

Script: *notrgir*

Other texts in the ms.: 70 works, among which TD; *History of the King P'ahlul*; *On the Destruction of the City of Constantinople*; *Canons of St. Gregory the Illuminator*; *Nersēs Šnorhali On Consanguinity*; *On Consanguinity from Three Letters to Titus*; *On the Humanity of the Word of God*; *On the Natures of Christ*; *Counsels of Xikar*; *Dictionary of Eremia Melrec'i*; *Grammatical Dictionary*; *Forms of Angels*; *Sermons*; *Grigor Vkasasēr On the Trinity*; *Answers and Questions from the Scriptures*; *A List of Roman, Hebrew, Persian and Armenia Kings*; *On the Dominical Sites*; *Mxit'ar Herac'i On Gems*; *Questions of At'anas and Answers of Cyril*; *Yovhannēs Arčišec'i Commentary on the Liturgy*; *On the Eight Canons of Psalms*; *The Lament of the Prophet Jeremiah*; *Table of Contents of the Yaysmawurk'*; *Martiros Łrimec'i Blessings during a Sermon*, *On Numbers*, *Encomium of the Monastery of the Holy Mother of God*,

¹³ CMM 1965, 565–567.

Prayer to the Mother of God; Galianos Canons of Astronomy; Solar and Lunar Eclipses according to the 'Efimērtēs' [Ephemerides] Book of the Franks; History of the Tunic of the Lord and His Image from Urhay, etc.
 TD: 2^r–4^r

3.1.1.3. T Group
 ATT₁, A₁ and T₂ (?)

A* = Vat Arm 2¹⁴

Date: 16th century (slightly after 1585)
 Place copied: Sis
 Scribe(s): *Sarkawag* Grigor of Aleppo
 Dimensions: 303 × 210 mm
 Material written on: paper
 Binding: leather-bound wood
 Total number of folios: 60
 Flyleaves: 4, empty, at the beginning
 Decorations: Head pieces, ornamental capital letters
 Columns: 1
 Lines per folio: 25
 Letters per line: 36–39
 Script: *bolorgir* and *notrgir*, TD in *bolorgir*
 Other texts in the ms.: TD; *A List of Councils accepted in the Armenian Church; The Confession of Faith of Azaria Ĵulayec'i; A letter from 1585 by Azaria Ĵulayec'i to Pope Gregory XIII; an Apology of the Armenian Faith by Azaria Ĵulayec'i; A Letter of Azaria Ĵulayec'i to Cardinal Santorio; fragments of a History of the Cilician Kingdom; A Letter of Catholicos of Sis Xaçatur to Recommend Azaria to be Ordained as Bishop; A Letter of the Catholicos of Sis Xaçatur.*
 TD: fols. 3^r–12^r.

Palaeographical and Orthographical Features

Ms A has a Latinophile content, including cordial or apologetic letters addressed to the Pope (there is also a blue-print of a letter to be written to popes, where the name of the pope is left blank, to be added as appropriate) and a Cardinal. TD was included here for the purpose of

¹⁴ Detailed description in Tisserand 1927, 201–207.

emphasizing the friendly relations between Romans and Armenians that go back to the times of the first Christian sovereigns of the Roman Empire and Armenia. None of the other mss with TD have similar content. According to the colophon of A (fol. 12^r) the scribe found TD in an old ms preserved in the Catholical residence of Sis.

Ես Գրիգոր սարկաւազ հայոց ի Հալապ առնեմ վկայութիւն որպէս զայս գիրս գրեցի ի յօրինակէն և ի հին գրոց ի կաթողիկոսութէն Սիսոյ և է նման օրինակին և ողորդաբան և ի վկայութիւն այսմ բանիս գրեցի ձեռոք իմով:

‘I, Grigor, an Armenian *sarkawag* from Halep, testify how I wrote this text from an original and ancient writings [kept at] the Catholicosate of Sis and [this] is equal to the original and correct and I wrote this as testimony to [this] with my hands’.

Thus, the scribe Grigor copied only TD from his exemplar and it is quite likely that the exemplar was much older (as Grigor himself attests). Therefore, it comes as no surprise that A’s sister ms T₁, copied in Karkar 1589–1608, has a very different content (see below). From the two mss T₁ is of poorer physical quality. It has a large stain and several lines are not visible on almost every folio. This is the reason why only A is included in the critical apparatus. Ms T, copied in Jerusalem in 1652, is loosely related to AT₁ but has a totally different content as indicated below. The relationship of AT₁ and T rests upon internal evidence to be discussed in Part 2 of this Chapter.

Writes *o* for *u*, including for the ending of the present participle, e.g. *արձալոյ*.

Excessive use of final *j*, e.g. after personal pronouns.

Uses intervocalic *j*.

confusion of *q/p* and *q/l*

confusion of *η/ι*

confusion of *ե/է*

confusion of *ձ/ճ*

confusion of *ւ/ն* before aspirated occlusive consonants, e.g. *անփոփեցի*

confusion of *ջ/չ* and *ջ/ճ*

Most frequently uses the letter *ւ* in oblique cases of *n* declension words ending in *ի* both *հոգւոյ* and *որդոյ* are attested.

When *նւ* is written before a vowel, e.g. *պատուեալ*, a small o-shaped sign is placed above it. In one case *նւ* is written *վ*, e.g. *յաղվանս*.

Uses an ideogram to represent the word *աշխարհ*; four dots representing a cross are always placed above the word ‘cross’ and other words derived from it.

Employs numerous abbreviations, any vowel of any lemma can be abbreviated, especially considering space constrains. The following are regularly abbreviated: numbers with corresponding letters; the words: ամենայն, բազում, եկեղեցի and words derived from it, եպիսկոպոս, թագաւոր and words derived from it, կաթողիկոս, հայրապետ, հրեշտակ, յաղագս, վասն, որպէս, ի վերայ, the ending -եալ of participles; substantives with the suffix ութիւն and its oblique cases, etc.

A₁* = J1337¹⁵

Date: XIV c., TD copied in 1341

Place copied: Leukosia, Cyprus

Scribe(s): Pōlos (that of TD), Yovhannēs *abelay* and his student T'adēos

Dimensions: 165 × 120

Material written on: paper

Binding: wood, bound in leather with blind-tooled decorations

Total number of folios: 508 (TD in Part 1, of 156 fols)

Flyleaves: 4

Colophons: 36^r (after TD), 60^r, etc.

Decorations: red capital letters

Columns: 1

Lines per folio: 22–27

Script: *bolorgir*

Other texts in the ms.: TD; *On the death of Christ*; florilegium from the *Canons of Epiphanius* and other canons; *The Discovery of the True Cross*; *On the Resurrection of the Lord* by Tēr Yakob; *Homilies*; Ephrem Syrus *On Transfiguration*; *Prophecy of Daniel*; *Questions of King Smbat and answers of Eznik Kolbac'i*; *On the Clothes and the Image of the Lord*; various *Homilies* of John Chrysostom; a *Homily* of Basil; *Questions and Answers of St. Gregory the Illuminator and the Angel of God*; various *Sermons and Admonitions*; on Apostle Andrew.

TD: 1–36.

The text of TD in this ms starts from 3.26 because of a lost folio.

¹⁵ Polarean 1969, 604–607.

Palaeographical and Orthographical Features

Consistently uses աւ.

inconsistent use of final or intervocalic յ

confusion of ք/պ

confusion of գ/կ

confusion of դ/տ

confusion of ե/է

confusion of լ/ղ, e.g. Հելիւնէ

confusion of մ/ն before aspirated occlusive consonants, e.g. անսփոփեցի

Changes ւ/իւ to է, e.g. եղջիւր to եղջեր.

Most frequently uses the letter լ in oblique cases of n declension words ending in ի mostly հոգւոյ but also forms like որոյն are attested.

Abbreviates numbers with letters, the preposition ընդ, the words վասն որոյ, collective pronouns, oblique cases of personal pronouns.

T* = M7014¹⁶

Date: before 1652

Place copied: Jerusalem

Scribe(s): Awag *abelay*

Receiver(s): Idem

Dimensions: 154 × 105

Material written on: paper

Binding: wood, bound in leather, wrapped in cloth with blind-tooled decorations

Total number of folios: 274

Flyleaves: 2 at the beginning and 1 at the end, empty

Colophons: 149^v; 174^r; 187^v; 237^r; 244^v; 260^r; 268^r; 273^r; 273^v (1652)

Decorations: head pieces, ornamental capital letters, marginal decorations

Columns: 1

Lines per folio: 23

Letters per line: 33–35

Script: *bolorgir*

Other texts in the ms.: *A Hebrew Dictionary*; *Grammatical works*; *A collection of short poems*; Yakob T'oxatec'i *Hymns*; TD; *Sermons* of Grigor Tat'ewac'i and of anonymous authors; *Counsels* ascribed to

¹⁶ CMM 1970, 441–442.

Eznik Kolbac'i, Neġos and anonymous authors; *Prayers; Questions of Ašot and Answers of Eznik Kolbac'i*.

TD: 162^r–174^r

Palaeographical and Orthographical Features

Writes o for աւ.

Consistently writes final յ.

inconsistent use of intervocalic յ

Never uses the letter լ in oblique cases of n declension words ending in ի, e.g. consistently հոգոյ, որոյ etc.

In two cases writes վ for ու before a vowel, e.g. աղվանից, քվեր.

confusion of ք/ւյ and ա/վի

confusion of գ/ք

confusion of դ/տ and տ/թ

confusion of է/ե

confusion of ջ/ճ

confusion of լ/ղ

confusion of դ/խ

confusion of ձ/ծ

Uses an ideogram to represent the word աշխարհ and sometimes also ամենայն, sometimes four dots representing a cross are placed above the word 'cross' and other words derived from it.

Employs numerous abbreviations. Any vowel in any lemma can be abbreviated for whatever reasons. The following words are abbreviated most of the time: numbers with corresponding letters, even when part of a lemma, e.g. ռ.պետացս for հազարապետացս; words: ամենայն, առաքել, առաջ, բագում, եկեղեցի and words derived from it, եպիսկոպոս, ընդ (as a preposition or part of a composite word), ըստ, թագաւոր and words derived from it, ժամանակ, ժառանգ, ժողով and words derived from it, լուսաւորիչ, կաթողիկոս, մարդ, հայրապետ, հաւատ, հաստատ, հնազանդ and words derived from it, ճշմարիտ and words with the same root, յաղագս, յաիտենական, որպէս, պատրաստ, պատերազմ, վասն, վերայ, փառաւոր and other words with the same root, քահանայ, often the name Տրդատ, collective pronouns, oblique cases of personal pronouns, names of persons, the suffix -աւոր, substantives with the suffix ութիւն and its oblique cases, etc.

A horizontal dash is placed above abbreviated words.

Overall, there are numerous omissions or errors of letters/lemmata corrected by the same hand (presented in the Second apparatus).

T₁ = M3078¹⁷

Date: 1589–1608

Place copied: Karkar

Scribe(s): Astuacatur, Yovsēp' *Monozon*, Alek'san, Xač'atur Dpir

Receiver(s): Astuacatur *Abelay*

Dimensions: 213 × 153

Material written on: paper

Binding: wood wrapped in paper

Total number of folios: 279

Flyleaves: none

Colophons: 71^r; 95^v, 109^r, 201^v, from later 95^v (1614), 276^r (1631), 116^r (XVII–XVIIIcc)

Decorations: head pieces, ornamental capital letters

Columns: 1

Lines per folio: 21

Letters per line: 32–33

Script: *bolorgir*

Other texts in the ms.: Yovhannēs Ojneg'i *On [Church] Councils of the Armenians*; Sermons by Yovhannēs Mandakuni and Gregory the Theologian; Šapuh Bagratuni *Excerpts from History*; Letters by Peter, Akakios and Anastasius; A Letter of the Romans to the Armenians [translated] by Step'anos Siwnec'i; [Ps.] Aristotle *De Mundo*, *De Virtutibus*; Anania Širakaci *Raxjanakank'*; Vardan Fables; From *Maxims of Philosophers*; From *Lives of Fathers*; Isoł *Book on Nature*; A Short History of the Patriarchs Grigor Vakayasēr and Grigor and Nersēs; On the Bequeathing of the [ecclesiastical] Staff; Grigor Kamaxec'i *The Calendar of the Saracens*; Grigor Tat'ewac'i *Sermons*, Vardan Arewelc'i *Universal History*; TD; A *Confession of Faith*; Letter of Catholicos Constantine to King Het'um; Vanakan Vardapet *Confession of Faith*; from the Book of Job; The Holy and Orthodox *Confession of Faith*; History of the Armenian Kings in Sis; Nersēs Lambronac'i *Explanation of the Nine Orders of the Church*; Pōlos Tarōnec'i *Against the Council of Chalcedon*; *Miscelania*.

TD: 203^r–216^r

Despite the fact that the texts of TD in A and T₁ are very closely related, the contents of the two mss are quite different and provide no external evidence for their relationship.

¹⁷ CMM 1965, 935–936.

$T_2 = M_{2748}^{18}$

Date: 1624

Place copied: Tarōn (?)

Scribe(s): un-known

Receiver(s): Martiros Vardapet (editor who made corrections)

Dimensions: 274 × 210

Material written on: paper

Binding: leather-bound wood, wrapped in cloth

Total number of folios: 395

Flyleaves: 4, parchment, with *ullagic erkat'agir* Gospel text

Colophons: 120^v, 225^v, 230^r, 348^v, 354^r; of the receiver: 120^v, 136^v; from later dates: 357^v (from 1664), 358^r (from 1665), 359^r (from 1735) and 359^r (from 1795)

Decorations: head pieces, marginal decorations

Columns: 2

Lines per folio: 26–30

Letters per line: 44–46

Script: *notrgir*

Other texts in the ms.: Movsēs Xorenac'i *History of the Armenians*; Anania Širakac'i *Ašxarhač'oyc', Measurement of Miles*; Vardan Arewelc'i *Geography; Names of Cities; On the 7 parts of the world; Prologues to the Histories of Matthew of Edessa, Kirakos Ganjakec'i, Michael the Syrian, and P'awstos Biwzand; T'ovma Mecop'ec'i Causes of History; Kirakos Ganjakec'i Excerpts from the History; Athanasius History of the Image of the Lord; Yovhannēs Mamikonean History of Tarōn; TD; On the Miracle that Took Place in the Village of Adabuk'; On the History of Holy and Divine Oil; Excerpts from the History of Step'anos Orbelean; Samuēl Anec'i Historical Compilation; T'ovma Mecop'ec'i History and [the original] colophon; On the death of Yovhannēs Orotneč'i; Students of Grigor Tat'ewac'i; History of Tovma by Kirakos Banasēr; Life of Mkrtič Nalaš by Astuacatur; On the Renovation of the Monastery of the Holy Karapet in Tarōn.*

TD: 218^r–225^v

Even though T_2 is placed with mss of the T group, its text is not easy to be classified. The manuscript has numerous omissions and corrections that make this task difficult. These details are discussed in the next part of this chapter.

¹⁸ CMM 1965, 867–868.

3.1.1.4. The Agat'angelos Group

gg₁g₂g₄KK₁K₂K₃MM₁M₂mUU₁

Sample Collated: J1296, J659, M1881(partial text), M19728, W111
(partial text)

Sigla used in the apparatus:

A_g all fully collated mss: gg₁g₂g₄KK₁K₂K₃MM₁M₂mUU₁

g_g gg₁g₂g₄

A_{g2} KK₁K₂K₃MM₁M₂mUU₁

K_g KK₁K₂K₃

There are seventeen mss that belong to this group with the full text of TD and two with a partial text. In all but three (UU₁ and J1296) mss the text of TD follows that of Agat'angelos. In fact, TD became an accepted source throughout centuries due to the fact that it was believed to have been written by Agat'angelos—the 'secretary of King Trdat'. It is, then, quite natural that such a large number of TD mss are from this group. These mss have quite a unitary behavior (see Part 2 of this chapter for more detailed discussion on mss relationship and their common variants) because of which it makes sense to represent common group and sub-group variants with *sigla* described above. Besides these *sigla*, four mss (gKM₂m) were fully maintained in the apparatus. The choice was based on the quality of the text of these mss and the fact that each represents a slightly different text-type within the group. When these two criteria were equal, I chose the oldest ms. It was judged that including the full collation of four mss as well as indicating common group variants with the above-mentioned *sigla* would allow the reader an ample view as to the Agat'angelos group's text-types and their behavior.¹⁹

g* = M1920²⁰

Date: 1569–1570

Place copied: Bałesš

¹⁹ Cfr Part 2 of this Chapter on the description of the mss relationships and the division into groups and sub-groups.

²⁰ CMM 1965, 675. For the miniaturist Vardan Bališec'i and other mss illuminated by him cfr Gēorgean 1998, 730–733. Here it says that the miniature depicting the meeting of Constantine, Trdat, Gregory and Sylvester are on fol. 193^v. It is, however, found on fol. 183^v.

Scribe(s): Yakob *Sarkavag*

Miniaturist: Vardan Bałiřec'i

Receiver(s): Nersēs Rabunapet

Dimensions: 274 × 183

Material written on: paper

Binding: wood, bound in leather with blind-tooled decoration

Total number of folios: 353

Flyleaves: 3, parchment, with *erkat'agir* Gospel text

Colophons: 3^v (of the miniaturist), 148^v, 182^r, 231^v, 249^v, 351^r etc.

Decorations: ornamental capitals, head pieces, 4 full-page miniatures

Columns: 2

Lines per folio: 29

Letters per line: 34–38

Script: *bolorgir*

Other texts in the ms.: *Agat'angelos History of the Armenians* and TD;

Mesrop Vayoc'jorec'i *Life of Nersēs the Great*, *The Prologue to the Vision of Sahak Part'ew*, *Interpretation of the Vision of Sahak Part'ew*; Koriwn *Life of Mařtoc*; Eliřē *History of Vardan and the Armenian War*.

TD: fols 184^r–193^r

Palaeographical and Orthographical Features

This ms is especially noteworthy for its lavish, full-page miniatures by Vardan Bałiřec'i. There is a half-page head-piece with floral and bird decorations where the text of TD starts, and the first word of the text is written with stylised letters. This is also the oldest surviving ms of TD with the text of *Agat'angelos*.

Uses *u*l on the first folio containing TD, but later most often uses *o*, even in open syllable, e.g. *hruuufuuo* for *hruufuuiu*. However, cases of *u*l are also found.

Uses final and intervocalic *j*.

Writes *u* before *q* for *q*.

confusion of *p*/*u*j

confusion of *q*/*l*

confusion of *ŋ*/*u*n and *ŋ*/*þ*

confusion of *đ*/*ð*

confusion of *ŋ*/*h*

Sometimes writes *l* for *n*l before a vowel.

Consistently uses the letter *l* in oblique cases of *n* declension words ending in *h*, e.g. *hnqunju*, etc.

Abbreviates numbers with corresponding letters, the words: ամենայն, արհնէլ and words derived from the same root, առաքեալ, բազում and words derived from it, թագաւոր and other words derived from it, որպէս, վերայ, քահանայ, sometimes the name Գրիգոր, the vowel -ա- in the ending of aorist indicative active 3 p. sing.; the ending -եալ of present participles, oblique cases of personal pronouns, substantives with the suffix ութիւն and its oblique cases, etc.

A ւ-like symbol is placed above abbreviated words.

g₁ = M3825²¹

Date: 1671

Place copied: Xor Virap

Scribe(s): Oskan *abelay*

Receiver(s): Idem

Dimensions: 200 × 110

Material written on: paper

Binding: wood, bound in leather with blind-tooled decorations, wrapped in cloth

Total number of folios: 264

Colophons: 165^r, 207^v

Columns: 1

Lines per folio: 27

Letters per line: 28–31

Script: *notrgir*

Other texts in the ms.: Agat'angelos *History of the Armenians* and TD; Mesrop Vayoc'jorec' *Life of Nersēs the Great*.

TD: 209^r–220^v

g₂ = M2639²²

Date: 1672

Place copied: Monastery of Amrdōlu

Scribe(s): Pōlos Gar nec' i, Grigor Erēc'

Miniaturist: Sahak Vanec' i

Receiver(s): Vardan Bališec' i

²¹ CMM 1965, 1091.

²² CMM 1965, 843.

Dimensions: 253 × 190
 Material written on: paper
 Binding: wood, bound in leather with blind-tooled decorations, wrapped in cloth
 Total number of folios: 560
 Flyleaves: 1 at the beginning, parchment, with *boloragic erkat'agir* Gospel
 Colophons: from the scribes 81^v, 111^r, 169^r, 210^v, 244^v, 270^r, 429^r, 486^v, 547^v, 562^r; from the miniaturist 4^v, from the receiver 142^r.
 Decorations: full-page miniatures; head pieces; marginal decorations, ornamental capital letters
 Columns: 2
 Lines per folio: 31
 Letters per line: 40–44
 Script: *bolorgir*
 Other texts in the ms.: Agat'angelos *History of the Armenians* and TD; Movsēs Xorenac'i *History of the Armenians*, Mesrop Vayoc'jorec'i *Life of St. Nersēs the Great*, Łazar P'arpec'i *History of the Armenians*, Sebēos *History*, Elišē *History of Vardan and the Armenian War*, Koriwn *Life of Mesrop who was named Maštoc'*.
 TD: 135^r–142^r

g₄ = M1458²³

Date: 1795
 Place copied: Ejmiacin
 Scribe(s): Yovhannēs Łazvinc'i
 Receiver(s): Idem
 Dimensions: 190 × 140
 Material written on: paper
 Binding: wood bound in leather with blind-tooled decorations, wrapped in cloth
 Total number of folios: 348
 Colophons: 1^v; 193^r; 228^v; 345^v, 346^r
 Columns: 1
 Lines per folio: 23
 Letters per line: 38–40
 Script: *notrgir*

²³ CMM 1965, 556.

Other texts in the ms.: Agat'angelos *History of the Armenians* and TD; Mesrop Vayoc'jorec'i *History of Nersēs the Great; Life and Vision of Sahak*; Elišē *History of Vardan and the Armenian War*.

TD: 183^v–193^r

K* = M6354²⁴

Date: XVI and XVII cc.

Place copied: unknown

Scribe(s): Yovhannēs and Davit' *vardapets*

Receiver(s): Grigor *Rabunapet*

Dimensions: 250 × 180

Material written on: paper

Binding: leather-bound, cardboard

Total number of folios: 327

Colophons: 107^v (XVIIc), 329^v (1699), 325^v, from the editor 104^r, from the receivers 163^v, 170^r

Columns: 2

Lines per folio: 38

Letters per line: 46–50

Script: *bolorgir*

Other texts in the ms.: Agat'angelos *History of the Armenians* and TD, *Life of Yovsimos*; Movsēs Xorenac'i *History of the Armenians*; *A Legend mentioned by Philo*; *Fables*; *History of Joseph of Arimathea*; Samuēl Anec'i *Historical Compilation*; *Deeds that occurred in the city of Antioch*; *History of King Kasanos*; *The Order of Armenian and Persian Kings*; *On 12 Animal-shaped Beings*; *On the Nature of Christ* (from *Questions on the Scripture* by Grigor Tat'evac'i); *Testimony on the humanity of the Logos*.

TD: fols 90^r–104^r

Consistently uses o for uul.

Most frequently uses the final and intervocalic j, sometimes even when orthographically problematic, e.g. after gen. sing. of personal pronouns.

Sometimes writes u before q instead of q.

confusion of p/u

confusion of q/l

confusion of η/un

²⁴ CMM 1970, 301–302.

confusion of ե/է

confusion of ձ/ճ

confusion of վ/ւ before aspirated occlusive consonants

Mixed use of the letter լ in oblique cases of n declension words ending in ի.

Uses an ideogram for աշխարհ and նրպէս.

Abbreviates numerous words, often without regularity. The following are always abbreviated: numbers with corresponding letters; the words: ամենայն, առաքեալ, բազում, ընդ, թագաւոր and words derived from it, կաթողիկոս, հայրապետ, sometimes հոգի, հրեշտակ, յաղագս, sometimes the ending -եալ of participles, sometimes personal names, collective pronouns, oblique cases of personal pronouns, substantives with the suffix ութիւն and its oblique cases, etc.

K₁ = M8305²⁵

Date: XVII c.

Place copied: un-known

Scribe(s): un-known

Dimensions: 185 × 123

Material written on: paper

Binding: wood, bound in leather with blind-tooled decorations, wrapped in cloth

Total number of folios: 192

Flyleaves: 2

Colophons: on flyleaves (added later) from 1790 and 1897

Columns: 1

Lines per folio: 25

Letters per line: 34–35

Script: *notrgir*

Other texts in the ms.: Agat'angelos *History of the Armenians* and TD.

TD: 181^r–192^v

K₂ = M1863²⁶

Date: before 1676

Place copied: un-known

Scribe(s): un-known

²⁵ CMM 1970, 718.

²⁶ CMM 1965, 659.

Receiver(s): un-known
 Dimensions: 193 × 130
 Material written on: paper
 Binding: wood, bound in leather
 Total number of folios: 343
 Flyleaves: 2, parchment, with *ullagic erkat'agir* Čarəntir
 Colophons: 1^r; a later colophon (from 1676 AD) a seal on 190^r from 1661 of Grigor *Vardapet*
 Decorations: head pieces, marginal decorations
 Columns: 1
 Lines per folio: 21
 Letters per line: 28–30
 Script: *notrgir*
 Other texts in the ms.: Movsēs Xorenac'i *History of the Armenians*; Agat'angelos *History of the Armenians* and TD.
 TD: 415^r–429^v

K₃ = V910 (1464)²⁷

Date: 1691
 Place copied: New Julfa
 Scribe(s): *Tēr* Sargis, Priest Aristakēs, Priest Stēp'anos
 Receiver(s): Grigor, son of Ĵalamenc' Xoĵay Yohanēs
 Dimensions: 245 × 180
 Material written on: paper
 Binding: wood, bound in leather with blind-tooled decorations
 Total number of folios: 935
 Colophons: 441^v, 555^v, 709^r, 750^v
 Decorations: head pieces, marginal decorations, ornamental capital letters, full page miniatures
 Columns: 2
 Lines per folio: 33
 Letters per line: 39–40
 Script: *bolorgir*
 Other texts in the ms.: Cyril of Alexandria *Scholia*; Agat'angelos *History of the Armenians* and TD; Nersēs Šnorhali *Letters*; Grigor T'lay *Letters*; *Confession of Faith of the Armenians*; Nersēs Lambronac'i *Embassy to*

²⁷ Ccmcemyan 1996, 177–194. The ms is described under No. 910 but below, its number in the Library is specified as 1464.

Constantinople; the Letter of Catholicos Constantine to King Het'um; various Anti-Chalcedonian treatises and letters; On Sins; Sermon for Good Friday.

TD: 290^r–296^v

M = J230²⁸

Date: 1678–1679

Place copied: Jerusalem

Scribe(s): Bishop Sargis Ewdokac'i

Dimensions: 280 × 200

Material written on: paper

Binding: wood, bound in leather

Total number of folios: 546

Colophons: 158^r, 216 r, 258^v (with the name of the scribe), 414^r, 499^r, 519^r

Columns: 2

Lines per folio: 42

Letters per line: 56–57

Script: *notrgir*

Other texts in the ms.: Agat'angelos *History of the Armenians* and TD; *Discovery of the Relics of St. Gregory the Illuminator in Constantinople*; Movsēs Xorenac'i *History of the Armenians*; P'awstos Biwzand *History of the Armenians*; Eusebius of Caesarea *Ecclesiastical History*.

TD: 128–135 (folios not numbered with *recto* and *verso*)

M₁ = V915 (721)²⁹

Date: before 1700 (especially part 1)

Place copied: Constantinople

Scribe(s): Priest Margar from Smyrne and 2 other hands

Dimensions: 205 × 150

Material written on: paper

Binding: wood, bound in leather

Total number of folios: 379

Colophons: 375^r

Decorations: red capital letters

²⁸ Polarean 1966, 624–628.

²⁹ Cemcemyan 1996, 203–208. The ms is described under No. 915 but below, its number in the Library is specified as 721.

Columns: 2

Lines per folio: 32

Letters per line: 39–40

Script: *notrgir*

Other texts in the ms.: *Yajaxapatum jaṛk'*; Agat'angelos *History of the Armenians* and TD; Samuēl Anec'i *Historical Compilation*; Vardan Arewelc'i *Geography*; various works of Anania Širakac'i; P'awstos Biwzand *History of the Armenians*.

TD: 177^r–183^v

M₂^{*} = J309³⁰

Date: 1617

Place copied: Jerusalem

Scribe(s): Priest Grigor Xizanc'i

Receiver(s): Karapet *vardapet* Mokac'i

Dimensions: 260 × 200

Material written on: paper

Binding: cardboard

Total number of folios: 142

Colophons: 1^r, 32^v, 142^r

Decorations: one head piece

Columns: 2

Lines per folio: 44

Letters per line: 62–63

Script: *bolorgir*

Other texts in the ms.: Agat'angelos *History of the Armenians* and TD.

TD: fols 134^v–142^r

Palaeographical and Orthographical Features

Mixed use of o and uł; in cases when uł is used, a small o-shaped sign is placed above it.

Inconsistent use of final or intervocalic j

confusion of p/uł

confusion of q/l

confusion of ŋ/un and ŋ/p

confusion of ð/ð

³⁰ Polarean 1967, 159–161.

confusion of ղ/խ

Writes u before q for q

Often writes լ for ու before a vowel.

Consistently uses the letter լ in oblique cases of n declension words ending in ի, e.g. հոգւոյն, etc.

Abbreviates many words. The following are abbreviated regularly: numbers with corresponding letters; the words: աշխարհ, ընդ, թագաւոր and words derived from it, կաթողիկոս, հրեշտակ, քահանայ, որպէս, վասն, the name Գրիգոր, oblique cases of personal pronouns, collective pronouns, the ending -եալ of participles, the ending -եան, substantives ending in -ութիւն and its oblique cases.

A horizontal dash is placed above all abbreviations.

m* = J314³¹

Date: 1649

Place copied: Constantinople

Scribe(s): Yarut'iwn dpir

Dimensions: 260 × 200

Material written on: paper

Binding: wood, bound in leather with blind-tooled decorations

Total number of folios: 206

Flyleaves: 4: 2 parchment and 2 paper

Colophons: in J303 and J310 written by the same scribe, once all 3 (including J314) part of the same ms: J303 fol. 415^r

Decorations: head pieces, marginal decorations, ornamental capital letters, full-page miniatures

Columns: 2

Lines per folio: 35

Letters per line: 49–50

Script: *notrgir*

Other texts in the ms.: Agat'agnełos *History of the Armenians* and TD.

TD: 195^r–206^v

Palaeographical and Orthographical Features

Mixed use of աւ instead of օ.

Inconsistent use of final or intervocalic յ.

³¹ Polarean.

Writes u before q instead of q.

confusion of p/պ

confusion of q/կ

confusion of ղ/ւո

confusion of ե/է

confusion of ձ/ծ

confusion of ղ/խ

Sometimes writes լ for ու before a vowel in closed syllables.

Mixed use of the letter լ in oblique cases of ո declension words ending in ի, e.g. both հոգւոյն and հոգոյն are attested.

Employs numerous abbreviations. The following are regularly abbreviated: numbers with corresponding letters; the words: ամենայն, արհնութիւն, աշխարհ, եպիսկոպոս, թագաւոր and words derived from it, ժամանակ, կաթողիկոս, քահանայ, որպէս, sometimes oblique cases of personal pronouns, sometimes the ending -եալ of participles, substantives with the suffix ութիւն and its oblique cases.

A horizontal dash is placed above abbreviated words.

U = M7098³²

Date: 1647, 1664

Place copied: un-known

Scribe(s): Grigor Amt'ec'i, Xač'atur *vardapet* and Nersēs

Dimensions: 123 × 93

Material written on: paper

Binding: cardboard

Total number of folios: 338

Colophons: 59^v, 204^r, 274^r (1647), 336^r (1664), of later date 264^r, 297^v, 327^v (XVIIc.)

Columns: 1

Lines per folio: 16

Letters per line: 29–33

Script: *notrgir*

Other texts in the ms.: Bart'ulimeos Maralac'i *Compilation of Dialectics which is Logics*; The Armenian Calendar; Azaria Gulayec'i *Calendar*; Łukas Ketec'i *Calendar of the Romans*; *Calendars*; *Book of Medicines*; *By Whom Calendars of Nations were Established*; *Simple Calendar*; *On*

³² CMM 1970, 460.

How to Take a Vein; Yovhannēs Kozerñ *Commentary on the Calendar*; Yovhannēs Sarkawag *Calendar*; Samuēl Anec'i *Commentary on the Calendar*; Heremius At'enac'i *Ephemerides*; Prophet Daniel *Prophecies*; *A Prophecy*; *A Copy of the Great Calendar of the Armenians*; *Blessings*; TD; *Hymns* (by Yovhannes Kerobenc' and anonymous); Vardan Arewelc'i *Geogrpahy*; Nersēs Šnorhali *Riddles*; *On Dominical Feasts*. TD: 280^r–297^r, Incipit with Section 6.26 the preceding two folios, 277^v–279^r, are empty, most likely for filling in the beginning of TD, which was never done.

U₁ = M3526³³

Date: 1670

Place copied: un-known

Scribe(s): Mik'ayel

Receiver(s): Xjoy Beron, Žermazan

Dimensions: 190 × 130

Material written on: paper

Binding: wood, bound in leather with blind-tooled decorations, wrapped in red cloth

Total number of folios: 229

Colophons: 106^v, 223^v, 225^r

Columns: 1

Lines per folio: 25

Letters per line: 27–31

Script: *notrgir*

Other texts in the ms.: *Sermons* by Yakob Ľrimec'i and anonymous; TD; *Wisdom of Ahikar*; *Visions* of Mariam, St. Gregory the Illuminator and Yovhannēs Garneć'i; *Heaven-sent Letter*; *History* by Elia of Xarberd.

TD: 190^r–201^v

Sample-Collated Belonging to the Agat'angelos Group

J1296³⁴

Date: XVIII c. (a colophon from 1740 and another from 1768 for the donation of the book to St. James Patriarchate)

Place copied: un-known

Scribe(s): un-known

³³ CMM 1965, 1034.

³⁴ Polarean 1969, 516–519.

Dimensions: 170 × 110

Material written on: paper

Binding: cardboard bound in leather

Total number of folios: 572

Colophons: 3^r, 4^r

Decorations: red capital letters

Columns: 1

Lines per folio: 17–18

Letters per line: 25–27

Script: *notrgir*

Other texts in the ms.: *Answer to the Letter of the Metropolitan of Sebastea*

Written by the Order of Catholicos Xaç'ik against the Duophysites; On the Wicked Death of the Metropolitan of Sebastea; Against Duophysites; On the Divinity of Christ from the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius of Caesarea; The Conversion of Constantine the Great in Rome; TD; Visions and Revelations of various Church Fathers against the Council of Chalcedon; The Question of Piwros, Patriarch of Constantinople and Answers of Komitas the Armenian Catholicos; Questions of Juvenal and Answers of Movsēs K'ert'ol and David the Invincible; Useful Questions of Armenians against Duophysites; Another Polemical Speech against the Franks; Against Duophysites by Anania Vardapet; Testimonies of Holy Vardapets; On the True Cross of Christ; On the Fast of Araġaworac'; On Those who become Eunuchs.

TD: 164^v–207^r.

J652³⁵

Date: before 1768

Place copied: un-known

Scribe(s): un-known

Dimensions: 210 × 155

Material written on: paper

Binding: wood, bound in leather with blind-tooled decorations

Total number of folios: 524

Flyleaves: 3

Colophons: 513 (but a different hand, not that of the scribe)

Columns: 1

Lines per folio: 25

³⁵ Polarean.

Letters per line: 38–44

Script: *notrgir*

Other texts in the ms.: *Letters* of Nersēs Šnorhali, Grigor Tlay and Nersēs Lambronac'i, Cyril of Jerusalem; a *Homily* of Ephrem Syrus; *On Fasts and Prayers*; TD.

TD: 495–513

M1881³⁶

Date: XVII c.

Place copied: un-known

Scribe(s): un-known

Dimensions: 250 × 195

Material written on: paper

Binding: cardboard wrapped in cloth

Total number of folios: 203

Columns: 2

Lines per folio: 40

Letters per line: 64

Script: *notrgir*

Other texts in the ms.:

TD: Agat'angelos *History of the Armenians* and TD; *Yajaxapatum jaṛk'*.

This ms includes only a partial text of TD, desinit 8.10. TD starts as an Agat'angelos-type text but from Section 4, the exemplar was changed to an N Group text-type.

M10728³⁷

Date: 1701–1702

Place Copied: New Julfa

Scribe: different hands, Xač'atur (the scribe of TD)

Dimensions: 218 × 146

Material written on: paper

Total number of folios: 350

Colophons: 344^{r-v}

Columns: 1

Lines per folio: 27

³⁶ CMM 1965, 665.

³⁷ CMM 2007, 181–182.

Letters per line: 40

Script: *notrgir*

Other texts in the ms.: various works, including Agat'angelos *History of the Armenians* and TD

TD: 336^v–344^r

W111³⁸ (excerpt, incipit Section 17, Agat'angelos group)

Date: 1819–1829

Place copied: Trieste and Vienna

Scribe(s): Philippus Tatar Argutyan

Dimensions: 190 × 140

Material written on: paper

Total number of folios: 127

Colophons: 106^r, 121^r, 126^r

Columns: 1

Lines per folio: 22–29

Letters per line: 39–40

Script: *šlagir*

Other texts in the ms.: a *Dictionary* (Georgian); TD (excerpt); *Explanation of the Vision of St. Gregory*; *On False Easter*; various letters (XIX c).

TD: 19^r–23^r

3.1.1.5. N Group

Mss of this group have very similar (and in some cases identical) content, including such works as Movsēs Erznkac'i *Commentary on the Liturgy of the Hours* and Yovhannēs Arčišec'i *Commentary on the Liturgy*, as well as Nersēs Šnorhali *Encomia on the Cross and the Archangels*. This implies that TD was copied in a block of texts and thus, it should come as no surprise that there are no strictly marked sub-groups within this group as the collation has demonstrated. There are only minor differences between the texts of different mss of this group. Moreover, the dependence of mss N, N₁ and N₄ on a common ancestor is confirmed by the repetition of the same colophon (with a different length in each ms) in these three mss.

³⁸ Dashian 1895, 64–65.

N: 265^v; N₁: 289^v and N₄: 39^v

Ի թվին ՌԺԱ (1562) (added in N₁ only)

Եւ զՅովսէփ յոյժ եղկելիս՝

Ըզգծաւ ալսմ ճառիս,

Վատթարագոյն մեղսասիրիս,

Ծանրաբեռնեալ դժոխակրիս,

Որ խաբեցայ ի կենցաղիս

Եւ գործեցի բազում չարիս (This is the last line in N)

Անգեղջ կամաւք ի յաշխարհիս

Յերես անկեալ արտասուալիս

Ընթերցողաց այս կտակիս,

Յիշման առնել զմեզ արժանիս (This is the last line in N₁)

N₄: 39^v

Եւ զՅովսէփ յոյժ եղկելիս

Ըզգծաւ ալսմ ճառիս,

Վատթարագոյն մեղսասիրիս,

Ծանրաբեռնեալ դժոխակրիս,

Որ խաբեցայ ի կենցաղիս՝

Եւ գործեցի բազում չարիս՝

Անգեղջ կամաւք ի յաշխարհիս՝

Երես անկեալ արտասուալիս,

Ընթերցողաց այտ կտակիս,

Յիշման առնել զմեզ արժանիս,

Թողուլ անառակիս

Ջնիւթեալ չարիս

Իմ ի յերկրիս,

Եւ տնաւրինել ի ներկայիս

Զփրկութիւն մեղաւորիս

Եւ յաջողել ի յապառնիս,

Ձճանապարհըս գովելիս

Եւ ձեզ լիցի մասն բարիս

Ընդ սուրբս իւր և սիրելիս.

Ամէն, ամէն:

‘And I, Yovsep, the most defiled scribe of this homily, the worst sin-lover, loaded with the heavy weight of hell, that cheated³⁹ in life and committed much evil [ms N ends the colophon here], with an un-repenting will in this world fell on my face full of tears [to ask] those who read this testament to make us worthy of remembrance [ms N₁ ends the colophon here]. And I, the prodigious one, shall abandon committing evil on earth and shall manage in the present [to attain] the salvation of my sinful self and [then

³⁹ Even though the form of the verb is passive, the context requires it to be active in meaning, which is how I translated it.

I] shall succeed in the future on the Praiseworthy Road. And may there be a kind share also for you along with His saints and loved ones. Amen. Amen.²

The name of the scribe of N₄ as well as of N₁ was Yovsep. However, N₄ is the oldest among the three mss and its colophon is the most complete. Thus, it is very likely that N and N₁ stem from N₄, if not in a direct line, at least through intermediaries (now lost) that were copied directly from N₄. It is also possible to hypothesize that N₄ was copied from a ms whose scribe's name was also Yovsep and the colophon is even older than N₄. This supposition, however, does not change the nature of the relationship between N, N₁ and N₄.

N = M1325⁴⁰

Date: 1620 (279^r)

Place: un-known

Scribe(s): Kasbar, Mkrtič', Yovsēp', Łukas *dpir*

Receiver(s): Bishop T'umay

Dimensions: 270 × 205

Material written on: paper

Binding: wood, bound in leather with blind-tooled decorations, wrapped in cloth

Total number of folios: 282

Flyleaves: 2, parchment with *ułlagic erkat'agir* Vita of the Apostle Andrew

Colophons: 18^v, 23^r, 28^v, 34^v, 205^r, 265^v, 279^r; of later date 281^r (1637 and 1658) and 280^v.

Decorations: marginal decorations

Columns: 2

Lines per folio: 27

Letters per line: 46–47

Script: *bolorgir*

Other texts in the ms.: Movsēs Erznkac'ī *Commentary on the Liturgy of the Hours* and his colophon; Yovhannēs Arčīšec'ī *Commentary on the Liturgy*; Nersēs Šnorhali *Encomia on the Cross* and *On the Archangels*; *On the Feast of the Holy Cross*; *From the Lives of the Fathers*; Cyril of Jerusalem *On the Liturgy*; TD.

TD: fols. 270^r–278^v

⁴⁰ GCM 2008, 925–930.

N₁ = M1326⁴¹

Date: 1562

Place: un-known

Scribe(s): Yovsēpʿ

Dimensions: 268 × 200

Material written on: paper

Binding: wood, bound in red leather with blind-tooled decorations

Total number of folios: 310

Flyleaves: 4, parchment with *boloragic erkatʿagir*, a Letter of Paul

Colophons: 289^v–290^r

Decorations: head pieces, marginal decorations, ornamental capital letters

Columns: 2

Lines per folio: 29

Letters per line: 27–28

Script: *bolorgir*

Other texts in the ms.: Movsēs Erzñkacʿi *Commentary on the Liturgy of the Hours* and his colophon; Yovhannēs Arčīsecʿi *Commentary on the Liturgy*; Yovhannēs Gaṛnecʿi *Counsel*; Grigor Narekacʿi *The Order and the Canon of Prayers*; Esayi Nčēcʿi *A Letter on the Order of the Churches and the Liturgy of the Hours*; Grigor Tłay [poem] *Goy yis gitutʿiwn*; Nersēs Šnorhali *Encomia to the Cross, the Archangels*; On the Feast of the Holy Cross; *From the Lives of the Fathers*; Cyril [of Jerusalem] *On the Liturgy*; TD.

TD: fols. 295^v–306^v

The content of N, the younger ms, seems to be an abridged version of N₁. The former excludes the following works: Yovhannēs Gaṛnecʿi *Counsel*; Grigor Narekacʿi *The Order and the Canon of Prayers*; Esayi Nčēcʿi *A Letter on the Order of the Churches and the Liturgy of the Hours*; and Grigor Tłay's poem *Goy yis gitutʿiwn*.

N₂* = M4135⁴²

Date: XV c.

Place copied: Monastery of St. John (near Tat'ew)

Scribe(s): Yakob

⁴¹ Ibid, 929–932.

⁴² CMM 1965, 1155.

Dimensions: 265 × 200

Material written on: paper

Binding: wood, bound in leather with blind-tooled decorations, wrapped in cloth

Total number of folios: 344

Colophons: 56^r, 343^v, 344^r

Decorations: head pieces, marginal decorations, ornamental capital letters

Columns: 2

Lines per folio: 27

Letters per line: 28–32

Script: *bolorgir*

Other texts in the ms.: Movsēs Erznkac'i *Commentary on the Liturgy of the hours*; Yovhannēs Arčišec'i *Commentary on the Liturgy*; Yovhannēs Garnec'i *Counsel*; Grigor Narekac'i *The Order and the Canon of Prayers*; Esayi Nč'ec'i *Letter on the Order of the Churches and the Liturgy of the Hours*; Grigor Tlay [poem] *Goy yis gitut'iw*n; Nersēs Šnorhali *Encomia to the Cross, the Archangels, On the Feast of the Holy Cross*; Cyril [of Jerusalem] *On the Liturgy*; TD.

TD: 331^r–343^r

The content of N₂ is identical to N₁.

Palaeographical and Orthographical Features

Consistently uses աւ, including for present participles, e.g. -աւղ

Inconsistent use of the final յ (restored in the base text as necessary)

Uses intervocalic յ

Uses intervocalic ղ

Rare cases of confusion of դ/ւ

In one case writes u before q instead of q

Sometimes confuses է/է, but often է and է are not easily distinguishable palaeographically.

Most often uses the letter լ in oblique cases of n declension words ending in ի, e.g. հոգւոյն is the most common form, but որդոյ is also attested.

Employs very few abbreviations. Abbreviates the words: ամենայն, sometimes the name Գրիգորիոս, substantives with the suffix ութիւն and its oblique cases.

A horizontal dash is placed above abbreviated words.

N₂ was selected as the base text for this edition.

$N_3 = M1327^{43}$

Date: 1653

Place copied: Halijor

Scribe(s): Abbess Hrip'simē

Receiver(s): Yovhannēs *Abelay*

Dimensions: 258 × 190

Material written on: paper

Binding: wood, bound in leather with blind-tooled decorations

Total number of folios: 328

Colophons: 2^v, 326^v

Decorations: Ornamental capital letters, marginal decorations

Columns: 2

Lines per folio: 27

Letters per line: 34–36

Script: *bolorgir*

Other texts in the ms.: Movsēs Erzncac'ī *Commentary on the Liturgy of the Hours* and his colophon; Yovhannēs Arčišec'ī *Commentary on the Liturgy*; Yovhannēs Garnc'ī *Counsel*; Grigor Narekac'ī *The Order and the Canon of Prayers*; Esayi Nčec'ī *A Letter on the Order of the Churches and the Liturgy of the Hours*; Grigor Tlay [poem] *Goy yis gitut'iwn*; Nersēs Šnorhali *Encomia to the Cross, Archangels, On the Feast of the Holy Cross; From the Lives of the Fathers*; Cyril [of Jerusalem] *On the Liturgy*; TD.

TD: 316^r–326^v

The content of N_3 is identical to N_1 and N_2 .

$N_4 = M1878^{44}$

Date: XVc.

Place copied: Village of Xnkanc', Region of Ajanan

Scribe(s): Yovsēp'

Dimensions: 246 × 185

Material written on: paper

Binding: wood, bound in leather with blind-tooled decorations

Total number of folios: 59

Colophons: 39^v, 58^v–59^r

Decorations: marginal decorations, ornamental capital letters

⁴³ GCMM 2008, 931–934.

⁴⁴ CMM 1965, 664.

Columns: 2

Lines per folio: 27

Letters per line: 32–34

Script: *bolorgir*

Other texts in the ms.: *Encomium of the Cross* by David the Invincible versified by Nersēs Lambronac‘i; Nersēs Šnorhali *Encomium of the Archangels*, Idem *On the Feast of the Cross*; From the *Lives of the Fathers*; Cyril of Jerusalem *On the Eucharist*; TD.

TD: 46^v–58^v

N₅ = M10200⁴⁵

Date: 1624, 1634, 1666

Place copied: Trapizon (partially)

Scribe(s): Sargis, Amiras Erznkac‘i

Dimensions: 210 × 145

Material written on: paper

Binding: leather-bound wood

Total number of folios: 439

Colophons: 354 r (from the exemplar of 1416), from the scribes: 70^r, 260^v (1624), 293^v, 299^r, 386 (r), 390^r, etc.

Columns: 1

Lines per folio: 26

Letters per line: 35–36

Script: *notrgir*

Other texts in the ms.: 3 mss have been bound together, with 65 works, of which the most important include: Samuēl Anec‘i *Historical Compilation*; Kirakos Ganjakec‘i *History*; various works on the calendar, including apologies for the calculation of the date of the Easter in the Armenian Church; Nersēs Lambronac‘i *Life of Grigor Narekac‘i*; Idem *Against Muslims*; TD; *A List of Armenian Catholicoi until Grigor Tlay*; Vardan Arewelc‘i *Geography*; *On how to Prepare Parchment*; *Riddles*, etc.

TD: 368–378 (the pagination of the ms does not include *recto* and *verso* indications)

The content of this ms is very different from other N mss. However, this could be due to the re-binding of the ms. The collation demonstrates that the text of TD is closely related to N₉ (dated to 1322).

⁴⁵ CMM 1970, 1067–1068.

$N_6 = J1004^{46}$

Date: 1613

Place copied: Jerusalem

Scribe(s): Sahak *abelay*

Dimensions: 200 × 140

Material written on: paper

Binding: paper

Total number of folios: 262

Colophons: 210^r, 252^r.

Columns: 2

Lines per folio: 27

Letters per line: 36–37

Script: *notrgir*

Other texts in the ms.: various *Dictionaries* and *Grammatical works*; *Definitions of Philosophy* of Aristotle; *Comments on the Categories of Aristotle*; TD.

TD: fols 231^r–252^r

$N_9^* = M732^{47}$

Date: 1322

Place: un-known

Scribe(s): Mkrtič‘

Receiver(s): Paron Sołomon

Dimensions: 200 × 130

Material written on: paper

Binding: cardboard wrapped in cloth

Total number of folios: 387

Flyleaves: 2 at the beginning and 2 at the end

Colophons: 211a, 342a, 382b, 383a, from later 211b (from 1405)

Columns: 1

Lines per folio: 16

Letters per line: 28–30

Script: *bolorgir*

Other texts in the ms.: Grigor Anawarzec‘i *Hymns*, John Chrysostom *On the Annunciation*; Epiphanius *In Praise of the Mother of God*; *Yovasap‘ and Baralam*; *Counsels* by Ananias, Ep‘rem and anonymous;

⁴⁶ Polarean 1969, 6–8.

⁴⁷ GCMM 2007, 521–528.

TD; Grigor V kayasēr *Letters*, Nersēs Šnorhali *Confession of Faith*; Nersēs Šnorhali and Nersēs Lambronaci *On the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon*; Yovhannēs Sarkawag, *On the Son of Man*, *On the Chal-ice*; Nersēs Paleanc‘ *A List of Armenian Patriarchs*, Nersēs Lambronac‘i *The List [presented by] the Romans and the Requests of the Armenians*; *Report on the Embassy to Constantinople*; Bishop T‘adēos *Confession of Faith*; Grigor V kayasēr *On the Holy Trinity*, etc.

TD: 260^v–283^r

The ms has several illegible lemmata because of a stain due to humidity. This is the second oldest ms with the text of TD and the oldest within the N group. This ms was used originally as the base text. However, because of the illegible lemmata as well as some idiosyncratic errors not found in other N group mss, it was decided to use ms N₂ (dated to XV c.) as the base text. Further reflections for the choice of N₂ are elaborated upon in Part 2 of this chapter.

Palaeographical and Orthographical Features

Consistently uses աւ even for the ending of present participles, e.g. արձակաւ.

inconsistent use of final or intervocalic յ

Sometimes writes u before q instead of q.

confusion of ք/ւ

one case of confusion between տ/թ, e.g. վաստսնից

confusion of դ/խ

Mixed use of the letter լ in oblique cases of n declension words ending in ի, e.g. both հոգւոյն and դրոյն are attested.

Uses very few abbreviations, even the word տւրք regularly abbreviated everywhere, here is not always abbreviated. Besides *nomina sacra* abbreviates only substantives with the suffix ութիւն and one number with corresponding letters, i.e. 300 as q.ճ. A horizontal dash is placed above all abbreviations.

Contaminated or Unclear N Affiliation

N₇ = J1672⁴⁸

Date: XVII c., 1621, 1623

Place copied: un-known

⁴⁸ Polarean 1971, 526–528.

Scribe(s): Priest Step'anos Ĵulayec'i
 Receiver: Melik' *ala*, son of *Xoĵay* Safar
 Dimensions: 130 × 90
 Material written on: paper
 Binding: wood, bound in leather
 Total number of folios: 474
 Flyleaves: 4 (2 at the beginning and 2 at the end), parchment, with
 erkat'agir Epistle to the Hebrews
 Colophons: 455, 462
 Columns: 1
 Lines per folio: 20
 Letters per line: 29–30
 Script: *notrgir*
 Other texts in the ms.: various *Dictionaries* and *Grammatical* works;
 Abusaid *On the Constitution of Man*; *On [the measurement of] asparez*;
 TD; *On Taking Blood*.
 TD: 416–451
 The text of TD in this ms follows the N group until the end of Section 22,
 after which its exemplar was switched to an LF₅ text-type (from Group
 F).

N₈ = J1861⁴⁹

Date: 1669
 Place copied: New Julfa (St. Katarinē)
 Scribe(s): Nun Sara and Oskan *dpir*
 Receiver(s): Nun Sara, daughter of Gork'
 Dimensions: 185 × 125
 Material written on: paper
 Binding: *wood, bound in leather with engravings*
 Total number of folios: 944
 Flyleaves: half a page at the beginning and 1 at the end, parchment with
 Ethiopian letters
 Colophons: numerous, including 238, 696, 921, etc.
 Columns: 1
 Lines per folio: 22
 Letters per line: 28–30

⁴⁹ Polarean 1972, 248–254.

Script: *notrgir*

Other texts in the ms.: numerous works, including *Lives of Saints*; *Fifteen Signs of Judgment*; *Counsels* by various authors and anonymous; TD; Vardan Arewelc'i *Geography*; *Sermons*; *History of the Bronze City*; *History of King P'ahlul*, etc.

TD: 470–496.

The numerous lacunae and corruptions do not allow a clear classification of this ms within a group beyond its belonging to the A family. Nevertheless, its text is closest to the N text-type than any other from this family.

Sample-Collated (N Group mss)

M1889⁵⁰

Date: 1675

Place copied: New Julfa

Scribe(s): Markos, Hayrapet

Dimensions: 243 × 185

Material written on: paper

Binding: leather bound wood, wrapped in cloth with blind-tooled decorations

Total number of folios: 380

Colophons: 114^v, 266^v

Columns: 2

Lines per folio: 30

Letters per line: 48–50

Script: *notrgir*

Other texts in the ms: Elišē *History of Vardan and the Armenian War*; Excerpts from the *History* of Tovma Arcruni, Lewond Erec' *History of the Armenians*, Barseł Maškevorec'i *Commentary on the Gospel of Mark*, Movsēs Xorenaci *History of the Armenians*, TD.

TD: 369^r–370^v

This manuscript contains only a partial text of TD, which ends at Section 9.1. Its text-type is closest to the N group.

⁵⁰ CMM 1967, 667.

M10236⁵¹

Date: 1700–1701

Place copied: Van

Scribe(s): Yovsēp^ʿ Macnaker

Receiver(s): Mahtesi Murad, Ṛes T^ʿat^ʿos, Tēr Atom

Dimensions: 279 × 208

Material written on: paper

Binding: wood, bound in leather with engravings

Total number of folios: 520

Colophons: 179^v, 259^r, 514^v, etc.

Columns: 2

Lines per folio: 29

Script: *bolorgir*

Other texts in the ms.: A large collection, including various *encomia*; Visions of At^ʿanas, Kozern, Gregory the Illuminator, Mariam, Nersēs the Great; TD; various legends related to the Cross; excerpts from the *Lives of Fathers*; *Confession of Faith*; etc.

TD: 99^r–109^v

The text is closest to the N group.

3.1.2. *B Family Mss*

3.1.2.1. d Group

d = P304⁵²

Date: 1664 (264^r)

Place copied: Amit^ʿ (Diarbek^ʿir)

Scribe(s): T^ʿovmas

Receiver(s): unknown

Dimensions: 205 × 150 mm

Material written on: paper

Binding: wood, bound in leather with blind-tooled decorations

Fly-leaves: 2 at the beginning and 3 at the end

Total number of folios: 267, of which 210 r/v and a fly-leaf at the end, empty

Colophons: 264^r

⁵¹ CMM 2007, 1075–1076.

⁵² Kévorkian and Ter-Stépanian 1998, 882–884.

Decorations: head pieces, marginal decorations, ornamental capital letters

Columns: 2

Lines per folio: 31

Script: *bolorgir*

Other texts in the ms.: *Sermons* by various authors; *On the Hacu'uncac' Cross*; TD; *Vision of St. Nersēs*; *Gawazanagirk'*; Vardan Vardapet *Commentary on the Song of Songs*.

TD: on fols. 184^v–195^r

This manuscript was probably the one consulted by the Mechitarist father Arsēn Bagratuni for the text of TD, who made hand-written corrections, based on the versions found here, on TD published as an appendix to Agat'angelos, *History of the Armenians*, in Constantinople 1709. This annotated edition is kept at the Library of the Mechitarist Congregation in Venice as Manuscripts No. 2422.

Y = M1482⁵³

Date: 1678

Place copied: Village of Alip'ular

Scribe(s): Grigor and T'uma

Receiver(s): un-known

Dimensions: 310 × 227 mm

Material written on: paper

Binding: wood, bound in leather with blind-tooled decorations

Total number of folios: 558

Colophons: 111^r, 365^r, 442^r, 517^v

Decorations: head pieces, ornamental capital letters

Columns: 2

Lines per folio: 41

Letters per line: 62–66

Script: *notrgir*

Other texts in the ms.: Movsēs Xorenac'i *History of the Armenians*; Step'anos Tarōneci *History*; Aristakēs Lastivertc'i, *History*; Eusebius of Caesarea *Ecclesiastical History*; Agat'angelos *History of the Armenians* and TD; Mesrop Vayoc'jorec'i *History of Nersēs the Great*; Yovhannēs Mamikonean *History of Tarōn*; Pawstos Biwzand *History of the*

⁵³ CMM 1965, 562.

Armenians; Elišē *History of Vardan and the Armenian War*; Step'anos Orbelean *History of the House of the Orbeleans*; Michael the Syrian *Chronicle* including the colophon of the translation by Vardan Arewelc'i; Vardan Arewelc'i *Universal History*; *Encomium of Yovhan Ojnec'i*; Ašxarhac'oyc' (ascribed to Movsēs Xorenac'i); *Vision of Yovhannēs Kozeṛn*; *History of T'ēodos and How he Reigned*; *Life of Step'anos Siwnec'i*; Kirakos Ganjakec'i *History*; Socrates Scholasticus *Ecclesiastical History*.

TD: 244^r–247^r

y* = M4584⁵⁴

Date: 1668

Place copied: Tigranakert (i.e. Amit'/Diarbekir)

Scribe(s): Priest (Erec') Abraham

Receiver(s): Xoṙay Awetis, Łaraš Amt'ec'i, Xoṙay Sahak

Dimensions: 280 × 200 mm

Material written on: paper

Binding: wooden, bound in leather with blind-tooled decorations.

Total number of folios: 389

Flyleaves: 2, parchment, *erkat'agir* Gospel fragments.

Colophons: on fols 11^r, 24^r, 35^v, 48^r, 73^v, 74^r, 129^r

Decorations: head pieces, marginal floral decorations, ornamental capital letters.

Columns: 2

Lines per folio: 55

Letters per line: 70–72

Script: *notrgir*

Other texts in the ms.: Movsēs Xorenac'i *History of the Armenians*; Step'anos Tarōneci *History*; Aristakēs Lastivertc'i, *History*; Eusebius of Caesarea *Ecclesiastical History*; Agat'angelos *History of the Armenians* and TD; Mesrop Vayoc'jorec'i *History of Nersēs the Great*; Yovhannēs Mamikonean *History of Tarōn*; An excerpt from Samuēl Anec'i *Historical Compilation*; Pawstos Biwzand *History of the Armenians*; Elišē *History of Vardan and the Armenian War*; Step'anos Orbelean *History of the House of the Orbeleans*; *History of the Hac'unek' Cross*; Socrates Scholasticus *Ecclesiastical History*; Michael the Syrian *Chronicle* including the colophon of the translation by Vardan Arewelc'i; Var-

⁵⁴ CMM 1965, 1240–1241.

dan Arewelc' *Universal History*; Kirakos Ganjakec' *History*; T'ovma Mecopec' *History*; Kirakos Banasēr *Life of Tovma Mecopec'i*; Smbat Sparapet *History*; an excerpt from Michael the Syrian; Levond Erec' *History of the Armenians*.

TD: fols. 184^v–195^r

The collation of the mss dYy allows the conclusion that these are sister mss. It must be noted that these are the only mss were TD follows Agat'angelos but does not belong to the 'Agat'angelos group'.

Palaeographical and Orthographical Features

Consistent use of o for աւ;

Inconsistent use of final or intervocalic յ

Writes u before q instead of q

confusion of ք/պ

confusion of դ/տ

confusion of ձ/ծ and ծ/ց

Mixed use of the letter լ in oblique cases of n declension words ending in ի, e.g. both հոգւոյն and որոյն are attested.

Uses an ideogram to represent the words աշխարհ and որպէս.

Employs numerous abbreviations often without regularity. Any vowel in a given word can be abbreviated for whatever reasons, e.g. given space constraints, etc. Because of this it is not reasonable to present the full list of every single abbreviation. The following are regularly abbreviated: numbers with corresponding letters; ամենայն, առաքեալ, բազում, եպիսկոպոս, ընդ, թագաւոր and words derived from it, ի վերայ, կաթողիկէ/կաթողիկոս, հայրապետ, հաւատ and words derived from it, հրեշտակ, քահանայ, the ending -եալ of participles, the name Գրիգոր, oblique cases of personal pronouns, substantives with the suffix ութիւն and its oblique cases, etc.

A horizontal dash is always placed above abbreviated words.

3.1.2.2. D Sub-Group

As the descriptions below make it evident, many of the mss within the D sub-group, regardless of the sub-sub group affiliation, have a similar core. All mss include the *Chronicle* of Michael the Syrian and the *Historical Compilation* of Samuēl Anec'i. Other works commonly found in these mss are: a *List of Armenian Kings according to Movsēs Xorenac'i* redacted by Movsēs Erzncac'i followed by the same author's *Commentary on the*

Gospel of Matthew. There are also works on weights of Anania Širakac'i; *On the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* and *On 12 Gems*. The similarity of content provides corroborative evidence that mss of the D sub-group descend from a common ancestor.

3.1.2.3. b Sub-Sub Group

B* = J343⁵⁵

Date: 1480, but TD copied in 1498

Place copied: Constantinople

Scribe(s): Priest Nersēs Amasiac'i

Receiver(s): (medical) doctor Amirtovlat'

Dimensions: 250 × 180

Material written on: paper

Binding: leather-bound wood

Total number of folios: 440

Flyleaves: 1 at the beginning

Colophons: 291^r; 434^r

Decorations: marginal decorations

Columns: 1

Lines per folio: 31

Letters per line: 43–46

Script: *bolorgir*

Other texts in the ms.: Michael the Syrian *Chronicle*; *From the Books of Syrians on 12 Patriarchs*; Grigor Xlat'ec'i *Counsel on the Liturgy of the Hours*; *The order of Armenian Kings according to Movsēs Xorenac'i*; *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*; *On the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*; Anania Širakac'i *Numbers of Measurement [in] the Old and New Testaments*; *Maxims of the Sages*; Samuēl Anec'i *Historical Compilation*; TD.

TD: 422^v–433^v

The content of B is identical to the first part of D (up to TD on fols 244^v–258^r).⁵⁶ The text of TD in mss B and D have no significant differences.

The content of the mss is identical in the first half. Since both were copied in Constantinople (B in 1498 and D in 1721⁵⁷) and, as just mentioned, their content is identical (in the first part of D), it is very

⁵⁵ Polarean 1967, 234–236.

⁵⁶ Kévorkian and Ter-Stépanian 1998, 766–770.

⁵⁷ Kévorkian and Ter-Stépanian 1998, 766–770.

likely that both mss were copied from the same exemplar. Either the scribe of B copied their common exemplar only partially or the second half of D was copied from another ms.

In order to repair a round hole, white paper is attached on the lower right corner of fol. 431^r, because of which several lemmata are illegible on lines 24–28 of fol. 431^r and lines 23–28 of fol. 431^v. There are several ‘corrections’ made by a different hand, all presented in the second apparatus.

Palaeographical and Orthographical Features

Consistently uses *uu*.

Inconsistent use of the final and intervocalic *j* but there is also a tendency to use the letter *j* excessively, either in the final or intervocalic positions, e.g. *վիայքանութեան*, etc.

Sometimes writes *u* before *q* instead of *q*

confusion of *p/u*

confusion of *q/l*

confusion of *η/un*, the suffix *-η* is always spelled as *-un*.

confusion of *t/ե*

confusion *ծ/g*

confusion of *η/ի*

confusion of *ջ/ճ*

confusion of *եայ/այ* and *եաց/աց*

Mixed use of the letter *ւ* in oblique cases of *n* declension words ending in *ի*, e.g. both *հոգւոյն* and *որդոյ* are attested.

Abbreviates: numbers with corresponding letters, the words: *ամենայն*, sometimes *բազում*, *եպիսկոպոս*, sometimes *ընդ*, *թագաւոր* and words derived from it, *ճանապարհ*, *որպէս*, *ի վերայ*, *վասն որոյ* to *վայ*, *քահանայ*, oblique cases of personal pronouns, collective pronouns, substantives with the suffix *ութիւն* and its oblique cases.

A horizontal dash is always placed above abbreviated words.

b₁ = M1868⁵⁸

Date: 1585

Place copied: Sebastea

Scribe(s): Yovhannēs Ant‘abc‘i

⁵⁸ CMM 1965, 661–662.

Dimensions: 217 × 150

Material written on: paper

Binding: leather-bound wood, wrapped in black cloth

Total number of folios: 233

Colophons: 204^v, 232^r; from a later date 1^v (from 1766)

Decorations: head pieces, marginal decorations

Columns: 1

Lines per folio: 32

Letters per line: 27–28

Script: *bolorgir* and *notrgir*

Other texts in the ms.: Michael the Syrian *Chronicle* with the colophon of Vardan Arewelc'i; *From the Books of the Syrians on 12 Patriarchs*; Grigor Xlat'ec'i *Counsel on the Liturgy of the Hours*; Movsēs Erznkac'i *The Order of Armenian Kings according to Movsēs Xorenac'i*; Idem *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*; Vanakan Vardapet *What is the Breaking [the ceremony] of the Lighting of Lamps*; *On the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*; Anania Širakac'i *Numbers of Measurement [in] the Old and New Testaments*; TD.

TD: 222^v–232^r

b₂ = M1865⁵⁹

Date: 1656

Place copied: Jerusalem

Scribe(s): Bishop T'oros

Dimensions: 210 × 155

Material written on: paper

Binding: wood, bound in leather with blind-tooled decorations

Total number of folios: 282

Flyleaves: 3, with *ullagic erkat'agir* Gospel

Colophons: 37^v, 88^v, 104^r, 135^r, 198^v, 202^r, 277^v, from a later date 239^v (1697)

Decorations: head pieces, marginal decorations, ornamental capitals; a miniature of St. Sargis added later

Columns: 2

Lines per folio: 43

Letters per line: 42–44

Script: *notrgir*

⁵⁹ CMM 1965, 660–661.

Other texts in the ms.: Michael the Syrian *Chronicle* with the colophon of Vardan Arewelc'i; Grigor Aknerc'i *History of the Nation of the Archers; From the Books of the Syrians on 12 Patriarchs*; Grigor Xlat'ec'i *Counsel on the Liturgy of the Hours*; TD; Yovhannēs Orotneč'i *Compilation from the Sayings of Philosophers; The Vision of Yovhannēs Kozeṛn; Encomia* by Davit' and Nersēs Šnorhali; *Wisdom of Ahikar; Sayings of Philosophers*; Anania Širakac'i *Numbers of Measurement [in] the Old and New Testaments*; Movsēs Erznkac'i *The Order of Armenian Kings according to Movsēs Xorenac'i*; Idem *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*; Vanakan Vardapet *What is the Breaking [the ceremony] of the Lighting of Lamps; On the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*; Samuēl Anec'i *Historical Compilation; History of Alexander the Great*; Arak'el Siwnec'i *Encomium of the Mother of God*; T'ovma Mecop'ec'i *History and the author's colophon; History of the Hac'uneac' Cross*; Elišē *Homily on the Transfiguration on Mount Tabor; On Signs of Jerusalem; On Miracles*; Pōlos Tarōneč'i *Against the Council of Chalcedon*; Grigor Tat'ewac'i *Sermon*; Excerpts from the *Simple Calendar; Divinations; Prayers*.

TD: 72^r–76^v

D = P199⁶⁰

Date: 1721

Place copied: Constantinople

Scribe(s): Grigor K'ahana

Receiver(s): Łazar, P'ilippos and Yakob Karušlayec'i

Dimensions: 210 × 300 mm

Material written on: paper

Binding: wood, bound in leather with blind-tooled decorations

Total number of folios: 420

Flyleaves: 2 empty folios at the beginning and 3 at the end

Colophons: 419^{r-v}

Decorations: head-pieces, marginal decorations, ornamental capital letters

Columns: 2

Lines per folio: 24

Letters per line: 28–30

Script: *notrgir*

⁶⁰ Kévorkian and Ter-Stépanian 1998, 766–770.

Other texts in the ms.: Michael the Syrian *Chronicle*; Grigor Xlat'ec'i *Counsel on the Liturgy of the Hours*; Movsēs Erzñkac'i *The Order of Armenian Kings according to Movsēs Xorenac'i*; Idem *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*; Vanakan Vardapet *What is the Breaking [the ceremony] of the Lighting of Lamps*; *On the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*; Anania Širakac'i *Numbers of Measurement [in] the Old and New Testaments*; *Maxims of Sages*; TD; an excerpt from Michael the Syrian; *On the Coming of Our Savior*; *On the Tunic of Christ*; *On the Miracles of God that Occurred in the City of Antioch*; various *Sermons*.

TD: fols 244^v–258^r

3.1.2.4. P Sub-Sub Group

b* = M1869⁶¹

Date: 1585–1589

Place copied: Eudokia

Scribe(s): Andreas Sarkavag

Receiver(s): Idem

Dimensions: 217 × 157 mm

Material written on: paper

Binding: wood, bound in leather with blind-tooled decorations

Total number of folios: 400

Colophons: 1^v, 181^v, 316^v, 392^r

Decorations: ornamental capital letters

Columns: 2 (TD)

Lines per folio: 30

Letters per line: 24–28

Script: *bolorgir*

Other texts in the ms.: Riddles; Michael the Syrian *Chronicle* with the colophon of Vardan Arewelc'i; *From the Books of Syrians on 12 Patriarchs*; Grigor Xlat'ec'i *Counsel on the Liturgy of the Hours*; Movsēs Erzñkac'i *The Order of Armenian Kings according to Movsēs Xorenac'i*; *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*; *On the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*; Anania Širakac'i *Numbers of Measurement [in] the Old and New Testaments*; *Maxims of Sages*; Samuēl Anec'i *Historical Compilation*; *The Number of Patriarchs, Kings and Catholicoi of the Armenians*; *Preambles for [writing] Letters*; *On the Heavenly Hierarchy*; Epiphanius *On*

⁶¹ CMM 1965, 662.

Gems; Canons of [the Council of] Manazkert; Gregory of Caesarea Names of Cities; History of the city of Paris; TD; Life of St. Nersēs Šnorhali; The Confession of Faith of Romans; Matt'ēos Julayec'i Answers to Questions of Abisołom; Nerses Šnorhali Letters; A Colophon on the Massacre by the Saracens; On the Destruction of Amit'; Commemoration of the Emperor Manuel; Rules of Cryptography; Names of Fifteen False Books; Andreas Evdokac'i Chronography.

TD: 302^v–314^v

Palaeographical and Orthographical Features

Usually uses աւ but cases of օ are also attested, even in open syllable for աւ, e.g. Լուսոռքշի.

Inconsistent use of final or intervocalic յ

Sometimes (inconsistently) writes u before q instead of q

confusion of ք/պ

confusion of դ/թ

confusion of ե/է

Confusion of ջ/ճ

confusion ծ/ց

When ու appears before another vowel an o-shaped sign is placed above it.

Mixed use of the letter լ in oblique cases of n declension words ending in ի, e.g. both հոգւոյն and որդոյ are attested.

Uses an ideogram to represent the word աշխատ.

Abbreviates some numbers with corresponding letters; the words: ամենայն, արհմել and words derived from the same root, sometimes եպիսկոպոս, sometimes ընդ, թագաւոր and words derived from it, վասն, ի վերայ, որպէս, քահանայ; oblique cases of personal pronouns, substantives with the suffix ութիւն and its oblique cases.

A horizontal dash is placed above abbreviated words.

P = M1484⁶²

Date: 1661–1671

Place copied: un-known

Scribe(s): Yovhannēs

Receiver(s): Yovhannēs sarkawag

⁶² CMM 1965, 563.

Dimensions: 280 × 195

Material written on: paper

Binding: cardboard

Total number of folios: 359

Colophons: 171^v, 358^v, from later dates 358^v (1681); 2^r (1795 and 1798)

Decorations: head pieces, marginal decorations, ornamental capital letters

Columns: 2

Lines per folio: 35

Letters per line: 51–54

Script: *notrgir*

Other texts in the ms.: Michael the Syrian *Chronicle* and the colophon of Vardan Arewelc'i; *From the Books of Syrians on 12 Patriarchs*; Movsēs Erzñkac'i *The Order of Armenian Kings according to Movsēs Xorenac'i*; *On the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*; *Sayings of Philosophers*; Anania Širakac'i *Numbers of Measurement [in] the Old and New Testaments*; Samuēl Anec'i *Historical Compilation*; *The Number of Patriarchs, Kings and Armenian Catholicoi*; Anania Širakac'i *On Weights and Measures*; *An Example of Epistle-writing*; Epiphanius *On Gems*; *Names of Cities* attributed to Gregory of Caesarea; *History of the City of Paris*; TD; Matt'ēos Ĵulayec'i *Answers to the questions of Abisolom*; *The Correspondence of Nersēs Šnorhali and Emperor Manuel*; Movsēs Xorenac'i *History of the Armenians*.

TD: 209^v–215^r

P₁ = M3072⁶³

Date: XVII c.

Place copied: un-known

Scribe(s): Karapet Erec'

Receiver(s): Aristakes Vardapet

Dimensions: 203 × 148

Material written on: paper

Binding: wood, bound in leather with blind-tooled decorations

Total number of folios: 452

Flyleaves: 2, parchment, with *ullagic erkat'agir* Gospel text

Colophons: 177^r, 280^r, 337^v

⁶³ CMM 1965, 933–934.

Decorations: head pieces, marginal decorations, ornamental capital letters

Columns: 2

Lines per folio: 24

Letters per line: 39–40

Script: *notrgir*

Other texts in the ms.: Michael the Syrian *Chronicle*; Grigor Xlat'ec'i *Counsel on the Liturgy of the Hours*; Movsēs Erzncac'i *The Order of Armenian Kings according to Movsēs Xorenac'i*; Idem *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*; *On the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*; Anania Širakac'i *Numbers in the Old and New Testament*; Samuēl Anec'i *Historical Compilation*; *Names of Patriarchs of the Armenians, the Romans, the Jews and the Persians*; Epiphanius *On 12 Gems*; *Anathemas [pronounced at] the Council of Manazkert*; *Names of Cities* attributed to Gregory of Caesarea; TD; *Confession of Faith of the Church of Rome*; Mesrop Vayoc'jorec'i *History of Nersēs the Great*; *The Correspondence between Nersēs Šnorhali and Emperor Manuel*; Kirakos T'alnec'i *Hymn*; *Counsels of Wise men*; *On weights*; *Preambles to letters*; *History of the City of Paris*; *Questions of the Saracens and Answers of our Vardapets*; *Miscellania*.

TD: 326^v–337^r

S = M6483⁶⁴

Date: 1757

Place copied: Karin

Scribe(s): Priest Bałdasar

Dimensions: 210 × 150

Material written on: paper

Binding: cardboard

Total number of folios: 281

Colophons: 210^r, 245^v, 280^v

Columns: 2

Lines per folio: 26

Letters per line: 37–40

Script: *notrgir*

⁶⁴ CMM 1970, 328.

Other texts in the ms.: Michael the Syrian *Chronicle* with the colophon of Vardan Arewelc'i; Movsēs Erzñkac'i *The Order of Armenian Kings according to Movsēs Xorenac'i*; *Bagratuni* [sic!] *Kings of Cilicia*; *Chronology from Adam till Alexander the Great*; Nersēs Šnorhali *Riddles*; Excerpts from the *History* of T'ovma Mecop'ec'i; Samuēl Anec'i *Historical Compilation*; the *Order of Patriarchs of Rome, Jerusalem, Alexandria and Antioch*; A *List of Roman, Hebrew, Persian and Armenian Kings*; *Book of Times from Adam till the Coming of Antichrist*; *Questions on the End of Times*; *On How to Find easily Famous Dates*; *Calendars of the Other Nations*; *On Weights*; *On the Heavenly Hierarchy*; Epiphanius *On 12 Gems*; TD; *Life of Nersēs Šnorhali*; *Confession of Faith of the Armenian Church*; *The Correspondence between Nersēs Šnorhali and Emperor Manuel*; *History of the Great City of Paris*; Yakob Karnec'i *Buildings in the City of Karin*; Idem *History of the Church of the Mother of God in the city of Karin*; *Questions and Answers on St. Step'anos and on the Evangelists*.

TD: 200^v–209^v

S₁* = J169⁶⁵

Date: 1756

Place copied: Jerusalem

Scribe(s): Priest Bałdasar, son of Priest Melk'on

Receiver: Karapet Ganjakec'i, the Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem

Dimensions: 300 × 220

Material written on: paper

Binding: wood bound in leather

Total number of folios: 412

Colophons: 98^v, 192^r, 221^v, 412^r, 412^v

Decorations: some red capital letters

Columns: 2

Lines per folio: 44

Letters per line: 48–50

Script: *notrgir*

Other texts in the ms.: Michael the Syrian *Chronicle*, Idem *On the Priestly Hierarchy*, Idem *Confession of Faith*; *From the Books of Syrians on 12 Patriarchs*; the *Order of Armenian Kings according to Movsēs Xorenac'i*; *On the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*; Samuēl Anec'i *Historical Compila-*

⁶⁵ Polarean 1966, 492–493.

tion; Patriarchs of Rome, Jerusalem, Alexandria and Antioch; A List of Roman, Hebrew, Persian and Armenian kings; On the Heavenly Hierarchy; Epiphanius On 12 Gems; Anathemas against the Council of Chalcedon; TD; Life of St. Nersēs Šnorhali; Confession of the Holy and Orthodox Church of Rome; A Letter of Nersēs Šnorhali [on behalf of Catholicos Grigor III] to Syrians of the Province of Amayk'; Idem Confession of Faith; the Correspondence of Nersēs Šnorhali and Emperor Manuel Comnenus; Commemoration of the Massacre of Greeks by Saracens; On the Destruction of the City of Amit'; Commemoration of Emperor Manuel; History of the City of Paris.

TD: 358^v–365^v

Palaeographical and Orthographical Features

Consistently uses *o* for *u* in closed syllables, including for the ending of the present participle.

Inconsistent use of final or intervocalic *j*

writes *u* before *ñ* instead of *q*

confusion of *p*/*u*

confusion of *q*/*p*

confusion of *ñ*/*u* and *u*/*p*

confusion of *t*/*t*

confusion *δ*/*g*

confusion of *z*/*ǰ*

confusion of *ñ*/*h*

Often the shape of the letters *n* and *u* are indistinguishable.

Never uses the letter *ı* in oblique cases of *n* declension words ending in *ի*, e.g. *հոգոյ, որդոյ*, etc.

Uses an ideogram for the words *աշխարհ* and sometimes *երկինք*.

Uses numerous abbreviations without regularity. Abbreviates numbers with corresponding letters. The following words are usually abbreviated: *առաքեալ, բագում, եպիսկոպոս, ընդ, ըստ, թագաւոր* and words derived from it, *ժամանակ, կաթողիկոս, հայրապետ, հրաման, հրեշտակ, յաղագս, որպէս, պատարագ, պատերազմ, վասն որոյ, վերայ, փառաւոր* and other words from the same root, *քահանայ, քաղաք*, collective pronouns, oblique cases of personal pronouns, sometimes the letter *-u-* in the ending *-եալ* of participles, substantives with the suffix *ութիւն* and its oblique cases.

A small horizontal dash is placed above abbreviations.

Sample-Collated (P Sub-Sub Group)

W115⁶⁶ (incipit 9.16, desinit 23.6 B family, P sub-sub group)

Date: 1634

Place copied: Eudokia (?)

Scribe(s): Karapet, Simon T'oxat'ec'i

Dimensions: 190 × 145

Material written on: paper

Total number of folios: 74

Colophons: 13^{r-v}

Columns: 1

Lines per folio: 25

Letters per line: 37–39

Script: *notrgir*

Other texts in the ms.: various anonymous writings; *Joseph and Asaneth*; *Miracles of St. Gregory the Illuminator*; *On Mixing of Water and Wine*; *On Six Principles* of Gilbert de la Porrée; excerpts from *Canons*; TD.

TD: 65^r–73^r

V309⁶⁷

Date: 1871

Place copied: Tiflis

Scribe(s): Fr. Zak'aria Gurgēnean

Dimensions: 363 × 228

Material written on: paper

Binding: cardboard

Total number of folios: 292

Colophons: from the exemplar 34^v, 178^r, 190^r.

Columns: 1

Lines per folio: 33–39

Script: *šlagir*

Other texts in the ms.: various *Sermons* ascribed to Yovhannēs Erznkac'i; Priest Xačatur *Lamentation for Nersēs Lambronac'i*; an excerpt from *Asołik History*; *On the Resurrection of Lazarus*; *On the Appearance and the Heresy of Mohammed*; Step'anos Siwnec'i *On the Two Natures of*

⁶⁶ Dashian 1895, 66–67.

⁶⁷ Sargisean 1924, 1215–1224. While the ms is described under no. 309, its (old) number in the Library is given as 54.

Christ; excerpts from Mxit'ar *Anec'i*; excerpts from a letter of Mxit'ar Goš on *Oecumenical Councils*; an excerpt from the *Chronography* of Mathew of Edessa; TD; Confession of Faith of the Church of Rome; *Counsels and Homilies* (33).

TD: 159^v–167^r

3.1.2.5. E Group

E* = V240⁶⁸

Date: XV–XVI cc. (?), sent to St. Lazzaro in 1740–1749 from Transylvania

Place copied: un-known

Scribe(s): Grigor

Dimensions: 190 × 145

Material written on: paper

Binding: wood, bound in leather

Total number of folios: 319

Flyleaves: 2, paper

Colophons: 82^r, 107^v, 133^r, 134^v

Decorations: head pieces, ornamental capital letters

Columns: 1

Lines per folio: 27

Letters per line: 39–40

Script: *notrgir*

Other texts in the ms.: 190 various works, including *Sermons*, *Counsels*; *Letter of the Lord to Adam*; an excerpt from *Girk' Patčarac'*; excerpts from the *History of Tarōn* of Yovhan Tarōnec'i; *On Penitence*; the *Letter of Abgar*; Vardan Arewelc'i *Geography*; *On Relics Kept at the Monastery of St. Karapet in Tarōn*; TD; *Heaven-sent Letter*; *On What Happens after the Defeat of Antichrist*; *On Patriarchs*, etc.

TD: 46^r–55^r

Palaeographical and Orthographical Features

Mixed use of o and uł.

Inconsistent use of final and intervocalic j.

confusion of q/p and l/p

⁶⁸ Sargisean 1924, 577–612. While the ms is described under no. 240, its (old) number in the Library is given as 57.

confusion of դ/ւո

confusion of ե/տ, palaeographically the two letters are clearly distinguishable

confusion of զ/ճ

confusion of մ/ւ before aspirated occlusive consonants

Never uses the letter լ in oblique cases of n declension words ending in ի, e.g. հոգոյ, որդոյ, etc.

Uses an ideogram to represent the word աշխարհ.

Employs numerous abbreviations, many without regularity. Any vowel of a lemma can be suppressed given its position, e.g. at the end of the line or for whatever reasons. The following are usually abbreviated: numbers with corresponding letters; the words: ամենեքեան, ամենայն, առաքելայ, sometimes բազում, sometimes եկեղեցի and words derived from it, ընդ, թագաւոր and words derived from it, ժամանակ, կաթողիկոս, հայրապետ, հաւատ and words derived from it, հասարակ and words derived from it or containing it, յաւիտենական, հրեշտակ, որպէս, պատարագ, պատերազմ, վասն, փառաւոր and words derived from the same root, քահանայ, քաղաք, sometimes the name Գրիգոր, sometimes the ending -եալ of participles, sometimes the vowel -ա- in the ending of 3 p. sing. aorist indicative active, oblique cases of personal pronouns, collective pronouns, substantives ending in -ութիւն and its oblique cases.

A small horizontal dash is placed above abbreviations.

E₁ = M3461⁶⁹

Date: 1662

Place copied: Eudokia (T'oxat')

Scribe(s): Yovhannēs Baberdç'i

Dimensions: 150 × 105

Material written on: paper

Binding: wood, bound in leather, wrapped in silk cloth

Total number of folios: 429

Flyleaves: 4, parchment with Greek script

Colophons: 43^r, 176^v, 358^v, 395^v, from a later date 384^r (from 1881)

Columns: 1

Lines per folio: 18

⁶⁹ CMM 1965, 1017.

Letters per line: 25–32

Script: *notrgir*

Other texts in the ms.: *History of the Hac'uneac' Cross*; Arak'el Bałıřec'i *History of St. Gregory the Illuminator*; *Forms of Carving Epigraphs on Water-fountains*; *Fortune-teller*; *Riddles*; *Martyrdom of Yovsimos*; *Months of the Romans*; *Penitence of Adam*; TD; *Sermons and Counsels* by Jacob of Sarug, Nełos and anonymous authors; *The Vision of St. Nersēs*; *Explanation of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy and Commentary on the Liturgy of Nersēs Lambronac'i*; *Consolation of the Dead*; *On Different Types of Deaths*; *On the Constancy of the World*; *Hortative [aspects] of a Sermon*; Anania řirakac'i *Problems and Solutions*; *Raxřanakank'*; *On weights, etc.*; *On 12 Winds*; *Fables*; *On 12 Forms of the Liturgy*; *Miscellania*.

TD: 87^v–104^r

I* = M639⁷⁰

Date: 1409 (105^v)

Place copied: Samson (?)

Scribe(s): Priest Yohannēs, son of a goldsmith

Receiver(s): Priest Grigor, Minas *sarkawag*; Xasmelik'; Armaw *xat'un*

Dimensions: 200 × 140

Material written on: paper

Binding: wood, bound in leather with blind-tooled decorations

Total number of folios: 413

Flyleaves: 1, parchment, with *boloragic erkat'agir* Gospel

Colophons: 31^v, 52^r, 63^v, 83^r, 105^r, 111^r, 317^r, 408^v, of later date 410^v (1770–1794), etc.

Decorations: head pieces, marginal floral decorations, ornamental capital letters

Columns: 2

Lines per folio: 20

Letters per line: 25–30

Script: *bolorgir*

Other texts in the ms.: Vardan Aygekc'i *Homilies, Counsels, Confession of Faith*; TD; Eusebius *On the Veneration of the Day of the Lord*; *Homilies* by John Chrysostom, Ephrem Syrus, Mesrop Ganjakec'i, Theophilus, anonymous authors; various *Lives and Martyrdoms of Saints*; Kirakos

⁷⁰ GCM 2007, 155–162.

Erznkac'i *Letter to the Citizens of Karin; The Question of Barsel to Grigor; The Visions of St. Gregory the Illuminator and Mariam*; Grigor Narekac'i poem *Hayeac' yanjn k'o*, etc.

TD: 66^v–83^r

Palaeographical and Orthographical Features

Consistently uses *u*l.

inconsistent use of final *j*

Does not use intervocalic *j*.

Sometimes (inconsistently) uses *u* before *q* instead of *q*.

confusion of *p*/*u*

confusion of *η*/*u*n and *η*/*ϑ*

confusion of *է*/*ե*

confusion of *q*/*p* and *q*/*l*

confusion of *ձ*/*ծ*

Mixed use of the letter *ւ* in oblique cases of *n* declension words ending in *ի*, e.g. both *հոգւոյն* and *որոյն* are attested.

Employs very few abbreviations, besides *nomina sacra*. Even the word *ուրբ* is not always abbreviated. Abbreviates some numbers with corresponding letters and rarely the word *ամենայն*; substantives with the suffix *ութիւն* and its oblique cases. A horizontal dash is placed above abbreviations. There are a few errors corrected by the same hand.

J = M66o8⁷¹

Date: XV c.

Place copied: un-known

Scribe(s): Priest Yohannēs (son of the goldsmith Amir)

Receiver(s): Asarpek and his wife Anuš Xat'un

Dimensions: 210 × 140

Material written on: paper

Binding: cardboard

Total number of folios: 316

Colophons: 14^v, 73^r, 199^r, 314^v, etc.

Writing space: 160 × 95

Columns: 2

⁷¹ CMM 1970, 355.

Lines per folio: 22

Letters per line: 26–30

Script: *bolorgir*

Other texts in the ms.: *The Vision of St. Gregory the Illuminator*, *Yovhannēs Kozerñ and Mariam*; *Homilies and Counsels* by Vardan Aygekc'i, Mesrop Vardapet, Ephrem, John Chrysostom, Kirakos Erznkac'i and an anonymous author; *Lives and Martyrdoms of Saints*; Vardan Aygekc'i *Confession of Faith*; *Questions of Barsel and Answers of Grigor*; *A Letter on being Alert to All Laws*; TD; *Lives and Martyrdoms of Saints*; Nersēs Šnorhali *Confession of Faith*.

TD: 226^r–242^r

The scribes of both I and J are named Yovhannēs, son of a goldsmith, in ms J the name of the goldsmith (the scribe's father) is also revealed as Amir. The hands of the two manuscripts are quite similar and it is likely that the scribe of both mss was one and the same person.

3.1.3. *Mss Not Collated*

M2272 and M673⁷²

M2272 contains the first printed edition of TD, published in Venice in 1683 by Yakob Holov, on fols. 215^r–233^v. M673 (fols 88^v–96^r) is a loyal copy of 2272 made in New Julfa in 1711, so much that it exactly mirrors the pages, starting and ending each line with the same word, at the end of each page indicating the first syllable of the next word of the following page, etc. The text of TD in these mss has been changed according to the rules of the Latin grammar,⁷³ for example, placing adjectives after nouns and changing their case accordingly. It is interesting from the point of view of studying the phenomenon of the Latinised Armenian but it was not considered useful for this edition.

P315⁷⁴

This is a curious manuscript. Copied in Caffa in 1724, it only quotes from those sections of TD that are related to religious aspects and provides pro-Roman comments bellow. Citations from TD end on fol. 6^r, followed by

⁷² CMM 1965, 378 and 762–763.

⁷³ See information on Yakob Holov, his latinophile edition of TD and comments on his grammatical alterations of TD in Uluhogian 2003, 370–371.

⁷⁴ Kévorkian and Ter-Stépanian 1998, 909–910.

five folios (till 11^r) of a treatise on the independence and autocephaly of the Armenian Church, but under Roman supremacy. Thus, the text of TD here was used for a specific, pro-Roman polemical purpose.

Vat Borgiani Armeni 23⁷⁵

Dated to 17th century, *notrgir*, TD on fols 181^r–188^v (with TD) which were added later, written in 2 columns. This ms contains only excerpts of TD juxtaposed next to its Latin translation on fols. 181^v–188^r, whereas the translation is written between the lines of the Armenian text on 188^v. The corrections on letters and the general physical features (words crossed out, etc.) of the text make it look like a draft, possibly to be used for a final Latin translation.

V308 (694)⁷⁶ is a copy of A, attested by the repetition of the colophon from A, as well as the scribe's colophon stating that this Ms was copied in Rome, thus, most likely at the Apostolic Library of the Vatican where A is currently preserved.

V874 (2422),⁷⁷ is a printed edition, the text of TD being that of the 1709 Constantinople edition, with hand-written corrections based on P304.

W705⁷⁸ copied in 1403 in the Monastery of *Mec Anjnapat* (Anapat?) is in a badly damaged condition and is basically illegible.

3.1.4. *Mss Not Accessed*

BZ92

BZA627

3.1.5. *Early Editions*

The *editio princeps* of the *Letter of Love and Concord* goes back to 1683, published by Yakob Holov in Venice, who also provided a facing transla-

⁷⁵ Tisserand 1927, 27–29.

⁷⁶ Sargisean 1924, 1201–1216.

⁷⁷ Cemcemyan 1996, 9–10.

⁷⁸ Oskian 1963, 232–238 does not mention TD. The text is on the first 4 folios of the ms which are greatly damaged. Oskian's description of the ms starts with fol. 5^r.

tion into Italian.⁷⁹ This edition was available to me through ms M2272. This version was reprinted in Padua in 1690, and Venice again in 1695 and 1700. Excerpts of the text were also included in a *florilegium* prepared by a catholic missionary from the Congregation of *de Propaganda Fide* Clemente Galano whose purpose was to demonstrate whether or not the Armenian Church fathers strayed away from Catholic doctrine.⁸⁰ Galano provided the text with a facing Latin translation.

TD was also published as an appendix to Agat'angelos, *History of the Armenians*, prepared in Constantinople in 1709. The text-type published in this version belongs, not surprisingly, to the Agat'angelos group. The latest edition of TD is that provided by Karen Šahnazareanc', *Dašanc' t'it'oc' k'nnut'iwnn u herk'umə* [Analysis and Refutation of Letters of Convention], Paris: N.P., 1862, who thoroughly refuted the authenticity of this 'document'.

3.2. THE RELATIONSHIP OF MANUSCRIPTS

In order to build a chain (an un-oriented stemma) and a stemma of manuscripts' relationships I have used methods of cladistics research applied to text genealogy.⁸¹ This means that in order to demonstrate the division between the two families (here denominated as A and B families), the various groups, and sub-groups within these families I have attempted to rely as much as possible only on *significant variations* in a Type 2 variation environment. This means that I have restricted the choice of common variations to 'substantial' variations when reconstructing the relationship between mss. By 'substantial' or 'significant' variation I mean two completely different lemmata, which are nouns, verbs or adjectives (and not prepositions, conjunctions and small, frequently used adjectives), in the same variation place. This means that

⁷⁹ See Matenadaran Ms. 2272, on the edition of Holov cf the remarks of Uluhogian 2003 and Shirinian 2003.

⁸⁰ Galano 1690, 31–35.

⁸¹ In the discussion below, as well as during my work on mapping out the relationship between manuscripts I have greatly relied on the clear and convincing study of Salemans 2000. I am grateful to my friend and colleague Dr. Barbara Roggema for indicating this work to me. I have applied Salemans' methods manually which is, naturally, more time-consuming, but not less revealing. The translations of variants in this Part do not always agree with the final translation of TD. In many cases, I employ more literal translations to make the examples of variant readings clearer also through English. In cases of ambiguity I have placed a (?).

usually I did not consider differences in verb tenses or moods, case endings, the use of prepositions or demonstrative suffixes, orthographical differences due to confusion of two similarly looking letters, such as q/η, η/q/2, etc. or because of dialectal pronunciation within each variant, unless such a confusion completely changes the meaning of the word, and thus such variation could be argued to be substantial⁸² and genealogically informative. There are some instances, however, when such variations were taken into account as *additional* proof of mss relationships. Sometimes such variants can confirm relationships between manuscripts ascertained by other arguments, but this is not consistently the case as can be gleaned also from the apparatus. The collation of manuscripts also confirms the largely accepted principle that various omissions/additions of small words, such as conjunctions, adverbs, commonly used adjectives, etc. are not revealing from a text-genealogical point of view as these could be added or omitted by scribes unpredictably and could appear/disappear in mss belonging to two branches quite far removed from each other. Such so-called 'parallelisms,' in fact, could give false information about the relationship of text-types and I have tried to avoid those when building chains (and stemmas which are based on the chains). I did consider omissions of larger text blocks, i.e. those consisting of two or more words, often due to homoeoarchton or homoeoteleuton as well as omissions/additions of single words which disturb the syntax of the sentence and often make it senseless, as *additional* proof of the relationship between mss. The logic behind this decision is that if a larger text-block is omitted within one branch of a given family or group and is present in all other branches, including (and especially) those of the opposite family, then this must go back to the common archetypus since such text-blocks could not be 'restored' in the text by scribes automatically. Thus, the omission of a large text-block is considered to be text-genealogically revealing.

By 'Type 2 variation environment' I mean that there are two competing readings in the same variation place, each presented by one of the families, groups or sub-groups. Within this framework the two 'competing variants' must be substantial or significant variants.

I use the word 'archetypus' to refer to the hypothetical common ancestor of all the TD text-types that have come down to us. The archetypus was not necessarily the so-called 'original' text, i.e. the text written

⁸² For a discussion on these types of errors cfr, for example, Stone 1993, 11–14.

by its author, but the earliest copy of this original whence all the other text-types emerged. The archetypus must have been copied sometime between the 1190s (the proposed earliest date of the TD's composition) and 1307 which is the date of our earliest manuscript with TD (i.e. P118). I use the words 'ancestor' or 'forefather' interchangeably to refer to the hypothetical archetypus of a family, a group or a sub-group. When building a chain or a stemma I always imply that there is an open delivery of manuscripts, that is we can imagine many more manuscripts (that have not come down to us) on both vertical and horizontal branches of the stemma.

This part of Chapter 3 is arranged in the following manner. First, I present all the Type 2 variations that distinguish A and B families. The discussion clarifies that two text-types emerged from the archetypus. However, there are text-types within each family which maintain some variants found only in the opposite family and thus represent intermediate stages of transmission. These will be pointed out when discussing the groups and sub-groups within the A and the B families. In the discussion of groups and sub-groups sometimes I rely also on complex variation (i.e. not only Type-2 cases) environments when such examples help isolate a given group or sub-group from the rest of the mss.

When discussing groups and sub-groups I will present the variants of all fully collated mss. However, upon this discussion, I will also mention the position of sample-collated manuscripts within a group or sub-group, etc. The sample-collated mss were either those which had a partial text (and this was evident already at a preliminary examination) or those to which I had access towards the end of my project. At that stage of collation I could determine the usefulness of a ms for text-genealogical purposes already by sample-collation and in two cases (i.e. S₁ and F₅) I decided to fully collate them. In other cases the mss in question did not seem to offer valuable information from text-genealogical point of view. The sample-collation allowed me to classify them according to family, group, sub-group, etc. affiliation.

Below, the variants of the A family mss are on the left column and those of the B family on the right. These are all substantial Type-2 variations that allowed me to divide the TD's textual tradition into two main families. In some cases it is possible to assess the variants as to their superiority and, thus, possible proximity to the hypothetical archetypus. However, it should be borne in mind that TD is an anonymous and non-canonical text. In some cases it is quite obvious that deliberate changes were introduced into the text by copying scribes, in other cases such

deliberate changes are no longer evident. For this reason it is difficult, if not impossible, to make claims as to which text-type is, overall, closer to a hypothetical original. As the discussion below will demonstrate, there are cases when one can argue that the reading of the B family is superior and thus closer to the archetypus, but in other cases the same could be said about a variant preserved in the A family and none of the two seem to have a prevailing majority of 'good' variants. This is true also about variants that appear in groups, sub-groups, etc. The analysis of these specific variants demonstrates that none of the hypothetical ancestors of the two families could have claims to being 'more original'. Moreover, there are no sound grounds for stating that the ancestor of the B family emerged from that of A or vice versa. This conclusion will be elaborated upon when discussing specific text-blocks and their addition/omission in the different branches of A and B families which could be explained only if we assume that the ancestors of A and B families emerged from the archetypus independently from each other. Thus, the text of the archetypus should be placed between the ancestors of A and B text-types in a schematic representation:

A — Archetypus — B

The substantial variants that will be presented in this chapter allow one to produce chains (i.e. unoriented stemmas, without arguing for the 'originality' of this or that text-type) and (oriented) stemmas of all TD manuscripts. I present several group chains and propose hypothetical stemmas. While I feel confident about the accuracy level of the chains, I cannot say the same about the stemmas which should remain as hypothetical reconstructions.

3.2.1. *The Division between A and B Families*

Various *sigla* were assigned to represent the fully-collated, non-contaminated mss which form a family, group or sub-group. The *sigla* appear in the apparatus and are also referred to in the discussion below.

The *sigla* used for some A family ms groups in the apparatus are the following:

- A_g the Agat'angelos group mss, i.e. gg₁g₂g₄KK₁K₂K₃MM₁M₂mUU₁
- g_g the *g sub-group* of the Agat'angelos group: gg₁g₂g₄
- A_{g2} the A_{g2} *sub-group* of the Agat'angelos group: KK₁K₂K₃MM₁M₂mUU₁
- K_g the *K sub-sub group* of the A_{g2} *sub-group*: KK₁K₂K₃

No other group *sigla* were assigned to A family mss.

The *sigla* used for some B family mss groups are the following:

- B_g all B family mss
 d_g *d group* of the B family mss: dYy (the *siglum* is used only for this discussion but not in the apparatus)
 B_{g2} B_{g2} group of the B family: Bbb₁b₂DEE₁IJPP₁SS₁
 D_g *D sub-group* of the B_{g2} group: Bbb₁b₂DPP₁SS₁

[1.1]

A	B
կամաւք և կարողութեամբ	կամաւք և նորոնութիւն IJ կամաւք և նորոնութեամբ all other B mss
with the will and <i>power</i>	with the will and <i>mercy</i> [of the Holy Trinity]

In the entire ms tradition there is one ms which has an exceptional reading, containing both words, [with the] ‘will and *power* and *mercy* of the Holy Trinity’. The manuscript in question is F₁.⁸³ It is possible that F₁ is the only ms that contains the original reading in this variation place (it has quite a corrupted text, in general), by which I mean a reading that goes back to the archetypus of the entire tradition. It is rather surprising, however, that no other mss (especially F₁’s sister ms F₄) maintain this reading.

It may be hypothesised that the A family variant is secondary. First, it is helpful to divide the lemmata (not including the IJ’s syntactically inadequate version) in question into two parts: կարողութեամբ vs նորոնութեամբ, where the second (italicised) halves are identical. The presence of the lemma կամաւք just before the variants in question may have influenced the scribe of the ancestor of the A family to start also the following word with կա instead of նո eventually giving rise to կարողութեամբ. As far as the context is concerned, the invocation to the Holy Trinity may be made both to its ‘mercy’ and ‘power’.⁸⁴

[1.6]

տիեզերաստարած	տիեզերածագ
spread throughout the universe	till the end of the universe

⁸³ This ms is discussed in more detail when analysing the F group, pp. 245–267.

⁸⁴ In a private conversation with Fr. Robert Tafts he confirmed that from a liturgical or theological points of view both invocations to the Holy Trinity are acceptable.

The word in question characterises the domain or power of the Romans and while both variants could fit the context, the A family variant seems more plausible in conveying the sense of ‘universal Roman power’. Graphically, the two words are very similar and an unintentional change introduced by the scribe of either (A or B) ancestor is quite conceivable. Thus, there is no obvious explanation as to which variant came first or could be claimed to be more original.

[7.1]

ընդ ամենայն տիեզերս	ընդ ամենայն տեղիս
throughout the whole <i>universe</i> [under our rule]	throughout all the <i>places</i> [under our rule]

Given the tenor of the text elsewhere, it is likely that the author used a hyperbole to refer to the Roman rule as a universal rule. However, the B reading is also acceptable and possible. Moreover, at 5.3 there is another example of exchange between these two lemmata—տիեզերս vs տեղիս—which appear as competing variants. The confusion is due to the similarity of the letters q/ղ and a general graphical resemblance between the two words.

[7.5–12]

The enumeration of Roman provinces that Constantine the Great places under King Trdat’s jurisdiction also helps clarify the relationship between A and B families, as well as of single mss within each family. Appendix 1 is dedicated to the discussion of this text-block. One may reconstruct the list that was found in the archetypus based on evidence of both A and B family mss. B family mss contain two provinces (Egypt and Palestine) which are omitted in all A family mss except for CC₁. Based on this, it could be hypothesised that the archetypus also contained these provinces. On the other hand, B family mss erroneously list Asia twice, omitting Arabia, which is found in the A family mss. Thus, in this case the A family has a better reading.

[7.36–38]

The round parenthesis in the example below indicate that only some mss contain what is included in them.

ի կողմանս Ատրպատական(այ) (և) (Մ)արաղայ
[take your army] to the territory of Atrpatakan (and) Marālay

One of the distinguishing marks between A and B families in this text-block is the spelling of Մարաղայ (Maralay) of the B family vs արաղայ (aralay) in the A family. The context implies that the word in question is a toponym. While I was not able to identify արաղայ,⁸⁵ the variant Մարաղայ is rather fitting, as it is a city in Atrpatakan.⁸⁶ This means that Constantine orders various princes to take their armies to ‘the [land of] Atrpatakan and to [the city of] Maralay’, which is in Atrpatakan. However, there is still a problem connected to the case ending of Maralay. The latter is in the nominative (or accusative) case, whereas the prepositional phrase ի կողմանս governs the genitive case. One may hypothesise that the ending -այ may have been the cause of this error as it is one of the endings for gen. sing. and scribes may have taken the word to be in gen. sing. As far as Մարաղայ: արաղայ variants are concerned the B family and mss CC₁ have a superior reading.

On the other hand, A family mss present a standard spelling of Atrpatakan (excluding some which have obvious corruptions due to the interchange of graphically similar letters) which is, moreover, used in the genitive case required by կողմս (ի կողմանս) as opposed to the accusative in the B family.⁸⁷ Thus, only the A family variant for Atrpatakan is grammatically correct, notwithstanding some differences due to dialectal pronunciation or obvious corruption, such as:

ատրպատանայ where կա is added above word T₂

ադրպատականայ A₁F₂T where the orthographical difference can be due to the dialect of the scribe or his exemplar

ատրպադտականա UU₁

ատսպասականա F₁

ատրպատականայ N₈

The last three are obvious corruptions. Yet, the case ending of Atrpatakan here does not follow the ‘classical’ system of declension, since Atrpatakan is usually declined as an ի declension substantive with an invariable

⁸⁵ Šahnazarian 1861, interpreted it as the river Arals, the spelling of which comes close to, but is not exactly, Aral, an attribute of Murad-Su. However, this river was located in the province of Tarōn (cfr Hübschmann 1969, 326), not at all near Atrpatakan.

⁸⁶ The city of Maraka in Atrpatakan is attested in T’ovma Arcruni (T’ovma Arcruni 1985, 374) and the twelfth century Arab Geographer Yakut Al-Hamawi described the city of Maraḷa as the biggest and most important city of Adrbejan. Nalbandyan 1965, 107.

⁸⁷ Sometimes կողմս can be used with the accusative case, but only when the complement it governs precedes it, which is not the case here. Cfr Minassian 1976, 162.

stem.⁸⁸ However, a grammatical overview of TD reveals that case endings are quite fluid and there are differences in case endings of various other lemmata between different mss groups. More often than not, the different text-types do not conform to the ‘classical’ conventions of declensions, as one would expect from a medieval text.

In the A family, the C group is an exception in that it uses Atrpatakan in the nominative (identical to the accusative) case, e.g. ատրպատական where it may be intended as an adjective, denoting the location of the city of ‘Marālay [of] Atrpatakan.’ Moreover, this variant is shared by the *d* group of the B family, where a further difference is the lack of the conjunction *և*. As a result CC₁dYy have:

ի կողմանս Ատրպատական Մարաղայ

Literally: ‘to the territory of the city of Atrpatakan Marālay’.

This seems to be the best reading. The fact that it is shared by C (from the A family) and the *d* group lends credence to the conclusion that this variant must stem from the archetypus.

Last, but not least, it must be noted that besides the *d* group, B family mss present a different spelling of Atrpatakan, quite likely found in the common ancestor of the B_{g2} group:

ատրպայկայն *b*₁

ատրպայկան *BbDP₁SS₁E₁IJ*

ատրպականայ *b*₂

ատրպական *E*

ատրկական? *P* [the ms cannot be read clearly]

The lemma ատրպայկան (*atrpayakan*) instead of ատրպատական can be found in another texts as well, even though this is not the standard form.⁸⁹ As will be discussed below, *b*₂ was copied from B and thus its variant can be discarded as a deliberate correction introduced by the scribe. In all B family mss Atrpatakan (or rather *atrpayakan*) is used in the accusative case which is grammatically incorrect:

ի կողմանս Ատրպայկան և Մարաղայ

Since all mss besides CC₁dYy also include the conjunction *և* (and), the syntax of the entire phrase is awkward.

⁸⁸ My quick review of the use of Atrpatakan in early Armenian texts demonstrates that most commonly it belongs to the *ի* declension. Cfr, for example the exact same expression in Łazar P’arpec’i. LP 1982, 292: ‘ի կողմանս Ատրպատականի’.

⁸⁹ Cfr, for example, LP 1982, 398.

In conclusion, it can be stated that this variation place is a point of division between A and B families. The best reading is preserved in the C group (from A family) and the *d group* (within the B family). This may lead to the conclusion that C and *d groups* represent a transitional stage of division between the two families and their respective text-types could be closer to the archetypus. Yet, the lacunae in the *d group* to be analysed below reduce its importance as a transitional text-type. A stronger case may be made for C, as the discussion of this group will reveal.

[8.3]

ծովային
marine [purple]

ծովածին
sea-born [purple]

It is not possible to assess which variant is more original since both fit the context well. Moreover, only one letter distinguishes the two lemmata, i.e. յ vs ծ. Perhaps it is easier to imagine that the A variant was the original one and that the ancestor of B inadvertently wrote ծ instead of յ also in the middle of the word (under the influence of the first ծ). This remains a hypothesis.

[8.10]

In the following example I have suppressed the orthographical differences found in the B family mss.

սհազնազոչ all A family mss
սհեղազոչ B_{g2} of the B family
with an awesome sound (for both variants)

սհազոչ *d group* of the B family
a corrupted lemma

The *d group* variant could derive from either of the two readings. The reading of both A family and the B_{g2} group can be translated as ‘with an awesome sound’. However, only that of B_{g2} appears in Ciakciak. I do not think this is enough ground to discard A’s variant as secondary. In general, TD has numerous words that are hapaxes or are so rare that they do not appear in the existing dictionaries. In conclusion, neither A nor B_{g2} variant can be considered superior compared to the other, while that of the *d group* could derive from any of the two.

[9.15]

պահանգք C₁NN₁N₂N₃N₄N₅N₇պահանդք CN₆պահանք AA₁TT₁N₈A_g

պահապանք All F group mss

սրանկք Bbb₁b₂PS₁Jսրանք dYyP₁

արակք E

սրակք E₁

սրանտք I

սրանակք S

armours

protectors (in the F group)

corrupted words

The difference between A and B families is not a strict Type 2 variation in that we have more than one variant within each family. However, the variants within the families can obviously be attributed to one common variant stemming from the respective group ancestors, that of A starting with the letter պ and that of B starting with the letters սր, instead, which are graphically similar.⁹⁰ The variants of most B family mss are non-existent words and very likely the scribes of dYyP₁ (or their respective exemplars) tried to correct this by transforming it to a pronoun սրանք (i.e. those) which, however, does not make sense in the given context. The A family, on the other hand (leaving aside orthographical differences) uses a word that can mean ‘protective armour’. It must be mentioned, however, that NBH and HAB provide only the example of TD when citing the meaning of this word as a weapon, its first meaning being ‘wooden or metal beam used for structural support/strength in construction’. Within the A family itself there are two competing variants, that of all mss vs that of the F group which reads պահապանք (i.e. ‘protectors, guardians’ or ‘protections’) here. It is more plausible that this reading is due to a dittography rather than arguing that this goes back to the archetypus and the other readings of A family mss are the result of haplography. The word is used in a list of gifts donated to the generals of Trdat, which include various weapons and armaments for men and horses. Thus, it is unlikely that the Emperor would donate ‘guardians or protectors’ (as persons, which is one meaning of the word) to such valiant men. On the other hand, if one assumes that պահապանք is used in its abstract sense of protections, then its adjective պատնկազնք (lit. armed with protective covering) will not fit the context either, since it is applied to a specific type of a weapon. Thus, the best variant is that of the A family, excluding the F group, to be translated as armour.

⁹⁰ An exception, as can be seen, is E which starts with ս but given the similarity between the forms of the two letters—ս and պ—this confusion is not surprising.

Last, but not least, regarding this text block, both A and B families include two items among the presents given by Constantine to the warriors of Trdat (i.e. sea horses and armours with protective covers) in the nominative plural which is syntactically inadequate as it is governed by the verb to give and should have been used in the accusative case, as all the other gifts listed in the same sentence. This could be due to either a marginal note which entered the archetypus (before the division between the two families), or, more likely, the source used by the author of TD whence these two items were inserted directly without noticing the incongruity of the syntax due to mistaken case endings.

[14.17–18]

Եւ յէս չէց աւուրն
after six days

(յ)էրրորդում all B mss except for
յերկրորդում D
աւուրն
In the third (or second in D) day

բժշկեաց զամենայն հայաստանէայս
[Gregory] cured all Armenians

The version of D is unique to that ms and does not go back to its exemplar, since B and b₂, stemming from a common ancestor (which is very likely the same exemplar) agree with all the other B mss. However, the A variant is more in tune with the tradition according to which Trdat came to his human sense after six days of prayer and fasting, the prototype of the fast of the *araġaworac*⁹¹. Thus, the A family is likely to represent that variant found in the archetypus.⁹¹

[14.18–19]

Էտէս աչաւք բացաւք
[he] saw with *open* eyes

Էտէս աչաւք *հարովք*
[he] saw with *his* eyes

Both variants are acceptable in the context and no obvious explanation can be proposed as to which one is original and how the other came about.

[14.21–22]

զոր ծանոյց նմայ հրէշտակ
that the angel *made known* to him

զոր *հասկացոյց* նմայ հրէշտակ
that the angel *instructed* him [about]

⁹¹ Cfr Chapter 1, pp. 36–39 on the *araġaworac* fast.

The words are synonymous and both are acceptable. It is impossible to explain how or whence the variants emerged or which is closer to the original.

[15.13–14]

ի ձայն արհնություն փառալուրեցաք
we gave glory *with the voice of blessing*

The italicised words are omitted in all B mss. I have included this omission among variants to be presented here because I believe that it is text-genealogically revealing. Even without the omitted section the sentence makes perfect sense and, thus, there are to attempts to emend it by any B ms. On the other hand, the ancestor of the A family could have added this expression to give a further rhetorical touch to the sentence. Thus, one may argue both for an omission and/or for an addition to/from the archetypus. What is important for my purpose here, is that this variation place is revealing from a text-genealogical point of view since A and B family mss behave in the same exact unitary way.

[18.5]

In the following example I have suppressed orthographical differences.

յարբունուստ զգեսցին և	կերակրեսցին յարբունուստ և
կերակրեսցին	զգեսցին
they should dress and	they should be fed from the court
be fed from the court	and dress

The difference in word order does not change the meaning of the sentence and both are acceptable variants.

[18.12]

հնգակք տա(ցե)ն	ի հնգէն զմինն տա(ցե)ն
they should give one fifth	they should give one from five

The text refers to a tax that was calculated as one fifth of the revenues. Both variants are acceptable.

[20.4]

հիսիրաշ	արփիսիրաշ
marvelous	marvelous as the sun

It is noteworthy that T₁ from the A family (and sister ms of A) adds in the margin: կամ թէ արփիսահրաշ (or marvelous as the sun). T₁ is the only ms to testify to the lemma արփիսահրաշ within the A family and at that in the margin. The only explanation I can propose here is that the scribe checked his text against another manuscript which belonged to the B family. But only this point in the ms provides evidence for such a hypothesis. Both lemmata fit the context and are acceptable.

[21.17]

և մայրն զգաստութեանց Գայիանէայ the text block is omitted in B mss
and the mother of chastity Gayanē

From a syntactic and textual point of view one could argue both ways: that the sentence was added (in the A family) or omitted (in the B family). The expression մայր զգաստութեան և սրբութեան առաքելունիին Գայիանէ (mother of chastity and holiness, the apostleless Gayanē) is found in the *Homily to the memory of St. Hrip'simē and her Martyred Companions*⁹² which is one of TD's sources as discussed in Chapter 2. This strengthens the hypothesis that A's variant is closer to the original.

[22.6]

ռճիկք	կերակուր
(regular) payments	food

In this context the two words are synonymous and both acceptable. One cannot argue for the originality of one variant vs the other.

[22.7–8]

Պատրաստեցի և տեղի պատարագի սրբոյն Գրիգորի ի Յարութեան մեծի եկեղեցոյն

I prepared a place for the Eucharistic [service] for St. Gregory in the great Church of the Resurrection.

B family mss omit սրբոյն Գրիգորի (for St. Gregory) because of which the sentence loses its original sense. Instead of referring to a specific privilege accorded to St. Gregory, and an important privilege in the framework of this source indeed, it refers in general to the preparation of any place, presumably an altar, for the Eucharistic service within the

⁹² MX 1865, 311. It is interesting to note that the title 'mother of all chastity' is applied to Goddess Anahit in Aa § 53, cited with analysis in Russell 1987, 212.

church of the Resurrection. It is unlikely that in this context the author would be making such general remarks but he must be alluding to such a space that was allocated specifically to St. Gregory (and by default also his progeny). Thus, the reading of the A family is superior in this case and certainly goes back to the archetypus. This implies that the A text-type did not emerge from the B text-type, but independently from it.

The above mentioned examples were predominantly Type-2 variations which testify to the fact that at some point in the text transmission there were two hypothetical text-types, the ancestor of the A family and that of the B family. In the variation places discussed above each ancestor contained the word or text-block presented in the respective column. Within each family there are mss the texts of which stem from an ancestor that belonged to an intermediate stage of the division between the two families. From the B family the manuscripts of the *d group*, comprised of dYy, maintain some readings (including text-blocks) that agree with the A family. Even though the examples where A family and the B_{g2} (all B family mss except for dYy) mss agree are more numerous, *d group* stems from the B family's forefather independently. This is confirmed by the fact that on several occasions the *d group* alone from among B family mss agrees with the A family variants. From the A family, mss C and partially C₁ (the C group), as well as the F group (comprised of FF₁F₂F₃F₄F₅L) can be singled out as having the greatest number of agreements with the B family mss. The C group is especially significant in occupying an intermediate position between A and B families.

To summarise, most mss clearly belong either to A or to B families, unless they are obviously contaminated, and the list of variations presented above is a reliable guide when assigning an initial place to each ms in the chain or stemma of the mss. There are no reasons to argue that the A text-type emerged from the B text-type or vice versa. Their ancestors stemmed from the archetypus independently. Since the B family mss tradition is less complicated I will present it first. This will help the reader to understand the A family stemma better.

3.3. THE B FAMILY

The B family can be divided into two initial groups: one comprised of mss dYy (here called the *d group*) and one comprised of mss Bbb₁b₂DEE₁IJPP₁SS₁ (which are marked with the *siglum* B_{g2}). There are no sub-groups

within the *d* group, while the B_{g2} group can be divided to further text-types: the *D* sub-group, comprised of $Bbb_1b_2DPP_1SS_1$ (marked with the *siglum* D_g) and the *E* sub-group, comprised of EE_1IJ (no group *siglum* was assigned). Within these sub-groups further divisions can be made, specifically Bb_1b_2D vs bPP_1SS_1 , where SS_1 have a particularly close relationship. Within the *E* sub-group, on the other hand, *E* and E_1 are related more closely than *I* and *J*. The common variants that support this analysis are given below. The relationship of mss within the *B* family can be presented in the chain (or un-oriented stemma) in Fig. 1.1.

In order to clearly demarcate the B_{g2} and *d* text-types, besides significant variations, I will present also omissions that are found either in B_{g2} and not in the *d* group or vice versa, which means that in such occasions either the *d* group or the B_{g2} agrees with the *A* family. When omissions are small words which could be restored with no difficulty by individual scribes these may give no text-genealogical information. However, the examples I chose to present are larger text blocks (comprised of more than two words) and if they were already absent in the ancestor of the *B* family there would be no reason or no way for scribes to restore them in the exact same way as mss from completely unrelated branches of the *A* family, unless there are clear signs of contamination. As such are not present, I am inclined to think that in those variation places one of the text-types is closer to the *B* ancestor and thus to the archetypus of the entire tradition.

3.3.1. *The d Group*

Mss within this group, dYy , have almost identical texts, agreeing even in the minutest details (all of which cannot be presented here). There are no important individual variations between the three to be noted here. Thus, all these three mss very likely stem from the same exemplar. These are the only three mss where *TD* follows the text of *Agat'angelos* but does not belong to the *Agat'angelos* group text-type of the *A* family. This provided me with a preliminary hint that dYy may have had a common ancestor. Another hint was the fact that *d* and *y* were copied in the city of *Amit'/Diarbekir*.⁹³ I was not able to identify the location of the 'village of *Alipular*' where *Y* was copied. The internal, textual evidence leaves no

⁹³ On the inter-changeable use of these toponyms (on the mistaken assumption that the city was indeed the one founded by Tigran the Great), cfr Hewsén 2001, 202.

doubts that these mss are sister mss. It cannot be stated, however, that the mss stemmed from each other (based on chronology, the transmission would look like this: $d \rightarrow y \rightarrow Y$), even if d and y are practically identical. This conclusion is based on the fact that d omits some text-blocks and lemmata which are present both in y and Y . The omission of an entire sentence at 23.4–6 (see below) in d which is present both in y and Y strengthens this point. Thus, the three mss are very likely copied from a common exemplar but not from each other. After the initial full collation of all three mss, I decided to maintain only ms y in the critical apparatus as it has the most complete text and the least amount of individual obvious errors. It is, thus, an excellent representative ms for this group.

In the examples below, the reading of all manuscripts is on the left side (that is the A family and the B_{g2} group), unless otherwise noted, while that of the *d group* is on the right side. If I present cases of complex variations, the variants will be specified according to individual mss. My purpose here is to make it clear that the *d group* is a separate branch in the B family, thus, I will provide assessment of variants only when it is feasible which means that I will not comment on every single variation presented below.

[1.9]

մինչև
until

մեծ և
and great

It is clear from the context that the reading of all the other mss is superior and that the *d group*'s variant arose from the graphical similarity of the two variants.

[3.6–7]

ժառանգակալ(ք) աշխարհակալ և տիեզերասաստ A family and *d group*
heirs, ruling the world and taming the universe

ժառանգակալ և տիեզերասաստ B_{g2} group
heirs and [those who] tame the universe

While the *d group* agrees with the A family, B_{g2} group omits աշխարհակալ. The omission of աշխարհակալ must be due to a homoeoteleuton of the first two words. Very likely the variant of the *d group* (and the A family) was the one found in the archetypus.

[6.2]

Ժողով մեծ եղև առաջի սուրբ առաքելոցս A family and B_{g2} group
there was a great assembly in front of the holy apostles

Ժողով մեծ եղև առաքելոցս *d group*
there was a great assembly of the apostles

The omission of ‘in front of’ in the *d group* completely changes the sense of the sentence in a way that does not fit the context. Thus, the exemplar of this group was deficient in this variation place.

[6.16]

հաւատ և սէր և միամտութիւն
[We owe] faith and love and being of one mind [to each other]

The *d group* agrees with the A family mss while the rest of the B family mss have the following variants:

հաւատ և սէր միամտութեամբ Bbb₁DPSS₁E₁
[We owe to each other] faith and love with one mind

հաւատ և սէր միամտութեան IJ
[We owe to each other] faith and love of [the state of being] of one mind

հաւատ և սէր միաբանութեան և միամիտութեամբ E
[We owe to each other] faith and love of concordance and with one mind

While the variant of the A family and the *d group* of the B family fits smoother into the text, the others could conceivably be acceptable as well. However, it is more likely that A and the *d group* contain a variant closer to the archetypus because the sentence intends to list the ‘feelings’ that bind Constantine and Trdat together upon their signature of the pact of love and concordance. It is more logical that the word in question (i.e. being of one mind) also be in accusative case, as the other two attributes listed. This conclusion may be strengthened again by considering that the *d group* belongs to the B family and its agreement with A is most likely due to the fact that this was the variant found in the archetypus preserved in the ancestor of the *d group* but not that of the B_{g2} group. The confusion or interchange of case endings is one of the common errors in text transmission and this is what most likely happened to the other B mss. Last, but not least, even though I listed this variation place as one of the features distinguishing B family mss groups and their relationships, here we are not dealing with a substantial variation as I defined it above. Thus, this example is only an auxiliary proof of what can be adduced from stronger, substantial variations.

[6.19–20]

In the following example I have suppressed orthographical differences:

սիրելեացն միմեանց սիրելի լինելով և թշնամեացն՝ թշնամի A and B_{g2}
 to love those that are beloved by the other and to be enemies of the enemies [of
 each other]

սիրելեացն միմեանց սիրելի լինել և ատելեացն ատելի և թշնամի լինելով dYy
 to love those that are beloved by the other and to those hated [by the other] hate
 and be enemies of

No easy answer can be given as to how the different reading of dYy arose, possibly to make the expression rhetorically more forceful. It certainly does not stem from the archetypus. On the contrary, given the agreement between A and B_{g2} one may hypothesise that the reading of the *d group* is secondary.

[7.12]

սահմանապահք իմ սահմանապահք սահմանակալք իմ
 my border guards my border-protecting border guards

The variant of the *d group* could be due to a dittography and homoeoarchton. However, the reading is not necessarily corrupt, even if not supported by any other ms group. One may also propose that an opposite process took place, e.g. a haplography from a possibly original variant maintained only in the *d group* mss. But as in the previous example, here, too, I would take the agreement of A and B_{g2} as rendering the hypothesis of them being closer to the archetypus more weighty.

[9.6]

ա(ն)դամանդէս/ա(ն)դամանդէայս բազմաքանքարս A family and B_{g2} group
 diamonds of great weight

ա(ն)դամանդայս բազմաքանտակս քանքարս անթիւս dYy
Multi-sculpted diamonds, countless talents [of diamonds?]

In order to assess the two variants which are italicised above, it is important to understand what these words are qualifying, namely: աղ(ն)ամանդէս/անդամանդայս/անդամանդէայս or diamonds. From the three readings presented above, the B_{g2} mss agree (not considering orthographical differences) with the first one, i.e. ան(դ)ամանդէս which has the ending of an ablative sing. case (yet, it does not have the preposition ի) with the demonstrative suffix ս, even though the context requires

the accusative case, of the lemma ա(ն)դամանդ. A variant preserved in some mss of the Agat'angelos group of the A family, i.e. անդամանդեայս, could be an accusative plural of the adjective անդամանդեայ or its nomitavie singular with the demonstrative suffix u. The variant անդամանդեայս is the best reading from a grammatical point of view, in terms of the case ending for the accusative plural. The *d group* variant ա(ն)դամանդայս is a corruption of անդամանդեայս where the letter է was omitted. The problem with the variant ա(ն)դամանդ(ե)այս is due to the context which requires a substantive rather than an adjective. The 'diamonds' is listed as one of the precious stones donated by Constantine's wife and sister to the wife and sister of Trdat. The other stone is յասպիս(u) or jaspis, used regularly in the accusative plural.

The only explanation here would be that ա(ն)դամանդեայս, literally 'of diamond' (in accus. plural) is intended in a collective substantive sense, even if it has the form of an adjective, i.e. implying 'diamond objects'. To consider that the 'diamonds' should be intended as an adjective qualifying քանքարս, a measurement of weight (which I translated as *pounds* here) would not make sense. It would imply 'diamond pounds' (literally, pounds made of diamonds) and not 'pounds of diamonds'.

The *d group* mss variant is due to several processes, such as the graphical similarity of (and the identical beginning of) *բազմաքանքարս* and *բազմաքանտակս*, as well as a different division of the word whence the last part of *բազմաքանքարս* that is *քանքարս* now stands as a separate word. This reading presents problems of meaning. It can be loosely translated as: *multifaceted diamonds, numerous pounds* without specifying pounds of *what*, thus leaving the expression incomplete. In conclusion, while this variation place attests once more that dYy are affiliated, sister mss, their overall reading is corrupt.

[10.8]

թուրն թափեցէ

[that] his sword may conquer

The *d group* agrees with this reading (along with all A family mss) but the rest of the B family mss (i.e. the B_{g2} group) add: նմա էղիցի (*shall be his*). The sentence makes sense with or without the addition. Thus, there is equal chance that it was in the archetypus or that it was not, since dropping it by accident would incur no serious damage to the syntax or meaning of the text block.

[11]

This section starts with a prophecy made by Constantine the Great. The *d group* adds a subtitle here:

Յաղագս ավերածոյ աշխարհիս հայոց dYy
On the destruction of the land of the Armenians

Moreover, d and y go on with ‘woes’ about this imminent destruction:

վայ մեզ յամենայն ժամ d
woe to us at all times

վայ մեղաւոր Աբրահամ գրչիս y, revealing the name of the scribe as well
woe to the sinful scribe Abraham

[14.3–4]

չորեք տասան չարչարանաք, անողորմ և անխնայ հարկանելով զնա, և կամ
թէ որպէս զերեք տասան ամ էարկ զնա
*with fourteen tortures, cruelly and pitilessly tormenting him, and how he threw
him for thirteen years [in a deep pit as food for snakes]*

The italicised seciton of this sentence is omitted by the *d group* mss vs all the other mss of all families/groups. The omission is due to a parablepsis and a homoeoarchton, since the omitted text-block is about one line long and it both opens and closes with the word տասան. The small word ամ (year) following զերեք տասան could have been dropped inadvertently. Thus, it can be stated that here the *d group* has a lacuna that does not go back to the archetypus. This omission (along with another, much more substantial lacuna), necessitates the conclusion that the d text-type, as is extant, could not have given rise to the B_{g2} text-type. That the other way round is also impossible is based on those examples where the *d group* agrees with the A family against the B_{g2} group.

[14.8]

զպարտութիւն
defeat

զյաղթութիւն նորա
his victory

The origins of this variation, where the competing variants are antonyms, may become clearer if one looks at a larger text-block (as in all other mss) surrounding these words: Եւ ևս զպարտութիւն, որ յաղթեցաւ (lit. and the defeat which he was defeated). Possibly the scribe of the *d group* forefather was mistaken because of the proximity of the word յաղթեցաւ.

which became գաղթութիւն. The variant of the *d group* does not fit the context and is to be considered a corruption.

[14.13–14]

հանաւ սուրբն Գրիգոր ի վիրապէն A family and the *d group*
[he] took out St. Gregory from the pit

B_{g2} mss omit ի վիրապէն (from the pit), but the *d group* does not and in this it agrees, again, with the A family. The image of Gregory's coming out of the pit is such an important feature in Aa (and other sources depending on it) that most likely the reading of the *d group* and of the A family stem from the archetypus rather than having been added independently by the A family and the *d group*.

[14.19–20]

In the example below orthographical differences have been suppressed:

զիջումն միածնին ի չափար պաղատանն արքունի, և զսինս(ն)
[He saw] the descent of the Only Begotten *on the fence of the royal palace and the columns*

The italicised text-block is omitted by B_{g2} mss but not the *d group* which maintains a reading found also in the A family. The *d group* and the A family variant most likely stems from the archetypus. This example strengthens the argument that the *d* text-type could not have emerged from a B_{g2} text-type.

[15.11–12]

dYy are the only mss to omit the following sentence. Since it appears in the A family and the B_{g2} group, it must have been in the original.

Նաև զմենամարտիլն իւր ընդ գաւթացոյն Գեթոռեհոնի և ընդ ճաւապնաձիգ ճորացոյն
And his combat with the Gothic Get'rehon and with the cord-throwing čorac'i.

[16.8]

հեթանոսական հիւսիսաբնակացն	հեթանոսականաց հիւսիսական
	զնդին
[against] pagan dwellers of the north	[against] the northern army of pagans

[17]

One of the important markers of the *d group* which leaves no doubt that all three mss of the group descend from the same forefather is a large lacuna in the text. Thus: d and y omit 17.0–17.7, while Y's omission includes a few more lines. It omits the entire Section 17. Ms d leaves empty space, the size of five lines, for filling in later, which was never done. It is possible that Y's scribe deliberately omitted more lines which include a text-block that no longer made sense (the variations of the other mss have been suppressed here): յիշատակ ւնցաւ արքիմուրթեամբ, և աղաւթք ւնցաւ և ամենայն սրբոց ի վերայ ամենայն աշխարհի և ի պայազատ պաղատանս մերոյ (may the memory of those [be] with blessings, and their prayers and those of all the saints [be] for in the entire world and the successor of our palace). Without the preceding text which talks about the seven saints as 'pillars of the world' this sentence made no sense and Y omitted it. Because d, Y and y were very likely copied from the same exemplar we cannot know whether the lacuna went back to an ancestor of the *d group* which stemmed directly from the ancestor of the B family or not. The fact that d's scribe left empty space for filling in later means that the scribe was at least aware that his text lacked a piece. Thus, the lacuna probably did not define the d text-type in general, but only the branch that is extant, even though no other mss survive from the group to give more weight to this hypothesis.

[19.3–4]

յամենայն զաւրութենէ իւրսէ զաւրացոյց A family mss
[he] strengthened [him] *from* all *his* *might*

յամենայն զաւրութենէ զաւրացոյց *d group*
[he] strengthened from *all* *might*

(յ)ամենայն(ի) զաւրացոյց B_{g2} group
[he] strengthened (with?) everything

The best variant here is that of the A family, but that of the *d group* is also acceptable. The B_{g2} presents syntactical difficulties. It probably tries to convey the meaning I gave it in my translation here. However, in that case ամենայն should have been in the instrumental case. In fact, the scribe of S (and only of this ms) tried to emend it by writing ամենայնիւ where also the no-longer necessary initial յ was omitted.

The variant of the *d* group may be influenced by the presence of **առաւել** about a line before and **այսու կենաւքս՝ վերին կենացն** immediately after; words that entered also this text-block (absent in other groups).

[21.9–10]

զմիթրն իմ սատակ և սպիտակ A family
my *white and pure* mitre

զմիթրն իմ պատուական *d group*
my *honourable* mitre

զմիթրն իմ սպիտակ B_{g2} (but S has an illegible word which looks
my *white* mitre like նոսրկ)

The combination of սատակ and սպիտակ (found in A family mss) can be considered a technical term, usually used to denote priestly purity, as per NBH. However, there is no reason to discard the reading of B_{g2} as secondary (which implies that A family mss added սատակ). The reading of the *d group* also perfectly fits the context. Thus, no decision can be made as to the level of ‘originality’ of one of the three variants. This variation place demonstrates again the bifurcation of the B family to d and B_{g2} groups and also that here A family and B_{g2} behave more similarly.

[21.29]

պատրաստեցի զամենայն պիտոյս խնայ All mss
I prepared all *their necessities*

պատրաստեցի զամենայն պէտս CN₆
I prepared all the *necessities*

պատրաստեցի զամենայն զօրս և զպէտս խնայ *d group*
I prepared all their *armies and necessities*

This is not a Type-2 variation. The variant of CN₆ has a corruption due to the confusion of է/ե which changes the meaning of the word from ‘needs’ to ‘princes, heads’ (in CN₆). However, if we ignore this orthographical difference and assume that the word intended here was ‘needs, necessities,’ syntactically, it fits the sentence and its context. Both պիտոյս and զպէտս (need, necessity) make sense in the given context. It can be argued that զօրս (armies) found in the *d group* is superfluous since the mention of the armies is more appropriate in the section when dealing with Trdat, rather than when Sylvester is enumerating his gifts to Gregory, which is the case here. Thus, the *d group*’s variant is less convincing in this example.

[22.1]

պարգևեցի
I donated

կարգեցի
I ordered

The context (donation of some holy sites in Jerusalem to St. Gregory) supports the reading of all mss rather than the *d group* variant which can be considered corrupted in this location.

[23.7–8]

յաւուր փոխման աստուածամայրն most other mss
in the day of the transformation of the Mother of God

յաւուր սուրբ աստուածածնին փոխման. ծնողի և մօր իւրոյ *d group*
in the day of the transformation of the holy Theotokos, the one who gave birth
[to Him] and His mother

The use of the epithet աստուածածնին (Theotokos) instead of աստուածամայրն (Mother of God) is not unique to the *d group*, but other mss, such as DSS₁ (from B family) and N₈, F₂ (from A family). Both epithets are commonly used for Mary and the use of one instead of the other may have been done automatically by the scribe(s) which means that such a variation would not reveal any text-genealogical information. The appearance of աստուածածնին in diverse manuscripts could well be due to a parallelism and does not reveal any genealogical relationship between, for example F₂ and D. However, the uniqueness of the *d group* is due not so much to the use of աստուածածնին vs աստուածամայրն, but the fact that the entire text-block is different. Since no other ms shares this variant, I am inclined to think that ծնողի և մօր իւրոյ (the one who gave birth to Him and His mother) was added in the exemplar (or forefather) of the *d group* only and does not descend from the ancestor of the B family or the archetypus.

[23.4–6]

The italicised section of the text-block below is omitted in ms d (only) due to a homoeoarchton, which proves that d could not have been the exemplar of y or Y.

Անդ կայ և պատկեր փրկչին, զոր առաքեաց Արգարու, որ յառաջ քան զամենայն թագաւորս նա հաւատաց ի Քրիստոս աստուած: Անդ կայ ...
And there is the image of the saviour which was sent to Abgar, who was the first among kings to believe in Christ God. There is ...

The above examples should suffice to make three points. Firstly, that dYy are three sister mss. Secondly, that they represent a separate branch within the B family, splitting the B tradition to two initial branches of mss. Some examples above showed that the *d group* shares common readings with the A family against variants found in all other B mss. But cases where A family and B_{g2} group present common variants against those of the *d group* are more numerous. Because of such examples, it is clear that d and B_{g2} groups of the B family separated from the ancestor of the family independently, that is the d text-type does not stem from B_{g2} and vice versa. If this assumption is wrong, then there is no plausible explanation as to why entire sentences disappear in d but appear in B_{g2} and the A family, and vice versa. Moreover, both the *d group* and B_{g2} mss contain many unique readings which may or may not stem from the archetype. The omission of the Section 17 in the *d group* warrants the conclusion that B_{g2} mss preserve a more complete text. This does not mean, however, that in all other sections present in the *d group*, the B_{g2} is uniformly superior or that some of its mss preserve a 'more original' text-type. Lastly, there are no sub-groups stemming from the *d group*. Ms y was selected to represent this group in the apparatus. In all significant variations and the prevailing majority of the other less-significant ones, the reading of ms y is shared also by d and Y.

3.3.2. The B_{g2} Group

The list of variants of the *d group*, either those where its mss agree with the A family, or where it has unique readings, already demarcates the B_{g2} group with a 'negative' proof. That is, the hypothetical ancestor of the B_{g2} did not share the variants of the ancestor of d. Thus, its ancestor represents a different branch within the B family. The B_{g2} itself can be divided into two sub-groups, as mentioned above: the *D sub-group* and the rest of the mss, i.e. EE₁IJ, here referred to as the E sub-group.

3.3.2.1. The D Sub-Group

This sub-group is marked by the *siglum* D_g in the apparatus. D_g itself can be divided into two sub-sub groups, including Bb₁b₂D (referred to as the *b sub-sub group*) on the one side and bPP₁SS₁ (the *P sub-sub group*) on the other, while the relationship of SS₁ is particularly strong. The sample-collated mss V309 and W115 also belong to the *P sub-sub group* of the *D sub-group*. However, I did not collate these mss fully since a

partial collation already allowed me to conclude where they belonged in the transmission chain and that they did not present any new text-genealogically significant information.

In this section I will first present all the unique substantial variants that set the D_g sub-group apart from the remaining B family mss, i.e. the *d group* and the E sub-group. However, I will include at this stage some cases of variations where the division between b and *P sub-sub groups* is evident, whenever it seems appropriate (from the context) to present such variations. Otherwise, further variants that demonstrate the closer relationship between Bb_1b_2D (which are sister mss) on the one hand and bPP_1SS_1 on the other, will be presented after the general discussion of the D_g sub-group. Many of the examples that mark the *D sub-group* amount to ‘additions’ compared to all other mss (from both families). Of course, one may argue that these could be text-blocks stemming from either the ancestor of B or the archetypus of the entire tradition and preserved only in the *D sub-group*. This would imply that all the other mss have ‘omissions’ in these locations. I am inclined to reject this hypothesis. I think that if this were the case other mss from other branches should have preserved some traces of these text-blocks as well if the text-blocks in question descend from the ancestor of B or the archetypus. It was argued above that the d and B_{g2} groups emerged independently from each other and there is no reason why the text-blocks in question should have disappeared uniformly both in the *d group* and in the E sub-group, not to talk about the entire A family. Technically, what I am arguing here is that the E sub-group (which lacks the additions of the *D sub-group*) has a text-type that is closer to the ancestor of B_{g2} , and consequently, also to that of the B family.

Variants on the right are those of the D_g sub-group. The variants that set the D_g sub-group apart are the following:

[5.12–13]

In the following variation place there is a great variety of word arrangement which I will not bring forth here. However, mss Bb_1b_2D agree perfectly in their word order, as do bPP_1 and SS_1 , as presented below.

զղաւանութիւն(ս) (հաւատոյ) տւորք հաւրս մերոյ Գրիգորի most A family
mss and other B family mss
[We proclaimed] the confession (of faith) of our holy father Gregory

զղաւանութիւն(ս) հաւրս մերոյ տւորք լուսաւորչիս Bb_1b_2D
[We proclaimed] the confession of our father, the holy Illuminator

դաւանութիւն(ս) հաւատոյ սուրբ հայրս մերոյ սուրբ Գրիգորի լուսաւորչիս
bPP₁S₁
[We proclaimed] the confession of faith of *our holy father, St. Gregory the Illuminator*

դաւանութիւն հաւատոյ սուրբ հայրս մերոյ Գրիգորի լուսաւորչիս S
[We proclaimed] the confession of faith of *our holy father Gregory the Illuminator*

Despite the variation within the *D sub-group* itself, one feature is common to them. They are the only ones to add լուսաւորչիս in the phrase. The various word arrangements demarcate the sub-sub groups.

[5.13]

արձանագրով քարոզեցաք All mss
[we] *proclaimed* with an inscription

արձանագրով հաստատեցաք և քարոզեցաք Bb₁b₂DS
[we] *confirmed and proclaimed* with an inscription

արձանագրով քարոզեցաք և հաստատեցաք bPP₁S₁
[we] *proclaimed and confirmed* with an inscription

Despite the difference in word arrangement, all D_g mss include the word հաստատեցաք (we confirmed). From the A family, F₁ is unique in including this lemma. Interestingly, its sister ms F₄ does not have it. This unique agreement of F₁ with the *D sub-group* does not provide enough ground for postulating a closer relationship between the two. But it is clear that the ancestor of the *D sub-group* included the word հաստատեցաք. It is not possible to assess which variant from among the *D sub-group* mss is closer to that of their common ancestor, especially because S and S₁, which usually have a very close relationship (as will be seen below), and, in the vast majority of cases, follow the readings of the *P sub-sub group*, diverge in this location.

[7.18]

միահեծան զւեծ արքայն Տրդատէս All mss
The monarchical ruler, *great king Trdatēs*

միահեծան զւեծ հզար արքայն Տրդատէս Bb₂D
the monarchical ruler, *the great mighty king Trdatēs*

միահեծան զւեծ և հզար արքայն Տրդատէս bb₁PP₁SS₁
the absolute ruler, *the great and mighty king Trdatēs*

The *D sub-group* mss add *mighty* as another qualification of Trdat.

The reading of b_1 (which usually follows that of the *b sub-sub group*, but not here) and of bPP_1SS_1 contains a word which is not declined regularly, e.g. պայազատան. The genitive case of պայազատ should have been պայազատի. However, պայազատան and պաղատան look very similar graphically and the appearance of the irregular form of պայազատան may have been influenced by the lemma պաղատան in the same sentence. One may also hypothesise that պայազատան is an erroneous form of a genitive singular declined irregularly as an internal -u- declension substantive with a variable stem, assuming that the nominal form was *պայազաւն.⁹⁴ This, however, remains a hypothesis. The easiest solution is simply to state that the *P sub-sub group* has a group-specific corrupt reading here.

տարազրեն SS₁
[they] expel

These variants suggest that the common ancestor of the *D sub-group* included both աւաբէն and տարագրէն, as found in bPP₁. Hence, Bb₁b₂D omitted տարագրէն while SS₁ omitted աւա(/ե)բէն. It is plausible, then, that bPP₁ (notwithstanding orthographical differences) have

⁹⁴ This would, however, be a strange irregularity if the variant originated already in the Cilician period, since from then on there is a tendency to decline substantives according to the *h* declension (with invariable stem) to the detriment of the other declensions. Cfr Karst 1901, 142–148. The case of *uḫjuquḫunūn* in this text would indicate a tendency in an opposite direction.

a variant that is closer to the common ancestor of D_g . Could this be the reading of the archetypus of the entire tradition, whence all the mss (except for some in the *D sub-group* as listed above) omitted the word աւերեն? This is possible as well. However, a deliberate scribal addition (in the forefather of the *D sub-group*) with the purpose of making a stronger rhetorical statement is also likely given that only this sub-group contains աւերեն.

[11.8]

զորս եւ ամփոփեցի
which I buried

զորս եւ *զնացեալ* ամփոփեցի D_g
which I buried *having gone* [there]

[12.1]

հրաշք զարմանալիք ի հայրապետէս հայոց all mss
marvelous miracles by the patriarch of the Armenians

հրաշք զարմանալիք ի հայրապետէս հայոց լուսաւորչէս D_g
marvelous miracles by the patriarch of the Armenians, *the Illuminator*

[12.6]

ընդդէմ սրբոյն Գրիգորի all mss
in front of St. *Gregory*

ընդդէմ սրբոյն լուսաւորչին Bb₁b₂D
in front of the saint[ly] *Illuminator*

ընդդէմ սրբոյն Գրիգորի լուսաւորչին bPP₁SS₁
in front of the saint[ly] *Gregory, the Illuminator*

This is another example (similar to what was discussed for 11.2 and 11.8) where all mss of the *D sub-group* maintain a word found only in this sub-group, but Bb₁b₂D omit another one in its stead. In this case, again, it is likely that bPP₁SS₁ are closer to the common ancestor of D_g since they maintain Գրիգորի and լուսաւորչին while Bb₁b₂D replace Գրիգորի with լուսաւորչին.

[12.7]

In the following variation place there is a great variety of differences which cannot all be presented here. Yet, the reading of the *D sub-group* is unique. In order to allow a comparison, I have placed it along with the reading of the *d group* and E sub-group, all from the B family:

բժշկեաց զնոսա զամենեսան սուրբն Գրիգոր աղօթիւք St. Gregory healed them all with prayers	dYy
աղաւթիւք բժշկեաց սուրբն Գրիգոր զամենեսան vast majority of A family mss agree with this word arrangement) with prayers St. Gregory healed all	EE ₁ I (the
աղօթիւք բժշկեաց տէրն Գրիգոր զամենեսան with prayers Lord Gregory healed all	J
բժշկեաց աղաւթիւք ջուրս ցանելով [he] healed with prayers <i>by sprinkling [of] water</i>	Bb ₁ b ₂ D
սուրբն Գրիգոր զամենեսան աղօթիւք բժշկեաց ջուրս ցանելով St. Gregory healed all with prayers <i>by sprinkling [of] water</i>	bPP ₁ SS ₁

The *D sub-group* mss are the only ones to mention the ‘sprinkling of water’ as a means by which St. Gregory performed the healing of all. This could be an allusion to baptism, even though nothing specific is mentioned in this regard. As in previous examples, here as well the reading of Bb₁b₂D excludes several words found in all other mss (whatever their arrangement, which in this location is, indeed, quite varied), such as զամենեսան, սուրբն, Գրիգոր. Even with these omissions, the sentence makes sense syntactically but it is rather likely that the *P sub-sub group* preserves a superior reading within the group, closer to the ancestor of D_g.

[13.7]

In the following example the orthographical differences have been suppressed.

Զոր լուեալ սիրելոյն իմ ի մանկութենէ Տրդատ(այ) Hearing this, Trdat, my loved one since childhood	All A mss
Զոր լուեալ սիրելին իմ Տրդատ ի մանկութենէ Hearing this, Trdat, my loved one since childhood	bPP ₁ SS ₁
Զոր լուեալ սիրելին իմ[մեր b ₁] ի մանկութենէ Hearing this my (our b ₁) loved one since childhood	Bb ₁ b ₂ D

In this variation place there are several differences to be noted. First, is the division between A and B families due to the use of the genitive (in A family) vs the nominative (in B family, except for the *b sub-sub group* which omits Trdat) case of the logical subject Տրդատ(այ) and the corresponding adjective that qualifies it—սիրելին/ սիրելոյն—of the aorist participial clause (predicate: լուեալ, hearing/having heard).

While both uses are attested, the use of the genitive case for the logical subject of such clauses is much more common and correct. The omission of Տրդատ is also acceptable grammatically, but leaves the meaning of the clause somewhat ambiguous. Within the *D sub-group* the variant of the *P sub-sub group* is superior compared to that of the *b sub-sub group*.

[13.10]

The *D sub-group* mss have a unique detail related to Trdat's victory over a dragon and a unicorn. I believe that this sentence appeared only in the ancestor of the *D sub-group* and does not stem from any other, more removed ancestors which are closer to the archetypus (such as that of the B_{g2} group, the B family or the archetypus itself) as no trace of it has survived in any other group or sub-group. The *D sub-group* mss mention that after the killing of the dragon and the unicorn the following happened (I have suppressed some orthographical differences for clarity here):

և առեալ զգլուխս նոցայ բերեր և ելեալ ընդ առաջ նորայ մեք [om P] ամենեքեան և [om և BD, + շատ S] զարմացաք զի իս. եզն բերեալ լծեցաք և ուժգին հազիւ մուծաք [մտաք ի քաղաքն Հռոմ P] ի Հռոմ քաղաքի

and taking their heads he brought [them] and having come out forward we were all [+ greatly S] amazed since having brought forty oxen we harnessed [them] and with great force were barely able to bring them in [to enter P] into the city of Rome.

No traces of this phrase appear in any other mss besides the *D sub-group*. This detail bears traits of popular legendary material and gives a more mythical tone to an already folkloristic tale of dragon-killing by Trdat. The phrasing may also depend on a belief that dragons could be raised (in air) by 'certain creatures called oxen' reported by Eznik Kolbac'i.⁹⁵ It is also plausible that a marginal gloss entered the text of the ancestor of this sub-group.

⁹⁵ Eznik de Kolb 1959, 458. On the relationship of dragons and oxen, e.g. oxen driving a chariot with dragons, and analysis of the ancient Hittite origin of these myths, cfr Russell 1987, 209–210. Russell also cites artistic representations of this scene. It is noteworthy that such ancient traditions are found in a text such as the TD, even if only in one of the text-types.

[14.23–24]

All mss (including other B family mss) have:

նորն և ձեռքն փոխեալ էին վասն սպասահարկութեան սատարաց/ սպասա-
ւորաց⁹⁶ սրբոցն

[their] feet and hands were transformed for the sake of *providing services to the servants of the saints*

In the *D sub-group*, however, we find the following:

նորն և ձեռքն միայն բժշկեաց սուրբն Գրիգոր վասն զի զղիսն Հռեփսիմեանցն
փորելոյ.

St. Gregory cured only their feet and hands *for digging the bodies of the Hrip'si-meank' [virgins]*.

While D_g has a different text, the reading of dYyEE₁IJ agrees with the A family mss. No obvious 'chain of transformations' can be drawn to explain the origin of one or the other reading. Ms D has a strange construction վասն զի զղիսն Հռեփսիմեանցն փորելոյ where զղիսն փորելոյ literally means for 'digging of the bodies'. It is implied that their graves were to be dug and it is possible that the scribe confused զղիսն (the location for graves found also in Aa § 766) with զղիսն.

What is sure is that the difference in phrasing stems from the ancestor of the *D sub-group* which deviated from the rest of the B family mss and those of the A family, thus, from the common archetypus of the entire tradition. If we assume that the reading of the *D sub-group* is that of the archetypus, then it would be impossible to explain how both A family mss and the other B family mss (which do not stem from each other) have the exact same phrasing vs that found in the *D sub-group* mss.

[19.6]

յաւժարեցայ ի պատուել	All mss
I wished to honour	

յաւժարեցայ յաւժարութեամբ ի պատուել	bPP ₁ SS ₁
I wished <i>with willingness</i> to honour	

յաւժարութեամբ պատուել	Bb ₁ b ₂ D
[no main verb] <i>with willingness</i> to honour	

⁹⁶ For problems related to these variants, cfr pp. 316.

The *P sub-sub group* variant is due to a homoeoarchton. While յաւ-
 ժարեցայ յաւժարութեամբ (I wished *with willingness*) is repetitive and
 superfluous, syntactically there is nothing wrong with such phrasing.
 The same cannot be said about the *b sub-sub group* which omits the
 main verb յաւժարեցայ (I wished) because of which the clause becomes
 syntactically deficient. Moreover, the variant of the *b sub-sub group* is
 clearly derived from the *P sub-sub group* and not vice versa.

[21.24–25]

մասնաւորեցաք ... ի հարկացն Միջագետաց all mss
 we gave a part ... from the taxes of Mesopotamia

մասնաւորեցաք ... ի հարկացն Միջագետաց տացեն վանորէիցն D_g
 we gave a part ... from the taxes of Mesopotamia [that] *they give to the monas-*
teries

The addition of the *D sub-group* is superfluous and does not blend into
 the sentence syntactically.

[21.26]

Վարագայ վերնակրան եղբարցն all mss
 to the highly *spiritual brethren* of Varag

Վարագայ կրանաւորացն և եղբարցն D_g
 to the *religious and the brethren* of Varag

The D_g variant is repetitive, as it refers to the same group (of monks) with
 two different words. It is more likely that the author wanted to elevate
 the importance of the religious brothers of Varag by qualifying them
 with the adjective ‘highly spiritual’ or ‘angelic’ (found in all other mss)
 rather than making a division between the ‘religious’ and the ‘brethren’
 as representing two separate groups, which is what the *D sub-group* mss’
 reading seems to imply.

[23.17]

եհան ի Հրէաստանէ Եփեսոս all mss, except for the Agat’angelos
 group of the A family and the *D sub-group* of the B family.
 [he] removed [it] from Judaea to Ephesus

եհան ի Հրէաստանէ և տարաւ Եփեսոս D *sub-group*
 [he] removed it from Judaea *and took* to Ephesus

Some scribes must have felt that the clause (the first example above) was
 inadequate as it appeared. Thus, the ancestor of the Agat’angelos group

of the A family (where եբեր, i.e. brought is added) and the *D sub-group* of the B family added a verb. I think it is possible that the syntactical deficiency was present already in the archetypus and the addition of the two different, but both fitting, verbs in the Agat'angelos group and the *D sub-group* is due to a deliberate scribal correction made in the respective ancestors of these two groups. This conclusion is motivated by the fact that the verb is missing in all other mss outside of the two groups mentioned. The 'correction' introduced in the ancestor of these two groups was done independently from each other. In fact, the verbs chosen were different.

[24.12]

մինչև ի ծագս աշխարհի all mss
till the edge of the world

մինչև ի ծագս աշխարհի *և ի դռունս դրախտին* D_g
till the edge of the world *and the doors of paradise*

[25.8–9]

The last sentence of the text shows very clearly that while Bbb₁b₂DPP₁SS₁ stem from a common ancestor, there is a further three-fold division within the sub-group, that is, Bb₁b₂D on the one side, and bPP₁SS₁ on the other, while the latter can be divided even further into bPP₁ and SS₁. Since there is a great variety of readings in the mss in this location, the text that is presented here for comparison with the *D sub-group* is what appears in the base text:

Իսկ զայս զիրս աւանդեցաք ի ձեռս ատենադարին հայոց արքային, մեծիմաստին Ագաթանգեղոսի ի փառս աստուծոյ:
And we trusted this letter to the hands of the secretary of the Armenian King, the great sage Agat'angelos, for the glory of God.

bPP₁ version:

Իսկ զայս *միւս* զիրս աւանդեցաք *փոխադրեալ* ի ձեռն ատենադարին հայոց *թագաւորին* *Տրդատայ* *մեծ* արքային *և* մեծի իմաստունյն Ագաթանգեղոսի *քաջ ճարտարագրչի* *և* տարեալ հասոյց ի հայս ի փառս *քրիստոսի* աստուծոյ *մերոյ*, որ է *օրհնեալ* յաւիտեանս յաւիտենից ամէն
And we bequeathed this *other* letter, *translated (but also transferred)* by the secretary of the *Armenian sovereign Trdat the great* King, Agat'angelos the great sage and the excellent scribe, and he took it to the Armenians for the Glory of Christ, our God, who is blessed for ever and ever. Amen.

SS₁ version is syntactically different and problematic:

Իսկ զայս ի ձեռն ատենադպրի հայոց թագաւորին Տրդատայ մեծ արքային
և մեծ իմաստնոյն քաջ ճարտարագրչի և տարեալ հասոյց ի հայս ի փառս
քրիստոսի աստուծոյ մերոյ [ամէն END S] + որ է օրհնեալ յաիտեանս յաիտե-
նից ամէն S₁

And this [no main verb] by the secretary of the Armenian sovereign *Trdat the Great King and by the great sage and excellent scribe and [he] brought it to the Armenians for the Glory of our God [+amen. END S] who is blessed forever and ever. Amen* S₁

The Bb₁b₂D version also omits the verb աւանդեցաք [we bequeathed]

Իսկ միւս գիրս փոխադրեալ ատենադպրին հայոց թագաւորին Տրդատայ մեծի
Ագաթանգեղոսի քաջ ճարտարագրչի և տարեալ ի հայս ի փառս քրիստոսի
աստուծոյ մերոյ որ է օրհնեալ յաիտեանս յաիտենից ամէն Bb₁b₂D

[+ աւրինեալ է աստուած b₁]

And the other letter having been translated (or transferred) by the secretary of the Armenian King *Trdat*, the great *Agat'angelos*, an excellent scribe and taken to the Armenians for the Glory of Christ our God, who is blessed forever and ever. Amen. [+blessed be God b₁]

Syntactically, the version of bPP₁ is superior compared to all other readings of the *D sub-group*. Moreover, the other versions can be explained only as deriving from a text-type that is found in bPP₁. This comes as no surprise at this point, since in most other examples bPP₁ (often along with SS₁) have demonstrated superior variants compared to the *b sub-sub group*. One may, thus, argue, that they represent a text-type that is closer to the common sub-group ancestor. There are no significant variants that would contradict such a conclusion.

3.3.2.2. The b Sub-Sub Group

The following examples are meant to further demonstrate the affiliation of the sub-sub groups of the *D sub-group*.

[13.5]

մերձակայ սահմանացն
of the nearby borders

մերձակայիցն Bb₁D
մերձակայ կայիցն b₂
of the vicinity (b₂ is corrupt)

[13.13]

պարգևեաց ինձ թիրակէս և անդեղայս թինսահալածս all mss
[He] donated to me this anti-poison and anti-dote against venom

սարգևեաց ինձ թիւնահալածս
[He] donated to me this anti-poison

Bb₁b₂D

The omission in Bb₁b₂D is likely due to a homoeoarchton (*թիւնահալէս* and *թիւնահալածս*).

[15.4]

The following discussion demonstrates that b₁ and b₂ are closer to each other and may derive from B, while D from the same exemplar as B: in the phrase *նրպէս ի Տարաւն*, D abbreviated *նրպէս* as *նպ* with a small horizontal dash above. B, on the other hand, has a less regular abbreviation. Namely, it has *նր* with a horizontal dash above. The copyists of b₁ and b₂ must have inadvertently missed (or misunderstood) the dash which indicated that the word was abbreviated; thus, b₁ has simply *նր* and b₂ has *նր*.

[15.8–9]

բժշկեաց յանբուժական ախտէն
[she] healed from an *incurable* disease

all mss

բժշկեաց բուժական [corrupt: բուժակէն b₁] ախտէն Bb₁b₂D
[she] healed from a *curable* disease

The context does not support the variant found in the *b sub-sub group*.

[16.7]

Similar to 15.4, in this variation place the type of relationship that exists between the mss of this sub-sub group is revealed further. For example, the word *արանցն* was originally spelled as *արեանցն* in B. The scribe who proofread the text tried to correct the word here and signs of attempted erasure can be seen which tried to eliminate (not successfully) the letter *ե*. The other mss of the sub-sub group (including b₂) also maintain the letter *ե* and read *արեանցն*.

[16.9]

ճնշելն

ճնշել Bb₁b₂
ճնճել D

These variants suppose that D was copied from an exemplar where the letter շ had already become շ due to the graphical similarity of the two letters' shapes (this was the common exemplar of the sub-group).

D's reading ճնճել is, then, most likely due to a dialectal pronunciation.

[16.11]

What was said about 16.7 above applies to this variation place as well. The verb *uqauł* at 16.11 (to feel) is spelled as *uqēauł* (where *ē* is erroneously added to the original verb, transforming it to an aorist participle) in *Bb₁b₂* and as *uqēł* (where *u* is omitted from *uqēauł* which completely changes the meaning of the verb from 'feel' to 'mourn') in *D*. The *D* ms variant can be explained only if its exemplar already had the form *uqēauł*, something found in the other mss of the sub-sub group, whence the letter *u* was inadvertently omitted. The text of *B* was proofread by a different scribe at a later date and some corrections with a different hand are visible throughout the text. What is interesting is that there is an attempted correction on the word *uqēauł* trying to erase the letter *ē*. However, *b₂*, which was surely copied from *B* (see below for further arguments for this conclusion), maintains the form *uqēauł*. Thus, the corrections to *B* (a ms which is currently at the Library of the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem) were made after 1656, the date when *b₂* was copied in Jerusalem.

[18.14–15]

The following corruption in *b₂* leaves no room for doubt that it was copied from *B*. Instead of *տանն մեզ ... արծաթ ըստ կարի* (they should give us ... silver according to their capacity) *b₂* on fol. 74^v, column 2 line 17, has *արծաթ տկարի* (silver of the weak one?) which makes no sense in the context. The variant stems from the fact that in this location ms *B* has *արծաթ ըս* as the last two words on fol. 430^v line 13, and *տ կարի* on the following line 14. The scribe who copied *b₂* omitted *ըս* found on line 13 (in ms *B*, fol. 430^v) and only copied the second half of the word from line 14 of the same folio, joining it with the next lemma. As a result, in *b₂* we read *տկարի*.

[22.1]

պատրաստեցի
[I] prepared

պարզեցի *Bb₁b₂D*
[I] donated

[24.1–2]

Անդ էն և աստուածարեալ սուրբ արքայն Տրդատ և աստուածապետականն
 Գրիգոր զուարթունն, որոց տուաք հրաման
And there are the God-made holy king Trdat and divine and always awake Gregory
to whom we gave an order ...

The italicised section (probably a line in the forefather) is missing in Bb₁b₂D resulting in the following phrase:

Անդանոր տուաք հրաման
 Then (?) we gave an order

Most of the examples above amount to common errors found in the *b sub-sub group*. They demonstrate that the *P sub-sub group* has a superior text. The discussion of the *P sub-sub group* below provides further evidence which strengthens this claim.

3.3.2.3. The P Sub-Sub Group

As mentioned above, this sub-sub group can be divided further, with bPP₁ on the one side and SS₁ on the other. While the latter two share even the minutest details, S has several individual variants, often corruptions, not shared by S₁. Thus, S₁ usually has a superior text. In the section below I will present variants that outline the *P sub-sub group* as well as those that distinguish the SS₁ sub-sub-sub group. The variants of the *P sub-sub group* are presented on the right side.

[6.25]

զտիրասպան քահանայիցն
 [of] priests, murderers of the Lord

զտիրասպանիցն L
 զտիրասպանացն SS₁
 [of] murderers of the Lord

As can be seen, L shares the reading of SS₁, even if it has a different case ending. The variant of L stems from having omitted the first part of քահանայիցն. That of SS₁ underwent a similar process, but the common forefather must have already had a different case ending (here italicised) զտիրասպանացն. This variation place is not strong from text-genealogical point of view, evidenced also by the fact that an unrelated ms (such as L) shares a variant with SS₁. The other variants below, however, leave not doubt that SS₁ are sister mss.

[7.20]

իշխան աշխարհակալ

իշխանակալ (one that
holds/commands princes?)S₁

a prince that rules the world

ինքնակալ S
autokrator

The collusion of two words into one is evident in the reading of S₁. It is likely that S's version is an attempt to correct it.

[9.9]

նոյնպէս

որպէս SS₁

in the same way

as

[9.10]

գրամիկ

գրամկ SS₁

grandson (?)

a corruption of գրամիկ (?)

[10.6]

Էլեսպոնդացոց
of HellespontԷրեսպոնտացոց bPP₁S₁
վինչև պոնտացոց վինչև S
corrupted variants

[13.11–12]

When Constantine mentions the relic of the True Cross which his mother Helen had brought from Jerusalem (which Constantine now gives to Trdat), the *P sub-sub group* mss add the following (about the relic of the True Cross):

ի խաչափայտէն Քրիստոսի, զոր Տէառն Եղբայրն շնորհեաց [շնորհեալ էր S]
մաւրն իմոյ

From the wood of the cross of Christ, which the brother of the Lord had granted
to my mother

[14.20]

զձև և *զլաւրինուած* [with spelling variations] all mss
the form and *the shape*

զձև և *զշինուած*
the form and *the structure*

SS₁

[15.16]

Եւրոպիական
Europeanև ըսպիական SS₁
a corrupted variant

[16.9]

ի ճնշելն
because of pressureճշնելս SS₁
a corrupted word

This is just one of many examples which demonstrate the very close affiliation of S and S₁. Here the order of the letters նշ was inverted in both mss.

[16.14]

զեղափանդական բորոսութիւն
elephantine leprosy

SS₁ omit բորոսութիւն (leprosy) because of which the sense of the expression (and the sentence in which it is used) is lost.

[17.5–6]

սուրբն Գրիգորիոս յարևելս
St. Gregory in the east

all mss

սուրբն Գրիգորիոս լուսաւորիչն հայաստանեաց ի յարևելս
St. Gregory, *the Illuminator of the Armenians*, in the eastbPP₁սուրբն Գրիգորիոս ի արևելս հայաստանեաց
St. Gregory in the east of the ArmeniansSS₁

[17.6]

Նիկողայոս

almost all mss (except a sub-sub group of

Agat'angelos group which has a different spelling, see below)

Nikołayos (Nicholas)

Նիկողայոս զմիւռնա հայրապետն bPP₁
Nicholas, *the Patriarch of Smyrne*Նիկողայոս զմիւռնոյ հայրապետն S₁Nicholas, *the Patriarch of Smyrne* (with a different case ending of Smyrne)

Նիկողայոս զմիւռնոյ

S

Nicholas of *Smyrne*

[18.19]

բաժինս <i>հանցեն</i> մեզ	բաժինս <i>արաացեն</i> մեզ SS ₁
they should <i>take out</i> a portion for us	they should <i>make</i> a portion for us

[19.16]

սուրբ առաքել ^ն <i>ngu</i>	սուրբ առաքել ^ն <i>pu</i> SS ₁
of the holy apostles (genitive plural)	by the holy apostles (instrumental plural, not fitting in the context)

[19.17]

նշանաւ խաչիւ Քրիստոսի	նշանաւ <i>սուրբ</i> խաչիւ
with the sign of the cross of Christ	with the sign of the <i>holy</i> cross (the latter in the instrumental case)

[21.6]

խաչաձև	խաչանման] SS ₁
cross-shaped	cross-like

Because, in many instances, the *D sub-group* behaves in a unitary way, the *siglum* D_g was assigned to present variations shared by all mss of this sub-group in the critical apparatus. From the nine initially fully collated manuscripts that comprise the *D sub-group* three have been maintained in the apparatus, namely B, b and S₁ as these were judged to be the most representative of the respective sub-sub groups and with the best text quality. Moreover, B is the oldest ms in this sub-group. As was demonstrated above, b₂ was copied from it while b₁ also has no important differences. D, on the other hand, was most likely copied from the same exemplar as B. From among bPP₁SS₁ sub-sub group mss, b represents the best manuscript in that it has the least amount of idiosyncratic readings and corruptions not shared by other members of the sub-sub group. It is also the oldest ms in this sub-sub group. S₁ is included to represent the other branch of this sub-sub group, even if more often than not these are errors found only in S and S₁.

3.3.3. *The E Sub-Group*

This sub-group of the B_{g2} group is isolated by not sharing the variants of the *D sub-group*. From among the four I and J seem to be sister mss based on internal and external evidence. Not only, they both seem to have been copied by the same scribe whose name was Yohannēs and who

was the son of a goldsmith Amir. The content of the two mss is also very similar.⁹⁷ The E sub-group's forefather separated from the B_{g2} group at a stage when D_g's ancestor's variants were not present yet. Below are some examples which suggest that E and E₁ are slightly closer to each other than IJ. The variants are not 'substantial' in the way that I defined them at the beginning of this chapter. Thus, the affiliation is not strong. It could be said that EE₁ and IJ are second grade cousins.

[1.1]

One of the markers of the B family is *նորսութեամբ* (with the mercy) instead of *կարողութեամբ* (with the power) in the first sentence of the text. However, IJ use *նորսութիւն* in the nominative case, which is syntactically inadequate.

[6.1]

<i>հանդերձեալ էին</i>	<i>հանդերձէին</i> IJ
prepared to [leave]	

IJ use a different tense of the same verb.

[9.1]

<i>սքանչելագեղ</i>	<i>սքէլագեղս</i> IJ
marvelously beautiful	a corrupt word

[10.4]

<i>Պոմպէ(ի)</i>	<i>մոմպէ</i> EE ₁
Pompey	a corrupted word (mompē)

[14.19]

EE₁ omit the italicised text-block due to a homoeoarchton:

... ւաւորն *ամփոփեաց զսուրբն Հրիփսիմէ և զԳայիանէ և զերեսուն և հինգ ընկերս նոցա: Եւ յետ վեց ւաւորն.*
 [in the second] day *he buried St. Hrip'simē and Gayanē and their thirty five companions. After six days, etc.*

⁹⁷ Cfr pp. 189–191 for the respective descriptions, also for the name of the scribe and his father.

[18.9]

ի մերմէ թագաւորութենէս A family mss
from our kingdom

ի ձերմմ թագաւորութենէս IJ
from your kingdom (your in inadequate case)

ի մերմմ թագաւորութենէս all other B mss.
from our kingdom (our in inadequate case)

All B mss variants are grammatically erroneous. The possessive adjective (either ձեր (your) or մեր (our)) should agree with the substantive, in this case թագաւորութենէս in the ablative sing. case, and not appear in the locative case as it does in the B family. Moreover, the context requires that the adjective in question be մեր rather than ձեր. Thus, the IJ variant is doubly corrupt.

[22.5]

սենեակս
the rooms

սեղեանակս EE₁
a corrupted word

From the four mss comprising the E sub-group two mss—I and E—were maintained in the apparatus. The decision was mainly based on the quality of their text (e.g. the least amount of obvious individual corruptions not shared by the respective sister ms). In the case of the choice between E and E₁ I also took into consideration the fact that E₁ is physically damaged, and, throughout the text on almost every folio there are illegible lines.

Based on this discussion, the chain of mss transmission presented in Fig. 1.1 can be oriented to the stemma in Fig. 1.2.

3.4. THE A FAMILY

While mss within the B family fit into various groups and sub-groups quite neatly, the same cannot be said about the A family. Numerically, the number of mss with an A text-type is much greater than those of the B text-type. This may mean that some of B family's complexity is lost due to the loss of mss from this family.

Some remarks must be made about the relationship of ms groups within the A family before discussing the substantial common variants that allowed me to reconstruct the affiliation of single mss. First of

all, A family consists of the following groups: the Agat'angelos group (*siglum*: A_g), the C group⁹⁸ (to which C₁ belongs only partially as it is contaminated due to exemplar change), the F group, the T group, ms A₁ and the N group. None of these groups seem to be a sub-group of another one. Moreover, mss A₁, T₂ and N₈ cannot be assigned to any of the groups with certainty. It can be suggested that the F and C groups descend from a common distant ancestor whose text was closer to the B family than any other group within the A family. This implies that F and, especially, C (despite an additional paragraph which is not found elsewhere) text-types preserve a higher number of variants that stem from the archetypus than any other ms groups of the A family. The collation of F and C group mss does not corroborate the hypothesis that either F or C descend from each other, but rather that their common ancestor gave rise to two branches independent of each other. In some of the locations where C and F share common variants, so does ms T₂. However, this ms has also common points with the T family which need to be explained further.

The Agat'angelos and N groups omit some text-blocks (comprised of two to five lemmata) which are preserved in the B family and other A family mss. I present these text-blocks in a complex variation environment, as they demonstrate the relationship of some A family mss groups to the B family. After this discussion, each A family group will be analysed for its own sake.⁹⁹

3.4.1. C, F and T Groups Vs B Family

[3.1]

ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲛⲁ (the army) is attested in all A family mss except for the F group, CC₁ and T₂, which agree with the B family (except for S₁ which agrees with the A family). Below are the relevant variants:

ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲛⲁ	CFT ₂
ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲛⲁⲛ	B _g C ₁ F ₁ F ₅ L
ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲛ	F ₂
ⲙⲁⲣ	F ₃ F ₄

⁹⁸ I call this a *group* because it is comprised of C and C₁ until Section 18. After Section 18, C₁ follows a text-type that belongs to the E sub-group of the B family.

⁹⁹ For the discussion in this part I employ group *sigla* for F and N groups for clarity. These, however, will not be maintained in the apparatus for reasons outlined in the discussion of each group.

All of these words mean ‘the brave (ones)’ vs the ‘army’ of the other A family mss. The context supports both readings, even if the ‘brave ones’ is preferable. Moreover, the difference between the two words is the first letter h (present in B family) which could be omitted inadvertently. The entire paragraph is devoted to enumerating the various titles of Trdat and Gregory. In a text that is so careful with regards to such titles and their implications for the political and religious image of the Armenians it seems rather unfitting that the ‘army of the Armenians’ is mentioned first and then its secular and spiritual leaders. It seems more plausible that the author of TD wished to use the word *hquippū* or *the brave ones* to qualify Trdat and Gregory, as specified further in the sentence. I have emended the base text based on this argument.

[11.5]

տառապի *uqqū* հայոց A₁TA_gN_g
the *nation* of the Armenians suffers

տառապի [տառապեցի dYy] *uqqū li wəḥuaphū* հայոց AT₁T₂B_g
the *nation and the land of the Armenians* (will) suffer(s)

տառապի *wəḥuaphū* հայոց CC₁F_g
the *land* of the Armenians suffers

N_g has no text

These variations suggest that the text-type from which all the variants could emerge is that of AT₁T₂B_g. The other versions resulted from the omission of either *uqqū* or *wəḥuaphū*. In this location, then, AT₁T₂ from the A family agree with the B family and, consequently, stand closer to the archetypus. The base text of this edition has been emended in this location.

[19.8–9]

In the following expression there are a great variety of orthographic differences and corruptions the analysis of which is not vital for the moment. I will, therefore, present the phrase (and differences) only in English in order to emphasise the omissions/additions and not other types of variations.

(under the rule of) the Italians, the Alamans and the Spanish

AT₁T₂CC₁FF₁F₄B_{g2} the *b sub-sub*
group omits ‘under the rule of’

under the rule of the Italians and the Spanish dYy

under the rule of the Italians

A₁TA_gN_gF₂F₃N_g

L and F₅ have a lacuna

It is obvious that the most complete text-block is the first one. The other variants can be explained by omissions committed by scribes of either individual mss (such as F_2F_3) or of group ancestors (such as A_g and N_g). It is also evident that the omission of F_2F_3 is due to their common exemplar and not the ancestor of the F family since other F family mss maintain the complete phrasing. The question of the relationship of A_1T is more complicated, as will be seen below in the discussion of the T family. As in the previous example here as well, AT_1 , in agreement with the B_{g2} group of the B family have a superior text. However, in this case more A family mss, such as CC_1 and FF_1F_4 maintain this superior variant. The base text has been emended in this location.

[21.10–12]

զբժշկաբաշխ ձեռսն բազկաւքն հանդերձ երկոցունց առաքելոցս՝ Պետրոսի և Պաւլոսի AA₁C₁TT₁T₂N₈A_gB_{g2}N_g

cure-dispensing hands along with the arms of the two apostles Peter and Paul

զբժշկաբաշխ ձեռսն բազկաւքն հանդերձ երկոցունց առաքելոցս՝ Պետրոսի և Պաւլոսի և զսիւսի ձեռն անդրէի (+առաքելոյն only in dYy)

dYyCFF₁F₂F₄F₅LT₂

cure-dispensing hands and arms of the two apostles Peter and Paul and the left hand of (Apostle) Andrew

L omits Պետրոսի և Պաւլոսի

The addition of ‘the left hand of Apostle Andrew’ is present in the *d* group of the B family, ms C (C_1 is contaminated and follows the *E* sub-group of the B family from Section 18 onwards) and those belonging to the F group of the A family (which are not related to the *d* group). It must be concluded that this clause was also in the archetypus. Otherwise, there is no compelling reason why mss from two unrelated branches (such as the *d* group and the F group) would add the same phrase independently from each other. Moreover, the source of this information is the *History* of Uxtanēs¹⁰⁰ where St. Gregory receives the left hand of Apostle Andrew along with relics of Peter and Paul. Last, but not least, while in the two previous examples AT_1 could be singled out as having a more complete text-type from among A family mss, here this is not the case. Moreover, when these relics are mentioned again at 24.6, only the F group (including

¹⁰⁰ Uxtanēs 1871, 108. The ‘right hand of Apostles Peter’ (as opposed to the ‘left hand’ found here) is also mentioned among the donations made by the Romans to the Armenians in the Document on Borders, cfr Alishan 1901, 98.

N₇ which follows the F family after a certain point) and T₂ mention again the left hand of Apostle Andrew. It is possible that also C's forefather maintained the phrase, however, C does not contain this information because it omits a larger text-block which includes also the expression 'left hand of Apostle Andrew'.

[24.5]

և մեր զբազուկս երկուց առաքելոցն պարզկեցաք all mss
and we donated the arms of the two apostles

և մեր զբազուկս երկուց առաքելոցն Պետրոսի և Պողոսի և զահեակն Անդրէի
պարզկեցաք T₂FF₁F₄F₅LN₇
and we donated the arms of the two apostles Peter and Paul and the left [arm]
of Andrew

և մեր զբազուկս երկուց առաքելոցն պարզկեցաք և զահեակ բազուկն անդրէի
առաքելոյն F₂
and we donated the arms of the two apostles and the left [arm] of Apostle
Andrew

F₃ has a lacuna in this location

Note, that F₂F₃ omitted 'the left hand of Andrew' at 21.10–12 but the text-block must have been present in the ancestor of the F group in both locations as evidenced by other F mss.

The examples above allow two preliminary conclusions. The first is that C, F and T groups and ms A₁ preserve more text-blocks that go back to the ancestor of the A family (confirmed by the fact that the text-blocks in questions are present also in the B family) but which are not found in A_g and N_g. Ms C has the greatest amount of agreements with the B family, followed by ms F. These will be discussed in the following section. The chain of relationships between these A family groups based on the above evidence is presented in Fig. 2.1

The hypothetical ancestor (α) of intermediate node 1 already lacked the text-blocks 11.5, 19.8–9, 21.10–12 and 24.5 listed above, which are not present either in the Agat'angelos or the N groups. That these omissions are not due to individual scribal errors (such as, for example the case of F₂F₃ in 21.10–12) is confirmed by the fact that they are too consistent. The Agat'angelos group is comprised of nineteen mss and if the omissions did not go back to the ancestor of the group (itself stemming from α) there would be no such consistency. The same logic could be applied to the other examples. However, besides this common feature (of omissions) these two groups (A_g and N_g) part their ways and especially

A_g is marked by numerous group-specific significant variants, while the N group has the least amount of significant group variations (either additions or significant variants of lemmata) compared to all other mss. Thus, the N group's text-type is more similar to the other A family text-types than the A_g text-type, and logically also to α .

The hypothetical ancestor (β) of intermediate node 2, on the other hand, contained all the fullest forms of the text-blocks indicated above. While we can hypothesise that α descended from β , the opposite cannot be affirmed. The logic behind such an assumption is that certain phrases omitted in α could not have been restored independently in β and be present also in the B family mss. For example, if the 'left hand of Andrew' was added deliberately by the ancestor of the F group (and did not stem from the archetypus) there is no reason why it should have been added independently also by the ancestor of the *d* group in the exact same location. If this hypothesis is correct, then, the group-specific variants of the Agat'angelos group entered the text at the level of a common ancestor of those mss and do not go back to the archetypus of the entire tradition. The N group, on the other hand, does not contain significant additions or variants besides the omissions enumerated above. In fact, I am aware that the variants listed as characteristics of this group are rather weak from text-genealogical point of view, but the group is isolated by not sharing the specific variants of other A family text-types.

The three groups and ms A_1 that stem from β descend from four independent ancestors, the ancestor of C, A_1 , the T group and the F group respectively. While at some points AT_1 (of the T group) maintain variants that can be argued to be 'more original' (such as 11.5), at others (such as 19.8–9, 21.10–12 and 24.5 which are numerically more) C and the F group have this prerogative. More examples will be brought in the next section to demonstrate the affiliation of C with the B family and confirm its intermediate position between the two families. If this hypothesis is correct, the chain presented above could be oriented into the stemma presented in Fig. 2.2.

3.4.2. *The C Group and the B Family*

I have referred to C and C_1 as the 'C group'. However, C_1 agrees with C only until the end of the Section 17. From Section 18 onwards it follows the *E* sub-group of the B family and is, thus, a contaminated ms. In all the substantial Type 2 variations that demarcate A and B families, C (and C_1 until Section 17) follows the A family. However, C has an

intermediate position between A and B families. This is confirmed by the fact that CC₁ (along with the F group) have a common variation with the B family at 3.1 (see above). The C group maintains the names of two provinces (Egypt and Palestine) that are systematically omitted in all A family mss in Section 14 when listing the Roman provinces put under the control of Trdat. Moreover, in the same section, C agrees with the *d sub-group* in the expression ‘Atrpatakan [and] Maraľay’ as opposed to the variant ‘Atrpatakan araľay’ of all other A family mss which is apparently corrupt.

3.4.2.1. C and F Connection

There are several variation places where C and F agree. Some, i.e. 3.1, 11.5 and 19.8–9, were presented above and others will be given below. I have included also ms T₂ whenever it agrees with C and F. However, this ms seems to be contaminated and will be discussed again within the T Group.

[5.6]

պարտականաց
of the debtors

պարտականաց T₂CC₁F_g
of the debtors, but can also mean of
those who hold the debts, that is the
loaners

[6.1]

հոգեգարդ
embellished with the (holy) spirit

հոգիագարդ CC₁T₂F_g

The difference between the two lemmata is the orthography.

[8.12–13]

ամենայն պատրաստութեամբ պաղատան իմոյ the majority of mss
(exceptions are: the A_g and the *P sub-sub group* of the B
family, but unrelated to the variant in C and F groups)
with all the preparations of my palace

ամենայն պաղատան իմոյ պատրաստութեամբ
ամենայն պաղատանաւք իմոյ պատրաստութեամբ
ամենայն պագատատօք իմոյ պատրաստութեամբ
ամենայն պայատաւք իմով պատրաստութեամբ
L is illegible

CC₁
FF₁F₂F₄
F₃
F₅

The meaning of the phrase is the same in all variants, but the syntax of C and F groups is different.

The use of պալատսան իմոյ (of my palace, both in the genitive sing. case) in C group mss is grammatically correct, while the F group variants, where the substantive is in instrumental plural but the possessive adjective in genitive singular, is problematic. F₅'s version is also erroneous.

[11.5]

The following example was discussed above when analyzing complex variations. I present only the C and F_g common variant here:

տառապի աշխարհն CC₁F_g
the land [of the Armenians] suffers

[14.23]

նոքն և ձեռքն
feet and hands

ձեռքն և նոքն CC₁F_g
hands and feet

3.4.2.2. Specifics of the C Group

Below are the variants specific to C (and C₁ until Section 18) which demonstrate that it emerged from a different ancestor than that of the F group. I have included further examples where C agrees with the B family which testify to its intermediate position between the two families.

[5.12]

The most important distinguishing mark of C and C₁ is the addition of an entire paragraph (absent in any other ms) about the origins of the confession of faith of St. Gregory which Constantine proclaims throughout his reign. The purpose of the paragraph is to prove that the faith of St. Gregory was passed down to him from the Apostles who, in their turn, were taught by Jesus himself. The text-block is an apology for specific Armenian liturgical uses, such as the use of unmixed wine and unleavened bread during the Eucharistic service. It is more than likely that the addition was deliberately introduced by the forefather of CC₁ for the purpose of legitimising the Armenian confession of faith by stating its apostolic origin and did not go back to the archetypus, as there is no reason why it would be fully excluded in the other text-types. The paragraph in question is the following:

... զղաւանութիւն հաւատոյ սուրբ հաւրս մերոյ Գրիգորի զոր և ընկալեալ էր սորա ի նախնեացն և նոցա ի սրբոց առաքելոցն. և առաքելոցն աւանդեաց Քրիստոս ի վերնատուն. զոր և առեալ զհացն արինեաց և ետ աշակերտացն և ասէ առեք, կերայք ի սմանէ ամենեք[ի C₁]ան. այս է մարմին իմ: Նոյնպէս և զբաժակն անապակ[+անեալ C] [+առեալ C₁] ի ձեռն արինեաց և ասէ. արբեք ի սմանէ ամենեքեան. այս է արիւն իմ. որ վասն ձեր և բազմաց հեղու ի քաւութիւն: զայս արարէք առ իմոյ յիշատակի: Նոյնպէս և մեր ընկալեալ ի սբ. հաւրէս մերմէ Գրիգորէ [+լուսատրչէ C₁], փոխանակ կուսածին մարմնոյն Քրիստոսի հացն անխմոր և փոխանակ [+անապական] արեանն Քրիստոսի զինի անապակ CC₁

[we proclaimed] the confession of faith of our Holy Father Gregory which he had received from [his] predecessors and the latter from the holy Apostles; and Christ had bequeathed it to the Apostles at the Upper Room, at which taking the bread he blessed [it] and gave it to the disciples and said: 'Take all of you and eat from this. This is my body'. In the same manner taking the unspoiled cup in his hand, he blessed [it] and said: 'Drink from this [cup] all [of you]. This is my blood which I spilled for the redemption of you and of the multitude. Do this in my memory'. In the same way we received this [tradition] from our saintly father Gregory the Illuminator: the unleavened bread for the virgin-born body of Christ and pure wine for the unspoiled blood of Christ.

[6.15]

զանգին արիւնն
the priceless blood

զանգին անապական արիւնն CC₁
the priceless *unspoiled* blood

[8.1]

կայսերական թագիւս
with the imperial crown

all A family mss

կայսերական թագիւս + մերով
with *our* imperial crown

CC₁B_g

[8.4]

նս և զանգին գաւտի
and the priceless belt

all mss

նս և զանգին և + զանգիւտ գաւտի
and the priceless and *inimitable* belt

CC₁

[9.3]

The following example is taken from a complex variation environment as there should be more than one variant in the left column. I have

suppressed those because these are various corruptions of չքնաղագեղ, whereas CC₁ are the only mss to have the word չքնաղ.

չքնաղագեղ
of unique beauty

չքնաղ CC₁
unique, unseen

[9.16–17]

The italicised part of the text-block below is omitted in C due to a homoeoarchton and parablepsis, but is present in C₁. Thus, the common forefather of CC₁ also contained it.

և այլ անթիւ և անհամար ամօխսս ոսկւոյ և արծաթոյ և ականց
and *other countless and abundant gifts in gold and silver and precious gems*

[18.12]

Although in the following text-block C follows the A family word order (see above for the differences between A and B families in this variation place), it uses the word տունս արքունի (the B family variant) as opposed to դրունս արքունի.

հնգակը տացեն ի *դրունս* արքունի all A family mss
հնգակը տացեն ի *տունս* արքունի C

In conclusion, C group's text is the closest from among A family mss to the B family text-type.

3.4.3. *The F Group*

This group is comprised of the following mss: FF₁F₂F₃F₄F₅L. Among these F₁F₄, F₂F₃ and F₅L are sister mss. Physically L is in the worst condition. It has a large stain on the upper middle part of the folio 2^v which makes several lines illegible. While F₅L share several common variants with F₂F₃ they also have a number of different significant variants specific only to them. On the other hand, there are several omissions of text-blocks (including two to five lemmata) and significant common variants found in F₁F₂F₃F₄F₅L which F (the oldest ms with the text of TD) does not share. In such cases, F agrees with the other A family mss and usually has a superior text, while the other mss of the F group seem to have parted further from the common ancestor of the group. Even though there are common significant variants that all the mss of the F group share, they do not have a unitary behavior as far as less significant

variants are concerned. Given this and the fact that L has a large lacuna and numerous illegible lemmata due to physical damage I have not assigned a group *siglum* since it would not give accurate information about the group's general behavior, especially between Sections 18.8 and 19.12 where F₅ and L have no text, and, thus, I would not be able to notify common group variants for this reason. Instead, I selected mss F, F₃ and F₅ to represent the group (see below for the choice and reasons for exclusions). In the prevailing majority of cases whenever FF₃ and F₅ share a significant variant, the latter is the reading of the entire group. Below are the significant variants that set this group apart from the other A family mss. After this general presentation, I will provide those variants that distinguish the sub-groups of this group, such as F₂F₃ (which sometimes agree with F₅L), F₁F₄ (which sometimes agree with F) and F₅L.

The relationship of mss within the F group is presented in the chain of Fig. 3.1. While F represents the best quality text, there is no relationship of dependence between the sub-groups of the F group. The chain can be somewhat oriented to the stemma in Fig. 3.2. The difference between the two charts is that in Fig. 3.2 ms F stands closer to the hypothetical ancestor of the entire F group.

The chain and the stemma are based on data provided by the collation of the mss. There are no indices in the contents of the F group mss which would confirm their relationship also based on external evidence.

As was already mentioned ms F has the best text quality. However, in order to provide a fuller view on the different text-types of the F group mss other two mss were maintained in the apparatus, i.e. F₃ and F₅, even though these have also numerous corruptions.

[6.15]

զանգին արիւնն
the precious blood

զանգնէլի արիւնն FF₁F₃F₄FL
the pricelss blood
corrupted to զանտանէլի in F₂
unbearable

զրեցաք ֆրէրք

զրեցաք ֆրատք FF₁F₂F₃F₄F₅
corrupted to խրատք L

we wrote [each other to be] *frerk*'

we wrote [each other to be] *fratk*'

The use of Latin *fratk*' (with the Armenian nominative plural ending) as opposed to the Old French *frerk*' is found only in this group and is one of its most distinguishing marks. The question poses itself whether this variant goes back to the archetypus or to the ancestor of the group. I am

rather inclined to think the latter, since the word *frerk'* is used in this text elsewhere and since no trace of *fratk'* survives in other mss beyond this group.

[8.4]

The example below is not from a Type 2 variation environment since there is a great number of variants (which should appear on the left column, but I have presented a 'normalised' variant for simplicity). However, since only the F group has the reading on the right column I chose to present this case as a significant common variant of the group.

մարգարտամալճաւք	մարգարտավճօք
with pearls [sown] in a wave (pattern)	a corrupted word

[8.7]

All F group mss omit the following text-block:

արքունադրոշմն նշանաւոր կառաւք
with carriages with engraved signs of royalty

[9.6]

բահուանդս	բահուանդս FF ₂ F ₄
bracelets	բահու աւանդս F ₁ F ₃ L
	բակսաւանդս F ₅
	a corrupted word

After this lemma, all F group mss omit բիրակունս (with thousand gems).

[9.7]

վայելչավառս	վայելչավաճառս F ₁ F ₂ F ₃ F ₄ L
	F's folio is cut and the lemma is illegible
splendid	a corrupted word,
	lit. 'splendid for sale' (?)

[9.10]

զորդիացեալն	զորիորդացեալն F
[my] adopted son	զօրիորդացեալն F ₁ F ₅ L
	զորի որդացեալն F ₂
	զօրի որդացեալն F ₄

The variants presented by the F group imply a word—‘the one who has become a maiden’—which does not make sense in the context. These variants are the result of dittography, and in the case of F₄ letters p and ք were confused because of their graphical similarity.

[9.15]

պահանգք
armors

պահապանք
guardians

This example was discussed when outlining the differences between A and B families. The reading on the left column is that of the A family (where orthographical differences have been suppressed). I have not included B family variants which are all corrupted and not relevant to this discussion. All F mss share the reading on the right column. This reading is less convincing in the given context (see the discussion above) and is to be considered a corruption.

[10.9]

արիութեամբ հոյակապ
marvelous with bravery

The F group omits հոյակապ
omits marvelous

[11.8]

Սուքիասանցն քաւշիցն
of the goats Suk‘iaseank‘

The F group omits քաւշիցն (of the
goats)

The term քաւշ (goat) was a common appellative for the Suk‘iaseank‘ saints because of their life-style as monks grazing in the mountains. It is more than plausible that the archetypus did contain this technical term.

[13.11]

անդեղայս թինսահալածս All mss but the Agat‘angelos group (see below for
anti-poison [and] anti-dote this group)

անդ եղև այս թինսահալածս FF₂F₃F₄F₅
there happened this anti-dote

անտեղ և այս թինսահալածս L
there (with idiosyncratic spelling) and this anti-dote

The variants of the F group stem from a mistaken division of the word անդեղայս, which resulted in a completely different and unacceptable

(in the context) variant, especially in ms L. But F₁ has the most intriguing set of transformations. Here, we read:

անդ եղև արհնութիւն աստուծոյ ոչ սակաւ
and there was blessing of God of no small amount

Obviously, այս (this) was transformed to այ which was taken to be an abbreviation for աստուծոյ (of God). Possibly the scribe added արհնութիւն (blessing) in order to give some meaning to the sentence.

[14.9]

թէ որպէս *զանազան* տանջանաւք F mss omit *զանազան* (various)
and how with *various* tortures

[14.10]

սանթէս/սանթենէս սանթանէզ A₁FF₃F₄F₅L
from the saint սանթանէս F₂
a corrupted word

The most unexpected corruption is found in F₁: սնթաղ եթող (he left without burial). This reading possibly resulted from the confusion between letters q and ղ. The scribe also omitted the initial letter u and the letters նէ within the word. It is possible that եթող was added in F₁ by the scribe in order to give some sense to the expression.

This is not a Type-2 variation environment, as ms A₁ also shares the reading of the F group. But this variation place does show the relationship within the F group and for this reason I decided to include this example in the discussion.

[20.17–19]

Ms F omits the italicised section of the text-block due to a homoeoarchton (the identical opening and closing words of the omitted section are underlined):

սիւնդ անսասանէլի ամենայն աշխարհի ուսոյ մեզ զհաւատոյս մեր զդաւան-
ութիւն և աղաթեայ վասն ամենայն աշխարհի
unwavering pillar of the whole world, *teach us the confession of our faith and pray*
for the whole world

Since this section is present in all other mss of the F group it is proof that ms F was not the exemplar of any of the extant mss.

[25.4]

FF₁F₂F₄LN₇ (the latter is contaminated) omit:

և արքունական մատանեաւ մերով կնքեալ և ստորագրեալ
 And sealed with our royal ring and signed

F₃ has a larger lacuna, which starts earlier and includes this text-block.

[25.6]

ջամո(ք)ն
 chamber

ջափոն FF₂F₄
 ջափաոն F₅LN₇
 չափն F₁

The corrupted variants of the F group are due to the difference in the pronunciation of the letter ք, which became փ, whereas the F₁ version stems from the graphical similarity of the letters ջ and չ.

From among the F group mss F by far has the best text quality. This can be further demonstrated by presenting the various corruptions that entered the text of other mss through the transmission process, but which are not present in F (see below). Based on these corruptions and other common variants, it can be concluded that F₂F₃F₅L have a distant common ancestor (one may say that F₂F₃ are sisters and at least (very likely more removed) second grade cousins of F₅L). F₅L, on the other hand have other unique variants not shared by F₂F₃ and any other mss within the entire tradition. Moreover, L and F₅ have a large lacuna.

The close relationship between F₂F₃ on the one hand and F₁F₄, on the other, is evident from the collation. Even though F₁F₄ have the greatest number of obviously corrupt variants, on some occasions, (especially in Section 19), they are the only mss within this group to share common variants with ms F. In these locations, then, F₁F₄ preserve a text that is closer to the common ancestor of the F group. Below, I will first present significant common variants that all mss within this group share against ms F. There are some examples in this section that already indicate the relationship between F₂F₃F₅L on the one hand, and F₁F₄ on the other. However, the sub-groups F₂F₃, F₅L and F₁F₄ will be discussed separately, as well.

3.4.3.1. F vs F₁F₂F₃F₄F₅L

The variants on the left column are those of ms F which it shares with all the other mss. Whenever this is not the case, I will mention it specifically and clarify.

[1.5]

ինքնակալ և մշտապաղթ
autokrator and always victorious

ինքնակալ և մշտա աղթող F_1
ինքնակալ և մշտա յաղթող F_4
ինքնակալ և միշտ յաղթող F_5L
autokrator and always victorious
ինքնակալ և միշտ հզոր F_2F_3
autokrator and always powerful

The variants of F_1F_4 and F_5L have the same meaning as that of F and all other mss, but the composite word մշտապաղթ is divided into its component parts, where the second root յաղթ became the present participle of its verbal form. The process of the transformation most likely looked like this: մշտապաղթ $\rightarrow$ մշտա (յ)աղթող (as in F_1F_4) and then corrected to միշտ յաղթող (as in F_5L). The F_2F_3 variant can be clarified if looking at a larger text-block where the expression is included. In all mss, except for F_2F_3L , we read:

հզաւր հրամանաւ ինքնակալ և մշտապաղթ կայսեր
with the mighty order of the autokrator and always victorious emperor

In F_5L the word order is inverted at the beginning of the expression (the English version is not different), resulting in:

հրամանաւ հզոր ինքնակալ և միշտ յաղթող կայսեր

In F_2F_3 the words հզաւր (mighty) and յաղթող (victorious) switch places, resulting in:

յաղթող հրամանաւ ինքնակալ և միշտ հզոր կայսեր
with the victorious order of the autokrator and always mighty emperor

This example gives preliminary hints (to be developed further) of mss groupings as mentioned above, i.e. F_1F_4 as one sub-group, F_2F_3 as another one, and F_5L as having some connection to the latter, as well. Moreover, the F_2F_3 variant supposes that մշտապաղթ had already become միշտ յաղթող when they were copied otherwise this difference of word order would not be possible.

[5.3]

ընդ ամենայն տեղիս
in all the places

ընդ ամենայն տիեզերս $F_1F_2F_3F_4F_5L$
in the whole universe

The changes that took place here are similar to what happened in another variation place to the exact same expression. At 7.1 the use of տեղիս vs տիեզերս is one of the examples that demonstrates the division between

A and B families. As was mentioned already above, the confusion is due to the similarity of the letters q/ղ and a general graphical similarity of the two lemmata. The fact that F agrees with all other TD mss in this variation place is proof that the variant of all other F group mss is a secondary reading.

[8.6]

In the example below there is a great variation in word order by different F group mss. But these variations are telling as to the affiliation of individual mss:

աւծտեցաք զսա կայսերական և զինուորական զարդաւք all mss (except for the Agat'angelos group which omits և զինուորական)

I bequeathed him with imperial and military embellishments

աւծտեցաք զարքա կայսերական և զինուորական զարդիւք	F ₂
աւծտեցաք զարքայս երական և զինուորական զարդիւք	F ₃
աւծտեցաք կայսերական արքայս և զինուորական զարդոյք[իւքF ₅]	F ₅ L
I bequeathed the king (F ₃ is corrupted) with imperial and military embellishments	F ₂ F ₃
I bequeathed the imperial king and with military embellishments	F ₅ L

աւծտեցաք սորա կայսերական և զինուորական զարդիւք	F ₁
աւծտեցաք կայսերական և զինուորական զարդիւք	F ₄
I bequeathed of him (the genitive case does not fit here, F ₄ omits it) with imperial and military embellishments	

Based on these variations it may be proposed that F₂ attempted to correct a corrupt expression found in F₃ (or in their common exemplar). Moreover, F₅L, while having an ancestor with a text close to that of F₂F₃, is nevertheless, further removed from F₂F₃. F₁F₄ have the least amount of differences compared to the other mss, including F from this group, even if F₁'s grammar is problematic.

[8.8–9]

In the text-block նիզակաւք վիշապամիսաւք, զումարտակաւք անգին զոհարաւք (with spears forged in the blood of dragons, with a whole host of priceless gems):

FF₁F₂F₃F₄ omit վիշապամիսաւք (forged in the blood of dragons) then have a different word order, such as:

անգին զոհարաւք զումարտակաւք	F ₂ F ₃ F ₅
անգին զոհարաւք զումարտոք	F ₁ F ₄
L is illegible	

The variant of F_1F_4 contains a corruption of զումարտակաւք found in all mss.

[8.10–11]

In the text-block շիփորայաւք, երգեհոնաւք (with trumpets, organs) a corrupted word is interpolated:

շիփորայաւք և զանոթ, երգեհոնաւք F_2
 with trumpets and zandok' (non-existent word, presumably in instrum. pl.)
 organs
 շիփորայաւք և զանոթէ գեհենաւք F_3
 with trumpets and zantok'ê gehennas (the latter is a further corruption)
 շիփորայաւք և զանոթ, երգեհոնաւք F_1F_4
 with trumpets and zantok' (non-existent word) organs
 շիփորայաւք և զանոթ, երգեհոնաւք F_5
 L is illegible

The interpolation of zandok'/zantok' is likely a corruption of զղաննաւք (with organons) which is misplaced here from the next line. This is confirmed by the fact that these same variants appear in the variation place where all other mss have (q)ղաննաւք. This variation place implies that $F_1F_2F_3F_4F_5$ have a distant common ancestor which was different from the ancestor of F.

[8.13]

պատուասիրեցի	պատրաստացի F_2 : corrupt
I honoured	պատրաստեցի $F_1F_3F_4$
	L is illegible
	I prepared

F and F_5 share the reading of all other mss (that on the left).

[9.12]

հզաւր հազարապետաց	հզաւր հայրապետիս $F_1F_3F_4F_5L$
to mighty generals	հզաւր հայրապետս F_2
	to the mighty patriarch

The $F_1F_2F_3F_4L$ variant stems probably from a misinterpretation of the abbreviation of հազարապետաց to հզրապետաց and the confusion between similarly looking letters q and j. The context does not support the version in the right column. Ms F, which here agrees with all the other mss of TD, has, again, a superior reading.

[9.13]

դրաւշս

դրօշակս F₁F₃F₄F₅L
 գրօշակս F₂

flags (in accus. plural) but the right column variant is the diminutive of the same word.

[21.16]

սրբութեան սենեկին սանուն
 to the chamber of sanctity of [my] disciple

սանուն [of disciple] is corrupted in various ways in all mss but F, e.g. տան [of house] in F₁F₂F₄F₅L, while in F₃ the word boundaries have been changed, resulting in սենեկինս անուն [the name of the room].

[24.12]

մինչև ի ծագս աշխարհի
 until the edge of the world

մինչև ի ծագս երկրի F₁F₂F₅L
 untill the edge of the earth

մինչև երկրի F₄
 until the earth

F₃ has a lacuna.

[25.6]

արքունի

յարքունական F₂LN₇
 արքունական F₁F₄

Both versions mean royal [chamber].

F₁F₂F₄L and N₇ add a doxographic sentence immediately after արքունական, which concludes the text. Moreover, none of these mss (F₃ has a lacuna) mention that the Letter was given to Agat'angelos, the 'wise' secretary of the King Trdat, a clause found in all other mss (including F). Thus, after արքունական the following is found:

և Քրիստոսի աստուծոյն մերոյ փառք յալիտեանս յալիտենից. Ամէն. F₅L
 and glory be to Christ, our God for ever and ever. Amen

և Քրիստոսի յուսոյն մերոյ փառք յալիտեանս յալիտենից. Ամէն. N₇
 and glory be to Christ, our hope for ever and ever. Amen

զի մասացէ այս պահեստի սիրոյ հաստատութեան մինչև յալիտեան F₂
 so that it may remain for the keeping of the stability of love forever

որով և ընդ որում հօր և որդոյ և հոգոյն սրբոյ վայել է փառք պատիւ և գոհ-
ւթիւն F₁

by which and in which glory, reverence and gratitude are due to the Father, the
Son and the Holy Spirit

տէր աստուած արքիւնէալ. Ամէն.
blessed be God the Lord. Amen

F₄

F, on the other hand, does maintain the mention of the Letter given to
Agat'angelos and ends with:

ի փառս աստուծոյ. որ է օրհնէալ յաւիտեանս ամէն
for the glory of God who is blessed forever. Amen

3.4.3.2. F₂F₃F₅L Affiliation

[3.6–7]

աշխարհակալ և տիեզերասաստ
[who] reign the world and tame the
universe

աշխարհակալ տիեզերակալ և
տիեզերասաստ F₂F₃F₅L
[who] reign the world, reign the
universe and tame the universe

The F₂F₃F₅L variant is due both to a homoeoteleuton and a homoeoarch-
ton.

[6.15]

ի մելանս խառնէալ գրեցաք all mss
mixing with ink, we wrote

ի մելանս խառնեցաք և գրեցաք F₂F₃
խառնեցաք ի մելանս և գրեցաք F₅L
we mixed [it] with ink and wrote

The word order is different in F₅L vs F₂F₃, but all three use the aorist
indicative 3 p. pl. active of խառնել (to mix) as opposed to the aorist
participle found in all other mss.

[7.36–38]

In the text-block below there is a curious interpolation in F₂F₃F₅L, pos-
sibly a marginal gloss that entered the text which, however, is incompre-
hensible in the given context. The variants found in F₂F₃F₅L are italicised.
I have suppressed orthographical differences of all the other mss (pre-
sented here for comparison). The interpolation is so unusual that leaves

no doubts that $F_2F_3F_5L$ share a common ancestor, however distant that may be.

և զամենայն պատրաստութիւն երիտասարդաց և երիվարաց հրամանաւ Տրդատայ տարէք ի կողմանս Ատրպատականայ և (Մ)արաղայ
and take all the preparation of young [warriors] and of stallions by Trdat's orders to the region of Atrpatakan and (M)aralay.

$F_2F_3F_5L$:

և զամենայն պատրաստութիւն երիտասարդաց տարէք ի կողմանս և *երիվարաց հրամանաւ Տրդատայ որ տանջիք և տանջիք աներկբայութեամբ և անկեղծաւորութեամբ ի կողմանս* Ատրպատականայ և արաղայ F_2F_3
and take all the preparation of young [warriors] to the region of *and stallions by the orders of Trdat, [that] suffer [?] and suffer without doubt and with sincerity in the region of* Atrpatakan and (M)aralay

և զամենայն պատրաստութիւն երիտասարդաց և երիվարաց տարէք ի կողմանս հրամանաւ Տրդատայ *որ տանջիք և տանջիք աներկբայութեամբ և անկեղծաւորութեամբ ի կողմանս* Ատրպատականայ և արաղայ F_5L
(same as above)

I have translated these phrases more or less literally. However, in Armenian they are obviously inadequate and the additional text-blocks (here italicised) are incomprehensible in the context. It is possible that some marginal glosses entered the text.

3.4.3.3. F_5L Sub-Group

The most significant proof of a close relationship between F_5L is the fact that they both have a large lacuna which includes a text-block between 18.8 and 19.12. Below are some of the other significant variants that set F_5L apart from the other mss of this and any other group.

[3.3]

In the example below all spelling variations have been suppressed. The following variant is that found in all mss except for $FF_1F_2F_3F_4$

մեծ խոստովանողն, սրբազնակատար կաթուղիկոսն տէր սուրբ Գրիգոր
the great confessor, perfect in holiness, the Catholicos lord St. Gregory

$FF_1F_3F_4$ omit սրբազնակատար կաթուղիկոսն (the Catholicos [who is] perfect in holiness), while F_2 omits սրբազնակատար կաթուղիկոսն տէր (perfect in holiness the lord Catholicos).

In this variation place F_5L are the only mss of the F family which do not omit the italicised text-block. The omission of the text-block does not disturb the syntax or the meaning of the sentence (it makes it less rhetorical, though) and if it were omitted also in the exemplar of F_5L (something that one may suppose given the evidence in other mss of the group), there would be no compelling reason why F_5L should have restored it automatically. Thus, the ancestor of F_5L emerged independently from other mss of the group and included this text-block.

[3.6]

խորհն խորհրդոց

of *profound* secrets

խորհին խորհրդոց L (with g_4)

խորին omitted in $FF_1F_2F_3F_4F_5$
of secrets (profound is omitted)

In this variation place L is the only ms of the F family which does not omit the italicised lemma, but uses a variant not appropriate for the context, e.g. *խոր(h)ին*. Its agreement with g_4 does not demonstrate a connection with this ms (from the Agat'angelos group), since the addition of the letter h in the word *խորին* can be explained by a homoeoarchton (with the next word) and could have been introduced by two scribes independently. On the other hand, as was mentioned above regarding a larger text-block, the omission of *խորին* (should it stem from L's exemplar) could have gone unnoticed and there is no compelling reason why L should have restored it automatically. Thus, it must have been in the ancestor of L.

[5.8–9]

In the example below, FL agree with each other (and all the other TD mss) as opposed to a corruption found in all other F group mss:

ի քրեական մետաղս
in criminal prisons

գերանս մետաղս F_1

քերան մետաղս F_2F_3

քերանս մետաղս F_4

քերանո մետաղս F_5

corrupted words, an attempt to
correct in F_1

The variants of $F_2F_3F_4F_5$ stem from քրեական transformed to քերան, while F_1 probably tried to correct it to a more comprehensible word (meaning *rod*).

[9.15]

նծոյզք
stallions

ծայք F₅L
incomprehensible word

[9.17]

սպայից
of generals

պահակից F₅L
of guardians

[10.9]

արիութեամբ *հոյակապ* All mss
marvellous with bravery

արիութեամբ *քաջ* F₅L
courageous with bravery

[11.2]

յետ բազում *ամաց* All mss
After many *years*

յետ բազում *ժամանակաց* F₅L
After much *time(s)*

[14.16–17]

ամփոփեաց զսուրբն Հռիփսիմէ և զԳայիանէ և զերեսուն և հինգ ընկերս նոցա
[he] buried St. Hrip'simē and Gayanē and their thirty five companions

F₅L have a different text:

ամփոփեաց զմարմին սրբոց հռիփսիմեանց
[he] buried the bodies of Sts. Hrip'simeank'

[16.3]

զպարտութիւն իմ
my defeat

զմիւս պատերազմս F₅L
the other war

[16.16–17]

բժշկեաց զմեզ սուրբս Սեղբեստրոս All mss
St. Sylvester cured us

բժշկեաց զմեզ ի ձեռն սրբոյն Սեղբեստրոսի F₅L
[He] cured us through St. Sylvester

[20.21]

The italicised portion of the text-block is omitted by F₅L due to a homo-eoarchton:

և այլու կենալքս՝ վերին կենացն և երկնից
and *with this life [to deserve] the higher life* and [the kingdom] of heaven

[23.3]

նախագահ
the first chair

նախագլուխ F₅L
the first head

The examples above allow me to conclude that F₅L are sister mss and have a closer relationship with F₂F₃ than any other ms in the F group. From among F₅ and L, F₅ is of better physical quality and presents no problems of legibility. For this reason F₅ was maintained in the critical apparatus to represent this branch of the F group.

3.4.3.4. F₂F₃ Sub-Group

These two mss have numerous significant common variants. However, the strongest proof that they were copied from the same exemplar is the misplacement of large text-blocks in both mss at the exact same points, presented in Appendix A.

The collation of mss does not provide proof that F₃ (the older of the two mss) could have served as F₂'s exemplar. However, often F₂ seems to have tried to 'improve' or 'correct' obviously corrupt variants found in F₃ which, however, remove the text of F₂ even further from the common ancestor of the F group. These corruptions most likely stem from the common exemplar. Only F₃ was maintained in the apparatus.

[4.12–13]

In the expression below, F₂F₃ invert the words for different types of reclining chairs.

All mss:

բազմեցաք արքայքս ի միում բարձրաբերձ բազմականի, և հայրապետքս, ի միում գերահրաշ գահաւորակի
we, the kings, reclined on the same lofty *reclining chair* and we, the patriarchs, on the same marvellous *throne*

F₂F₃ version:

արքայքս [corrupted to ընդ փմեանս F₂] իմում *զերահրաշ զսահաւորակի* և
 հայրապետքս իմում *բարձրաբերձ բազմականի*
 we, the kings, reclined on the same *marvellous throne* and we, the patriarchs, on
 the same *lofty reclining chair*

It must be also noted that ի փմում (in one) became իմում (in my?) in F₂F₃.

[5.11]

(յ)առ տնին զենլիս	առնէին զենլիս F ₂
to the sacrificial victims in the house	առանին զենլիս F ₃
	took (?) the sacrificial victims

The variant of F₂F₃ is an obvious corruption of what is found on the left column. The sequence of changes most likely happened as follows: առ տնին → առանին (as in F₃, due to the graphical similarity of the letters տ and ա) and then ‘corrected’ to a comprehensible verbal form առնէին in F₂. It should be noted, however, that the expression on the left column is also ambiguous. I have translated it here literally. Moreover, the word տուն here is declined as an -ի declension substantive with invariable stem, whereas it should be an -ա- declension substantive with variable stem. However, such confusion is typical for the Cilician Armenian.¹⁰¹

[6.16–17]

փաւտութիւն պարտիմք	փաւտութիւն պարհապք F ₂ F ₃
we owe each other [to be] of one mind	a corrupted version

Replacing պարտիմք (we owe) with պարհապք (protective external walls, usually city/citadel walls) is due to the graphical similarity of the two words. The F₂F₃ version is an obvious corruption.

[11.1]

The word order in the following expression is different in different mss (hence the parenthesis to indicate the ‘mobility’ of ինձ). F₂F₃ have a common corruption here which does not fit the context.

¹⁰¹ Karst 1901, 142–148.

Ժամ է (ինձ) այսուհետև գալ (ինձ) all mss
It is time for me to come [to describing the miracles]

պատմէ ինձ այսուհետև գալ F₂F₃
he tells me then to come

[12.1]

հրաշք զարմանալիք
wondrous *miracles*

հրեշտակս զարմանալիք F₂
հրեշտակք զարմանալիք F₃
wondrous *angels*

The F₂F₃ corruption is due to the graphical similarity of the words հրաշք/ հրեշտակ(ք). The confusion could be especially easy to imagine if the word հրաշք was abbreviated in the exemplar.

[13.5–6]

Քսաս առնէր մերձակայ սահմանացն. Եւ մարտնչէին ընդ միմեանս հանապազ
մի եղջերուն և վիշապն all mss
it caused damage to the nearby borders. And the unicorn and the dragon were
constantly fighting with each.

Քսաս առնէր մերձակայս և սահմանակէին միմեանց վիշապն և մի եղջե-
րուն F₂
F₂ has a corruption (սահմանակէին) which is difficult to translate.

Քսաս առնէր մերձակայ և սահմանակից էին միմեանց վիշապն և մի եղջե-
րուն F₃
and it caused damage nearby (?) and the dragon and the unicorn were next to
each other (lit. shared a border)

Both F₂ and F₃ variants are problematic. Even though both texts are corrupted, F₂'s text is of worse quality because սահմանակից էին here became an incomprehensible սահմանակէին.

[14.15]

աղաթիւք էած ի զգայութիւն all mss
with prayers he led to [human] sense

աղօթէր առ աստուած. եկն ի սգայութիւն F₂
[he] prayed to God; [he] came to [human] sense

աղօթէած ի զգայութիւն F₃
corrupted variant

In this variation place F₃ is incomprehensible while F₂ makes sense, even if the expression is clumsy. It seems that F₂'s scribe deliberately corrected

a corrupted text found in the exemplar which, however, was transmitted to F_3 . In this example, the corruption of F_3 is the result of the contraction of two words (աղօթիւք էաձ) into an incomprehensible աղօթէաձ. F_2 , on the other hand, must have interpreted the last two letters of the new word as an abbreviation for աստուած (God) and emended the text as he saw it fit, e.g. by ‘restoring’ the verb աղօթէր (he prayed) and adding եկն (he came).

[16.8]

յաղթութեամբ
with victory

ի հաղթութենք
corrupted word

[17.6]

սուրբն Անտոնն ի հարաւ, և սուրբ Նիկողայոս
and *St. Antony in the South and St. Nicholas*

F_2F_3 omit the italicised text-block due to homoeoarchton. As a result, none of the two mss mention St. Antony in the list of seven saints, which makes them six, then. As in other examples cited above, here, too, the scribe of F_2 noticed this discrepancy between the numbers and wished to correct it by adding և սուրբն բարսեղ կեսարոս (and St. Basil of Caesarea) at the end of the list, a variant attested only in this ms.

[18.11]

անգլխահարկ
[shall pay] no per capita tax

անգլուխ հարկ F_2F_3
[shall be] headless tax (?)

The F_2F_3 have a corrupted version due to an erroneous division of word boundaries.

[19.15]

ատլաս most mss including F_2F_3
Atlas (mountain)

պատլաս $FF_1F_4F_5L$
patlas (corrupt)

[19.24]

ինքնագլուխ եղիցին
[they] *shall be* autocephalous

All mss

ինքնագլուխ եկեղեցայց քրիստոնէիցն եղիցի F₂
 ինքնագլուխ եկեղեցեաց քրիստոնէիցն եղիցի F₃
 [he] shall be autocephalous of *Christian Churches* (?)

[20.18–19]

The italicised part of the following phrase is omitted by FF₁F₄F₅L (but not F₂F₃)

ուսոյ մեզ զհաւատոյս մեր զդաւանութիւն և աղաթեայ վասն ամենայն աշ-
 խարհի, ևս առաւել վասն մերոյ թագաւորութեանս F
teach us the confession of our faith and pray for the whole word, but even more
 for our kingdom

ուսոյ մեզ զհաւատոյս մեր զդաւանութիւն և աղաթեայ վասն ամենայն աշ-
 խարհի + խնդրեայ [խնդրոյ L] վասն մերոյ թագաւորութեանս F₁F₄F₅L
teach us the confession of our faith and pray for the whole world + solicit for our
 kingdom

This means that while theoretically F could have been the forefather of F₁F₄F₅L, it was not that of F₂F₃ since the latter two contain the omitted text-block.

[24.3]

նշխարք սրբոց(ն) all mss
 relics of saints

նշխարք առցեն ի սրբոց նշխարհացն F₂F₃
 [they] shall take relics from the relics of saints

The examples above demonstrate that F₂F₃ are sister mss. Of the two F₃ is maintained in the critical apparatus.

3.4.3.5. F₁F₄ Sub-Group

The collation of F₁F₄ demonstrated that while these two mss are closely related, their common variants amount to obvious errors or omissions of large text-blocks. There are only a few occasions where F₁F₄ agree with F. Given the poor quality of their text it was, thus, decided not to include either in the apparatus. The examples below are to justify this decision, as well as to demonstrate the affiliation of F₁ and F₄ within the F group.

[6.5]

բազկակից եղբայրս
brother in arms

բազմից ցանկալի եղբայրս F₁
the much desired brother
բազկից եղբայրս F₄
corrupted version

Possibly F₁'s scribe wished to correct a corrupted version that was found in the common forefather of F₁ and F₄.

[7.19–20]

զի *հրամանաւ իմով* տիրեսցէ
since he shall reign *by my order*

F₁F₄ omit *հրամանաւ իմով*
omit *by my order*

[9.19]

զեաթանասուն հազարսն
seventy thousand (in accusative plural)

հռ. արանասցս F₁F₄
of seventy thousand men (?)
(corrupted version)

[11.6–7]

ազնութիւն յազգատոհմէ իմմէ
help from my progeny [lit. nation and clan]

այս ազգէս տոհմէն F₁
յազգէս այս տոհմէն F₄
from this nation and clan (?)
(corrupted)

[12.6–7]

In the variation place below various mss have different word arrangement. The common corruption of F₁F₄ is independent of the word order. Thus, in the line above I have placed the version of the base text for comparison:

աղաւթիւք բժշկեաց սուրբն Գրիգոր զամենեաւսն
with prayers St. Gregory healed everyone

օղիւք բժշկեաց լուսաւորիչն հայոց F₁
օթիւք բժշկեաց սուրբն լուսաւորիչն հայոց F₄
with air St. Gregory, the (Holy F₄) Illuminator of the Armenians cured

The corruption of F₄ may have stemmed from a misunderstanding of the abbreviation for աղաւթիւք. It is also possible that the scribe (either of F₄ or its exemplar) simply missed the first two letters of the word. The version of F₁ may be a deliberate attempt to correct an incomprehensible word to օղիւք (with the air) which is, nevertheless, odd in this context.

[14.6–7]

պատերազմեցաւ *պոռնկական* պակշոտութեամբ
he fought *with licentious desire*

F₁F₄ omit the italicised text-block

[14.8]

զպարտութիւն, որ յաղթեցաւ all mss
the defeat which he suffered

պարտեցաւ և յաղթեցաւ
he was overcome and was defeated

The F₁F₄ variant is due to a homoeoteleuton. As a result the sentence (where the expression appears) becomes repetitive.

[18.10]

համաւրէն մարդիկ
the entire people

համաւրէն *ամենայն* մարդիկ F₁F₄
the entire *all* people

[19.1]

Below F₁F₄ agree with F.

Իսկ ի *հանգչել* հրամանաց all mss
and *at the end* of the orders

Իսկ (ի) հրամանաց FF₁F₄
and at the orders

[19.15]

Սիկիլիայ կղզին
the Island of Sicily

սելևկիայ կղզին F₁F₄
the Island of Seleucia

[19.16–17]

The ordination of St. Gregory by Sylvester has a different and garbled text in F₁ and F₄.

և նշանաւ խաչիս Քրիստոսի՝ ձեռնադրեցաք զկաթողիկոսն հայոց all mss
and with the sign of the cross of Christ we ordained the Armenia Catholicos

և նշանաւ խաչիս Քրիստոսի՝ *հաստատեցաք եղբարք սէր բ. ազգս* [ազգաց
մէջն F₁] *մինչ ի գալուստ Քրիստոսի մերոյ* F₁F₄

Both sentences are syntactically inadequate. F_1 could be translated as:

and with the sign of the cross of Christ [we], *the two brothers, confirmed love [among] the two nations until the [Second] coming of our Christ.*

It seems as though the clauses from the pact between Trdat and Constantine are placed here. F_1F_4 present a unique reading here. But the text-block that follows has even more syntactical problems. These go back to the common ancestor of F_1F_4 . The following is added in each ms:

և հայոց հայրապետս տիրեսցէ և ինքնազլուիս ամենայն ժառանգաւորին իւրոյ
առնելով ձեռնադրութիւն. F_4
and the Armenian Patriarch shall rule and [be?] autocephalous, receiving ordi-
nation for (?) all his successor.

զի տիրեսցէ հայրապետն հայոց ամենայն ժառանկաւորին իւրոյ առնելով ձեռ-
նադրութիւն. F_1
since the Armenian Patriarch may rule, receiving ordination [for?] all his suc-
cessor

[21.19–20]

The italicised part of the following text-block is omitted in F_1F_4

պարգևեցի *պաշտօնամաց կուսաստանի նոցա* ըստ արժանի սրբութեան նոցա
and I donated *to the cells of their convent* as was worthy of their sanctity

[21.24]

ի սեղանն	ի տեղին այն F_1F_4
[for the needs of the] table	in that place

The variant of F_1F_4 does not fit the context. Here Pope Sylvester is listing various donations, including those for ‘the table’ (in the sense of a ‘contribution’ to the refectory) of the monks. The F_1F_4 variant is due to the graphical similarity of the letters u and un. It also transformed the last half of the word սեղանն to the demonstrative pronoun այն.

[23.13–14]

F_1F_4 omit: Անդ է և շիշ իւղոյն զոր արփնեաց տէրն
There is the vessel of the oil blessed by the Lord

To summarise, the F group is represented by six mss, of which F undoubtedly preserves the best text. However, this ms has some physical problems as discussed in its description, due to the fact that the lower part of some of the folios was cut. As a result, the text is illegible in some locations. In

order to give a fuller sense of this group mss FF₃ and F₅ are maintained in the critical apparatus.

3.4.4. *The T Group and Ms A₁*

The T group is comprised of mss ATT₁. Ms A₁ is also somewhat related to this group, particularly to T, but in other respects it behaves similarly to the F group. However, A₁ does not have a sister ms. Its affiliation to T or F groups is deduced from variants whose soundness as text-genealogically revealing is questionable (it does not share those significant F group variants which the other F group mss do). Moreover, A₁ has some unique significant variants not shared by other mss. For this reason, as well as the fact that it has some large lacunae due to lost folios, its position in the chain of this group (or the entire text transmission) remains hypothetical. A₁ starts at 3.5 (due to a lost folio) and the text between 15.5 and 16.9 is lost due to other fallen folios.

Mss ATT₁ share enough common variants with each other (and not the other mss of the A family) to allow the conclusion that they descend from a common ancestor, however distant that may be from AT₁ on the one side and T on the other. However, their relationship is not close enough to warrant the use of a group *siglum* in the critical apparatus. For example, AT₁ and T do not (as do some other groups or sub-groups) uniformly agree on less significant variations, e.g. the use of prepositions, suffixes, conjunctions, etc. Mss AT₁ are clearly sister mss as the examples below will confirm. T, on the other hand, shares an important significant variation with A₁ at 17.5–7. Its other agreements with A₁ are not significant variations in the way I defined them. Therefore, I cannot conclude that they stem from a common ancestor. It is possible, however, that T is contaminated by A₁. A₁ is currently preserved in the Library of the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem. It is plausible that A₁ was already in Jerusalem when T was copied there in 1652. Based on some (but not very close) textual similarities between A₁ and T, one may suppose that T's scribe used more than one exemplar when copying, one of which was a T group text-type, while the other one was A₁. This remains a hypothesis. Finally, the version of TD published by Šahnazareanc' was based on a ms with a T text-type.¹⁰²

¹⁰² Šahnazareanc' 1862. It is evident that Šahnazareanc' made changes/corrections to the text compared to the ms version. For example, at 1.1 (p. 11) the text of Šahnazareanc'

T₂ is another contaminated ms. In some cases, it follows the specific variants of F and C groups when these two agree, sometimes its variants show affiliation with an F₅L text-type (of the F family). In one substantial variation place (at 8.12) it agrees with the T group (i.e. ATT₁). The case of ms T₂ needs special attention. In this section I have included one example where T₂ shares a common variant with some T group mss. However, T₂ will be discussed in more detail further below. The relationship between AA₁TT₁ can best be explained by the chain in Fig. 4.1. There is not enough data to orient the chain into a stemma.

In the examples below the variants on the left are those of all other mss, whereas on the right—those of the T group (or other affiliated mss)

[8.12]

Եւ փանգամայն իսկ ամենայն
զարդարք
And again with *all* embellishments

Եւ փանգամայն իսկ չորս [դT₂] ո.
զարդարք ATT₁T₂
and again with *four thousand*
embellishments

There is nothing in the environment surrounding this text-block that could help explain the variant appearing on the right column. All that can be said about this variation place is that these five mss descend from a text-type which had this unique variant.

[9.1]

There is great variation in the spelling of the name Mak'sintēs, the wife of Constantine the Great, in this text. That of A₁ (which is corrupt) agrees with T₂C and the F group (below I present only the variant of FF₄ because the other F group variants are obvious corruptions of this version), where the letter ք appears instead of ք very likely due to their graphical similarity:

մաքսինտէս A₁CFF₄
Mabsintēs

reads կամայնք և ողորմութեամք which is a variant typical for the B family. Yet, nowhere else the text follows B family variants. Other two examples of significant common variants shared by a text-type and the published version of Šahnazareanc' are on p. 17 (8.12) the variant չորս ո. զարդարք and Ibid (9.10) the variant զբամիկ; p. 23 (17.4) only 'four pillars' of the church are mentioned. Thus, his manuscript had a text that bore close similarities to ms T.

This variation may be judged weak since scribes could have committed this error (of exchanging the letters) independently from each other and the common variant may be due to this reason and not to a common descent.

[9.10]

գրամիկ

գրամփիկ AA₁TT₁

Both words may be corruptions of the Old French *grandfils*.¹⁰³ Letters ի and փ are graphically very similar and one may question the strength of this variant as relationship-revealing as well.

[13.4]

ժսսս առնէր
[he] made damage

ժսսս գործէր AT₁
[he] caused damage

In the context both verbs are acceptable.

[13.7]

սիրելոյն/սիրելին [B_gT]
of the beloved/the beloved

սիրոյն AT₁
of love

The context does not support the AT₁ variant. It is possible that T deliberately corrected the text and its agreement with the B family is the result of a parallelism.

[14.10]

In the following variation place there are a great number of variants. The variant of A₁ agrees with the F family (see also the discussion on the F family for this variant), while that of ATT₁ agrees with ms C and the B family:

սանթէ(ն)ս N group
սանթենէս ATT₁CB_g
from the saint (?)

սանթանէզ A₁FF₃F₄L
սանթանէս F₂
անթաղ եթող F₁

¹⁰³ Cfr the Glossary in Appendix 2 for this word.

սանթէկս gg₁K₁K₂UU₁
 սանթէկս g₂KK₃MM₁M₂m
 սանդէսս g₄

If orthographical differences are ignored, then there are three competing variants and A₁ shares that of the F group.

[14.14]

I have suppressed the differences that should appear in the left column in the spelling of աւտայի. The version on the right side is unique to AT₁ mss and attests to their close affiliation.

ի ձեռն աւտայի	ի ձեռն նօտարի AT ₁
at the hand of Awtay	at the hand of the notary/chancellor

The AT₁ variant is the result of the confusion of word boundaries because of which the name Awtay became notary.

[15.1]

Even though I present the example below as a corroborative evidence for the connection of ATT₁, I am aware that this is not a substantial common variation because the pronoun մեզ could have been automatically added by individual scribes without revealing text-genealogical information since it is a small word and introduces no significant change in the meaning of the sentence.

Պատմեաց + մեզ ATT₁
 he told + us

A₁ omits a text-block from 15.6 till 16.11 due to a lost folio.

[15.12]

ճոպանաձիգ	ճաւանաձիգ AT ₁
lit. cord-throwing	a corrupted lemma

The variation of AT₁ stems from a different spelling of the given lemma, i.e. ճաւապանաձիգ whence the letter պ was accidentally omitted.

[16.4]

աստ(ե)ղանշան	աստեղանման AT ₁
marked/outlined by the starts	star-like

Both words fit the context.

[17.4-7]

The following example is the reason why I think T is contaminated by A₁. A₁T are the only mss to present ‘four pillars’ of faith instead of seven:

էաւթն	չորս A ₁ T
seven	four

Consequently, they do not mention ‘St. Nicholas in the north and St. Macarius of Jerusalem.’ They do include St. James of Nisibis, but, after that, omit St. Ephrem of Urhay. Thus the text-blocks omitted are:

և սուրբ Նիկողայոս ի հիւսիս, սուրբն Մակար Երուսաղէմայ
and և սուրբն Եփրէմ յՈւրհայ

Since the enumeration of each saint starts with *և սուրբ* preceding the name of the saint, there was ample chance of omitting one or more saints due to homoeoarchton and there are mss which do behave in this way. Despite this, all mss affirm at the beginning of the paragraph that there are ‘seven’ pillars, i.e. saints, in the world, even if some eventually include only six or less saints due to homoeoarchton. This is not the case with A₁T, as mentioned above. The omissions of A₁T do not seem to be the result of an accidental error but stem from a ms which included only four saints and was aware of this. This common variation is the only and most substantial point of agreement between A₁ and T. This fact poses difficulties from text-genealogical point of view when trying to draw a chain of mss. While T has other points of concordance with AT₁ mss and one may suppose that all three descend from a common ancestor, A₁ does not share this feature. Its other significant variations are either unique to this ms or seem to affiliate it to the F group. This is the reason why I think that A₁ descends from a ms that was related to the F group but did not belong to it, while T is close to AT₁ but is probably contaminated by A₁.

[17.9]

AT₁ not only share common variations within the text, but also contain some corrections that mirror each other. Thus, the lemma պայազաւս has a correction above the letter *j* to change it to *h*: պայազաւս is corrected to պահազաւս in both mss in the same manner.

[19.29]

Most manuscripts read that the successors of St. Gregory should have the right to consecrate a ‘catholicos’ for other Armenians who live among

Christians ‘of other languages’. The purpose of this phrase could have been two-fold. On the one hand, the author of TD may have wished to propose a way of normalising a situation existing since the eleventh century when there were often more than one Armenian catholicos, each striving to affirm his legitimacy against the others. The author of the text may have wished to accept this *de facto* situation, and, at the same time, to integrate it into a specific hierarchy where only one legitimate heir of St. Gregory had the right to consecrate the other catholicoi. Thus, there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of this variant. The *P sub-sub group* of the B family, on the other hand (bb₁PP₁S₁) reads ‘bishops and catholicoi’ or եպիսկոպոսս. կաթու[n b₁]ղիկոսս. I cannot propose any valid arguments against accepting this variant as ‘original’ or going back to the archetypus either and preserved only in this sub-sub group, even though this conclusion could be strengthened if other mss from a different branch also supported it. However, AA₁TT₁L indicate that the successors of St. Gregory should have the right to consecrate a ‘bishop’ եպիսկոպոս for all other Armenians. Only ms A₁ uses the plural of the word ‘bishop’. If we accept that the variant of the *P sub-sub group* is the original, then it could be argued that AA₁TT₁L maintained only one of the words (i.e. bishop), whereas all the other mss, the other (i.e. catholicoi). However, the change from ‘catholicos’ to ‘bishop’ could have been introduced also deliberately by scribes who were convinced that having more than one catholicos was anomalous and illegitimate. The value of this example from a text-genealogical point of view could be questioned exactly on this grounds. It is clear from the collation of mss that L has no other common substantial variants with mss AA₁TT₁ and, thus, its agreement with these mss at this variation place raises doubts as to how substantial this variation point is as far as indicating a common descent for these mss.

[25.1]

հաստատ հայրազրութեան
of unwavering tradition of Fathers

հաստատութեան հայրազրութեան AT₁
of stability of tradition of Fathers.

In order to provide a full view of this group, mss A and T are maintained in the apparatus. It must be mentioned that ms T₁, which is older than A, is physically somewhat damaged and is, at times, illegible. Thus, A was judged to be the better ms of the two. Ms A₁ is also maintained in

the apparatus. Even though A₁ has a lacuna at the beginning and in the middle of the text, it represents a unique text-type and provides evidence for an otherwise unattested branch. The age of this ms (1341) was also taken into consideration when making this decision.

3.4.4.1. Ms T₂

As mentioned above, T₂ is likely a contaminated ms. The substantial variation at 8.12 (presented above) leaves the impression that it belongs to the same group as ATT₁. However, the collation demonstrates that it has numerous common points with the F and C groups. Moreover, T₂ has a rather corrupted text and numerous copying errors with corrections made sometimes by the same, sometimes by a different, hand. Often entire lines are omitted and then inserted in the lateral margins, above lines or words. Thus, when studying the variants of T₂, one is not sure which ones to consider ‘original’: those copied in the first place or those corrected later, especially when the corrections were made by the same hand as the scribe who copied the text. Some of the examples below should give the sense of difficulties connected to assigning a specific place in the stemma for this mss.

Title:

արքայի

vs թագաւորի T₂, թագաւորին SdYy

[3.1]

զաւրքն (the army) is attested in all A family mss except for the F group, CC₁ and T₂, which agree with the B family.

[5.6]

In the examples below T₂ agrees with C and F groups.

պարտապանաց CC₁F_gT₂

[6.1]

հոգիազարդ CC₁T₂F_g

[8.8]

The text block արքունադրոշմն նշանաւոր կառաւք (with carriages with engraved royal signs) is omitted in all F group mss and T₂. However,

the scribe of T_2 added it in the margin. Thus, one wonders whether originally T_2 shared this omission with all other F group mss and added later based on a different ms.

[8.14]

ամենայն զարդար

չորս n. ATT_1T_2

դ. n. T_2 added below line

As in the previous example, here too, the T_2 variant is ambiguous. Originally it omits both ամենայն and դ. n but adds the latter under line. Thus, one wonders again what type of exemplar(s) was used by the scribe. From this correction it would seem to have been an exemplar with a T group text-type.

[9.1]

The spelling of մաքսինդէս in T_2 agrees with that of the F group. This would contradict the conclusion made in the previous example.

[11.5]

տառապի ազգն հայոց

$A_1TA_gN_g$

տառապի[տառապեացի d_g] ազգն և աշխարհն հայոց

$AT_1T_2B_g$

տառապի աշխարհն հայոց

CC_1F_g

Here T_2 follows AT_1 from the A family and the B family variant, not the F family.

[14.10]

The following example is from a complex variation environment. Here T_2 does not agree with the F group mss (see this variation place also in the discussion of ms A_1 and the F group) but rather the T group, ms C and the B family.

սանթենէս $ATT_1T_2CB_g$

[16.3]

Դանուբար գետոյն *hquwp̄h*
of the *mighty* river Danube

all mss

Դանուբար գետոյն մեծի
of the *great* river Danube

L

Դանուբար գետոյն հզաւիղի մեծի added above line T₂
 at the great mighty river Danube

This variation place indicates, again, that T₂'s scribe may have worked from two exemplars, one of which could have been any A family text-type and the other one an L-type ms based on which the word մեծի was added later.

In conclusion, T₂ may descend from a ms that was similar to the text-type found in C and F groups; however, it also had similarities with the T group. Thus, it is likely that T₂ has a contaminated text. As was mentioned above, T₂ is of very poor quality of copying and has numerous omissions, corrections and obvious corruptions. For all these reasons T₂ was not maintained in the critical apparatus.

3.4.5. *The Agat'angelos Group*

One of the major groups (according to the number of mss) within the A family is the so-called Agat'angelos group. I have given this name to the group due to the fact that in all but three mss (i.e. UU₁ and J1296) TD follows Agat'angelos *History of the Armenians*. The relationship of mss within the *Agat'angelos group* can be summarised in the chain in Fig. 5.1.

The mss of this group have an exceptionally uniform behaviour, even in small details. For this reason it is feasible to represent the group in the apparatus with a *siglum*, i.e. A_g. However, on several occasions A_g is used even when one ms lacks a given section. This is specifically the case in two instances: Sections 1–6.24, which are absent in U, and 24.4 till the end of the text, which g₁ lacks. In these two cases the *siglum* A_g refers to all those Agat'angelos mss which, in effect, do have the respective parts of the text. Lest the apparatus become too confusing, these are the only two occasions when I adopted this approach, mainly due to the fact that the lacunae in U and g₁ were significant to warrant such a use. There are several other cases when a phrase or a line is missing in one ms, and, thus one cannot know with precision whether a common variant exhibited in all Agat'angelos mss would be shared also by that specific manuscript. In such cases, the apparatus contains the variants of only those mss which I chose to include in the apparatus, fully.

The following is a list of common variants shared by all Agat'angelos mss and which allowed me to conclude that these manuscripts stem from a hypothetical common ancestor. In the list given below not all

variants are strongly relationship-revealing. Here, I have also included, for example, variants which reflect different word order. I limited such cases only to examples where there was a Type 2 variation (that is A_g vs all other mss of all other groups). Below I often suppress orthographical differences whenever such differences do not give rise to significant variations. I have assumed that if A_g mss have a specific reading not shared by any other ms of the A family (which agree with the B family in such cases), then the other variant (in the left column) has more chance of being the original one. When there are reasons to doubt this logic, I have provided comments.

In the discussion below I will make references to some sub-groups within the A_g group. These are the *g sub-group*, comprised of $gg_1g_2g_4$ and marked by the *siglum* g_g , and the A_{g2} sub-group which includes all mss except for the *g sub-group*. There are two sub-sub groups within the A_{g2} sub-group, i.e. the *K sub-sub group*, comprised of $KK_1K_2K_3$ and marked with the *siglum* K_g , and the *U sub-group* comprised of UU_1 . I have not used any other group or sub-group *sigla* because the collation of mss did not reveal any other strong relationships between the remaining mss (e.g. all those marked with the letter M/m). The common variants that warrant the grouping of mss according to the sub-groups mentioned here will be discussed after the general discussion of the Agat'angelos group variants. In the examples below the variants of all other mss are presented on the left column, while those of the A_g group on the right column, unless otherwise specified.

[1.1–2]

After the first sentence and mentioning of the Holy Trinity Agat'angelos mss add:

հաւր և որդւոյ և սուրբ հոգւոյն [of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit]

KM have a different word order:

հաւր և որդւոյ և հոգւոյն սրբոյ

[1.7]

աշխարհաճաւալ
spread in the world

աշխարհակալ
holding/commanding the world

[5.1]

ընդ ամենայն տիեզերական
իշխանութիւնս մեր
in our entire universal reign

ընդ ամենայն տիեզերս
որ ընդ իշխանութիւնս մեր է
in the entire universe *which is under*
our reign

[5.2–3]

կերակուրս և յրմպելիս ընդ ամենայն Omit ընդ ամենայն աշխարհ
աշխարհ

Food and drink in *all the country*: the italicised lemmata are omitted in the A_g group.

[6.9]

արքայքս

թագաւորքս/թագաւորքս

Two different but synonymous words for ‘king’ are used. Both variants are acceptable, but since all the other A and B family mss have the first variant, theirs is likely the one stemming from the archetypus.

[6.16]

սէր և միամտութիւն
love and *[being of] one mind*

սէր և միաբանութիւն
love and *[being of] one word*

[7.33]

ընդդէմ ատելոյն Քրիստոսի
against *[the one] hated* by Christ

ընդդէմ ատելեացն Քրիստոսի,
corrupted in UU₁ into ընդ
դիմամարտելեացն
against *[those] hated* by Christ

[7.40–41]

մերով ռդջ լինելովս
by us *being healthy*

մերով ռդջունելովս
by our *greeting*

[8.5]

չորեք հարիւր կրկին
four hundred *double*

չորեք հարիւր անգամ
four hundred *times*

[9.1]

մաքսիստէս
Mak'sintēs

մաքսիստէայ
Mak'sinteay

In the name Մաքսիստէս the final u was at some point transformed to ա, which could be considered as an ending for a genitive singular, but such a reading does not fit the context here since Մաքսիստէս is the subject of the sentence. However, the transformed version of the name was taken as being in genitive singular and thus in all, but three mss (M_1 and UU_1) a final յ was added, resulting in

մաքսիստէայ	[no final յ in M_1] $K_2ggK_gM_1M_2m$
մաքսիստէայ	M
մաքսիստէա	U
մաքսիստէա	U_1

[9.17–18]

ջոկոց ձիոց
of *select* horses

ջորոց ձիոց [corrupted to ջրոց in U_1]
of *mules* [and of?] horses

The A_g variant is the result of replacing the letter լ with ր. The context supports the variant of all other mss against that of the A_g group.

[10.6–7]

մինչև ցիգարի գետն Տիգրիս մեծ
until the mighty river *Tigris the great*

մինչև ցիգարի գետն մեծ Տիգրիս
until the mighty river, *the great Tigris*

[10.10–11]

հգարիչք
protectors

զորեղ հգարիչք
mighty protectors

հգարիչք զլիսյ իմոյ և թիկնապաշխ (իմ) ի տուն և ի գիշերի
protectors of *my person* [lit. of *my head*] and (*my*) *bodyguards* from dawn till night

The italicised text-block is omitted in all Agat'angelos mss. The word that the text picks up from again is իմ (*my*, above in parenthesis) in g_g and ի տուն (from dawn) in all the other Agat'angelos mss.

[11.9]

Բագրևանդ
[the province of] Bagrevand

Զարևանդ
[the province of] Zarevand

The variant of the Agat'angelos group mss is a secondary reading, not stemming from the archetypus. This is corroborated by the fact that the source for this section of TD is the *Life of Suk'iaseank' Martyrs* according to which their relics were buried in the province of Bagrevand and not Zarevand.¹⁰⁴

[13.9–10]

Էսպան զվիշապն և զվի եղջերուն

Էսպան զվիեղջերին և զվիշապն

All but:

զվիեղջերն և զվիշապն U

զվիեղջերին (om և զվիշապն) U₁

The word order is different but the meaning of the sentence remains the same:

[he] killed *the dragon and the unicorn* vs

[he] killed *the unicorn and the dragon* in Agat'angelos mss.

[13.11]

անդեղայս
antidote

անդեղէ այս M₁

անգեղէ այս gg₁g₄K₁MM₂

անգեղէայս KK₂m

անգեղայս K₃

անգեղէայս g₂

անկեղէյս U

անկեղէայս U₁

corrupted variants

The first corruption which happened at the level of the Agat'angelos group's ancestor was to transform անդեղայս to անդեղէ այս. Such reading is preserved in M₁ but later the դ became confused with գ, resulting in the variations above.

[14.2]

Եթէ որքան
and how much

Եթէ որչափ
and how much

Both variants express the same meaning.

¹⁰⁴ *Martyrdom of Suk'iaseank'* 1811, 110–120.

[14.15–19]

Compared to all mss the Agat'angelos group presents a unique arrangement of text-blocks, including additions or omissions of lemmata not shared by any other mss. Below the relevant sections are presented together for comparison:

All mss contain: Եւ թէ որպէս սուրբ Լուսաւորիչն աղաւթիւք էած ի զգայութիւն մարդկան զՏրդատ.

And how the Holy Illuminator lead Trdat to human sense by prayers.

Immediately after this, the sequence changes. In order to clarify the different arrangement of the text-blocks I will numerate them as they appear in the base text and apply the same numbers to the Agat'angelos text-type sequence.

All mss read:

[1] Եւ յերկրորդում ատուրն ամփոփեաց զսուրբն Հռիփսիմէ և զԳայիանէ և զերեսուն և հինգ ընկերս նոցա: [2] Եւ յետ վեց ատուրն /յ/երրորդում ատուրն in the B family/ բժշկեաց զամենայն հայաստանեայս: [3] Եւ յետ Կ ատուրն ետես աչաւք բացաւք ...

[1] And in the second day he buried Sts. Hrip'simē and Gayanē and their thirty-five companions. [2] And after six days [on the third day in the B family] he healed all the Armenians. [3] After sixty days he saw [a vision] with open eyes, etc.

The Agat'angelos group mss read:

[3] Եւ թէ որպէս յետ Կզ ատուր + *վարդապետութեան* ետես աչաւք բացաւք ... (the Vision of Gregory follows with no significant textual differences compared to other mss). [1] Եւ թէ որպէս ամփոփեաց զսուրբն Հռիփսիմէ և զԳայիանէ և զԼէ. ընկերս նոցա [2] և ապա բժշկեաց զամենայն հայաստանեացս:

[3] And how after sixty *six* days of *teaching* he saw with open eyes ... [1] And how he buried Sts. Hrip'simē and Gayanē and their-thirty five companions and [2] then healed all the Armenians.

One possible explanation is that the text of the ancestor of Agat'angelos mss missed a line after *Տրդատ*, the last word of the sentence that immediately precedes the text-block in question, because of homoeoarchton (Եւ թէ որպէս ... Եւ թէ որպէս) and parablepsis. Presumably, when the scribe noticed this omission, he placed the relevant sentences in a different location; that is, after the mention of the vision of St. Gregory. As a result, the burial of the bodies of the Hrip'simeank' virgins takes place after Gregory describes his vision. This is more in tune with the sequence found in Aa and thus, such arrangement of text-blocks could be due to deliberate scribal action.

Other differences can be noted as well. Because the Agat'angelos mss omit the curing of Armenians after 'six days' since Gregory came out of the pit, then his vision is told to have occurred after 'sixty-six' days of his teaching. Both readings comply with the number given in Aa §726, where it is specified that St. Gregory's *vardapetut'wn* lasted for sixty-six days, and the vision took place after those days. Moreover, after *լգ առոր* (sixty six days) all Agat'angelos mss add *վարդապետութեան*, not attested in other mss.

[15.2]

համաջինջ
totally destroyed/exterminated

բնաջինջ
totally destroyed/exterminated

[15.7–8]

վասն սրբոյն նունէի մերոյ
և վրաց վարդապետի
about *St. Nunē* our and
Georgian vardapet

վասն նունեայ
և մանեայ վրաց վարդապետի
about *Nunē* and *Manē*, the
vardapet of Georgians

Here Agat'angelos mss present a corrupted variant. In the Armenian tradition Nunē, who evangelised Georgia, was a companion of Hrip'simē. There is no mention of Manē's evangelical activities in Georgia. Thus, Nunē could be presented as a vardapet of Georgia, but in the Agat'angelos mss' version two of Hrip'simē's companions, Nunē and Manē, are told to be vardapets of Georgia. Apparently the original reading of *մերոյ* was corrupted (or deliberately changed) into *մանեայ* in the ancestor of the Agat'angelos group mss.

[16.3–4]

զերևումս *ինձ*
the vision [of the cross] *to me*

զերևումս *իմ*
the vision [of the cross] *of mine*

The Agat'angelos mss' version is inadequate.

[16.7]

վեղենդի արացն

of *silentiarioi* (?)

վէէն դահացն M_1
վեղէն դահացն ggK_gMM_2m
վաղան դահացն M_3
վաղին դահացն U
վաղէնդանացն U_1
corrupted words

This lemma/lemmata are problematic and difficult to interpret.¹⁰⁵ Agat'angelos mss versions present, first of all, a difference in word boundaries. This was presumably due to the fact that the meaning of վեղենի was no longer comprehended. HAB suggests that the lemma in question is վեղենիար which is a corruption of Gr. σιλεντιάριος, a kind of court official. HAB considers that the Lat. valentior is only coincidentally similar.

In the forefather of the Agat'angelos mss the words had already undergone transformations; namely, the last two letters of the first word were merged with the second word, thus ի became part of the second word. M₁, U and U₁ later corrupted the text even further from the original reading.

[16.13]

Չոր ոչ արար անտես	բայց ոչ արար անտես
<i>which</i> was not unseen [by the Lord]	<i>but</i> was not unseen [by the Lord]

Anticipating the discussion of sub-groups (for which see below) it is appropriate to mention here that the *g* sub-group inverts the order of the last two words, resulting in անտես արար. None of the variants above have an obvious superiority.

[16.15]

In the two examples below, there are numerous variants in all TD mss. Thus, the version of the right column is a 'representative' lemma, found in some mss only. I did not think this to be the appropriate place to discuss all the variants of all mss. What is important here is that A_g variants share similar traits which are not shared by any other group.

սովեստեքն սկրասեան	սովեստեքն g ₁
	սովես սէքն g ₂ g ₄ MM ₁ M ₂ K
	սովես սէքոնոս K ₂
	սովես սէքնոս K ₁ K ₃ m
	սովես սէքոնէնու U ₁
	սովես սէքոնէնու U
	[նս]կրասեան

In all Agat'angelos mss the two lemmata—սովեստեքն սկրասեան—underwent several transformations. First, the lemma սովես-

¹⁰⁵ Cfr Appendix 2 and pp. 316–317 of this Chapter.

սւլքքն was divided into two separate fractions (except for g_1) սփէս and variations of սւլքքն, as in $gg_2g_4MM_1M_2K$. Then the initial two letters of սկրատեան were inverted, resulting in նսկրատեան. In mss $K_1K_2K_3UU_1$ the same two initial letters were merged with already corrupted versions of սփէսսւլքքն, resulting in variations of (see above) սփէս սւլքքնոս, plus, by now an unrecognisable կրատեան. In K_3 սւլքքն and նսկրատեան are written together as one word, always incomprehensible սւլքքնսկրատեան.

[16.15]

զաղիստեան

պաղիստեան
 $M_1K_2gg_1g_2KK_1M_2Mm$
 պաղիստեան K_3
 պաղիստեան M_3
 պաղիստեան g_4
 աղիստեան UU_1
 corrupted words

Galenic (?)

The Agat'angelos mss version is due to the confusion of the letters q and պ. These are the only mss with such a reading, and, thus, this variation place can be used to demonstrate the relationship of mss within this group. Ultimately, the readings of both on the right and left columns above are corrupted and may go back to զաղիստեան/զաղիստեան (Galenic), a variant found in F_1F_4 and T_2 . The context would support such a reading. We are told that 'much lauded assemblies of Galenians' were not able to cure Constantine from his leprosy. Presumably, the men in question were doctors trained in Galenic medicine¹⁰⁶ even though given the quality of the three mss in general (their texts have many corruptions and T_2 has numerous corrections), it cannot be argued with conviction that the variant goes back to the archetypus and was not a deliberate correction made by a later scribe. Nevertheless, I used the word 'Galenic' in the translation of TD.

¹⁰⁶ I am grateful to Dr. Sergio La Porta who proposed this hypothesis as the external reader of my Ph.D. dissertation. At the time I did not have access to all the mss which I was able to study later on and was not able to provide sufficient basis for accepting this hypothesis. The fact that some mss support the version 'Galenian' strengthen this hypothesis which I presented above. The English translation reflects this correction.

[18.12]

և այլ դիմուս ի դրունս նոցա	և այլ դիմուս մի՛ երթիցէ
մի՛ երթիցէ	ի դրունս նոցա
And no other tax official should go to their doors.	

The difference in word order does not change the meaning of the sentence.

[19.18–19]

տիեզերական ժողով[ոյ]ս	տիեզերածողով
[of] the universal council	assembled from the entire universe

The context supports the reading on the left column. The Agat'angelos mss version is the result of merging of the two words into one.

[19.21–22]

զաջ սրբոյս Պետրոսի	զաջ սուրբ առաքելոյս Պետրոսի
	ggK ₁ Mm
	զաջ սուրբ առաքելոցս Պետրոսի
	M ₁ M ₂ KK ₂ K ₃ UU ₁
the right hand of <i>holy</i> Peter	the right hand of the <i>holy apostle</i> Peter
	ggK ₁ Mm
	the right hand of the <i>holy apostles</i>
	Peter M ₁ M ₂ KK ₂ K ₃ UU ₁

The addition of the title 'apostle' to Peter could have been introduced by the scribe of the ancestor of this group. It does not change the meaning of the sentence in a significant way. The reading of some mss (the second line) is a corruption of the first variant due to the confusion of the letters յ and ց, since genitive plural when referring only to Peter is not appropriate.

[19.25]

իւրեանց թագաւորին	թագաւորին իւրեանց
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Both signify 'of their king,' but with a different word order.

[19.26–27]

որք մերոյն Նունէի աշակերտեցան	որ մերոյն նունէայ և մանէայ
	աշակերտեցան
who became disciples of our Nunē	who became disciples of our Nunē
	and Manē

Similar to 15.7–8, here, too, Manē and Nunē are mentioned together as preachers of Georgia. The variant of all the other mss is superior to that of the Agat'angelos group for reasons outlined in the discussion of 15.7–8, as well as lack of other witnesses to such a reading.

[19.28]

ի մէջ այլալեզու քրիստոնէից	այլևայլ լեզուաւ (in lieu of the entire expression)
among Christians of other languages	with various languages

The version of Agat'angelos mss is inadequate in the given context.

[19.31]

հայրապետն հայոց	հայոց հայրապետն
the patriarch of the Armenians	

The difference in word order does not change the meaning of the expression.

[20.9–10]

աստուածակարգ կայսրս	աստուածակարգեալ կայսրս
the God-appointed emperor	

The Agat'angelos mss use the aorist participle form of the same stem instead of the adjective. Both variants fit the context.

[21.5]

զամենայն զարդս	զամենայն զարդս
հայրապետական	հայրապետութեան
all the patriarchal embellishments	all the embellishments of [the institution] of the patriarchate

The meaning of both expressions is acceptable, the difference is the use of adjectival form vs the substantive form (in genitive sing.) of the same root.

[21.19–20]

պատրաստութիւն	պատրաստութեամբ
պարգևեցի պաշտգամաց	omit պարգևեցի
[I] donated embellishments to the	with the preparation of the
rooms/cells/balconies (?)	rooms/cells/balconies (?)
	the verb donated is omitted

The omission of the main verb in the sentence disturbs the syntax and is an obvious error.

[21.21]

After Աթանագինէ (At'anaginē with spelling variations) all Agat'angelos mss add հայրապետին.

[21.24]

մասնաւորեցաք
[we] prepared a part

մասն առաքեցաք
[we] sent a part

[21.25]

առաքեցաք ընծայս
[we] sent presents

ընծայեցաք ընծայս
[we] presented presents

The reading of the Agat'angelos mss is very likely due to dittography.

[21.26]

Վարագայ վերնակրան
եղբարցն
to the angelic brothers of Varag

Վարագայ վերնակրան
սուրբ եղբարցն
to the angelic *holy* brothers of Varag

[22.3]

In all Agat'angelos mss after զեղբարն Յոհաննու (of the brother of John), he is specified to be:

աստուածաբան աւետարանչի
the theologian evangelist

This specification could have been deliberately added by the scribe of the ancestor of this group and does not stem from the archetype.

[23.7]

All Agat'angelos mss include a unique explanation of the miraculous origin of the icon of Virgin Mary, not shared by any other TD mss.

This text-type clarifies:

տիրամայրն եղեալ [+ի վերա K₃] ամենամաքուր դիմացն, եթաց արտասուօր
և աւրինեաց. և յոյս յերկնից խաչանման կաթեաց [կացեալ K կացեաց K₁K₃] ի
պատկերն յօր փոխման [փոխան g₄] իւրոյ

[which] the Mother of the Lord placing on her most pure face, moistened [it] with tears and blessed [it]. And cross-like light descended from heavens on the image on the day of her transformation.

This sentence replaces what is found in all other mss regardless of family or group, namely:

տէրն տեառնագրեաց և արինեաց յաւուր փոխման աստուածամարն.
[which] the Lord signed with the cross and blessed on the day of the transformation of the Mother of God.

This text-block is, naturally, omitted in Agat'angelos mss, replaced by the other, above-mentioned, one. Based on the evidence from other mss it must be deduced that the archetypus contained the version found in all other mss and not that of the Agat'angelos group. Otherwise, it would be impossible to explain why the phrase is present in both A and B family mss. The scribe of the ancestor of the Agat'angelos group must have wished to cite a different tradition on the origin of the icon of Mary.¹⁰⁷

Making a deviation into the discussion of sub-groups, it makes sense to include another preliminary note on the K sub-group (comprised of KK₁K₂K₃) here, to be developed further in the following pages. As can be seen, within this text-block, KK₁ and K₃ have a different verb. While all Agat'angelos mss have կաթեաց [dropped], K's variant is կացեալ, whereas K₁ and K₃ read կացեաց. In this case, the reading of K₁K₃ seems to be copied from a primary corruption as it is due to the confusion between the letters թ and ց, while K (or its exemplar) demonstrates a further scribal action by transforming the final ց to լ, possibly to correct the unacceptable կացեաց to a, presumably, more correct կացեալ, the aorist participle of the verb կալ (to stand, to remain). Even so, the meaning of latter verb is difficult to reconcile in the given context.

[23.17]

Էհան ի Հրէաստանէ յԵփեսոս
[he] took from Judaea to Ephesus

Էհան ի Հրէաստանէ և եբեր յԵփեսոս
[he] took from Judaea and brought to
Ephesus

This variation place was mentioned also in the discussion of the B family's *P sub-sub group*. The addition of *and brought* gives more clarity to the expression. However, in the *P sub-sub group* the verb added is a different one. Moreover, no other ms from the A family adds a verb in this

¹⁰⁷ On the sources of this tradition cfr Chapter 2, pp. 116–117.

location. Thus, it may be hypothesised that the addition is due to a deliberate scribal activity (for the purposes of correction) at the level of the ancestors of these two branches. This hypothesis also explains why the verbs added are different.

[25.9]

Last, but not least, all Agat'angelos mss add the Lord's Prayer at the end of the text. The whole prayer is not cited, but the first two or three words are added in various mss.

The above presentation of group variants should suffice to demonstrate that all Agat'angelos mss originated from a common ancestor. In this discussion I presented mostly significant variations, even if in some cases I included also examples whose text-genealogical value is arguable (such as differences in case endings). The latter were meant to provide additional, corroborative evidence. In most cases the mss of this group also demonstrate quite a homogenous behavior as to the use of demonstrative suffixes, prepositions, etc. All of these can be seen in the apparatus.

In the following discussion of sub-groups I will present also omissions, along with other more substantial common variants, because these provide corroborative evidence as to the relationship of mss within a sub-group.

3.4.5.1. Sub-Groups: g_g Vs A_{g2}

Within the A_g group, two clear sub-groups can be observed: the g sub-group comprised of mss $gg_1g_2g_4$, which is marked as g_g in the apparatus, and the rest of A_g mss, namely $KK_1K_2K_3MM_1M_2mUU_1$ (fully collated), as well as partially collated J_{1296} , J_{652} , M_{1881} (the latter belongs to this group only partially),¹⁰⁸ and W_{111} , which I have marked with the *siglum* A_{g2} . The most important difference of the g_g sub-group compared to A_{g2} is the following feature: g_g lacks many of the omissions found in A_{g2} . Thus, technically, g_g has several pluses compared to A_{g2} . This difference is significant in light of the fact that g_g sub-group's text in the majority of cases agrees with that of all the other TD mss regardless of group or family. In this sense, the g_g sub-group follows the base text, (and in the cases to be listed below all other TD mss), more faithfully. It can

¹⁰⁸ M_{1889} follows the text-type of g_g sub-group until Section 4.5 after which its exemplar was changed to an N-type ms.

be, thus, hypothesised that the exemplar of the g_g sub-group was closer to the forefather of all Agat'angelos mss which, in its turn, shared more common variants with mss of other groups or families (to be discussed below). Below are those variants that differentiate the g_g sub-group from either all Agat'angelos mss or all other mss in general.

All TD mss	g sub-group	A_{g2}
1.8 տիրեմ տիեզերաց	Same as all TD mss	omit տիրեմ
3.1–2 հասին առ մեզ զարքն հայոց <i>մեծն Յովհաննէս, որ և Տրդատէս արքայ հայոց և կենդանի վկայն Քրիստոսի</i>	Same as all TD mss but omit արքայ	omit մեծն Յովհաննէս, որ և Տրդատէս արքայ հայոց և
5.5 արձակեցցին կապեալք	Same as all TD mss	Omit the expression
5.10 հրամանաւ Լուսաւորչիս	հրամանաւ + <i>սուրբ</i> Լուսաւորչիս (but not g_2)	Same as all TD mss
6.23–24 որ որ վերջացի	Same as all TD mss	որք վերջացի[ն]
7.22 հոյակապ <i>հրամանաց</i> հզարին	Same as all TD mss	omit հրամանաց
7.30 Տրդատայ արևելեան	Same as all TD mss	Տրդատայ + <i>ամենայն</i> արևելեան
7.34 մոխրապաշտի <i>և աստուածամարտ անարիինի</i>	Same as all TD mss	Omit և աստուածամարտ անարիինի
8.8 <i>սուսերաւք</i> հաւեալենալք	Same as all TD mss	Omit սուսերաւք
10.2 զքաղաքն <i>մեծին</i> Դաւթի	Same as all TD mss	Omit մեծին
14.15 <i>սուրբ</i> Լուսաւորիչն աղաթիւք էած	Same as all TD mss	Omit սուրբ
16.13 արար անտես	անտես արար (not g_2)	Same as all TD mss
18.1 եկեղեցականք, <i>և վանք և վանականք</i>	Same as all TD mss	Omit և վանք և վանականք

All TD mss	<i>g</i> sub-group	A_{g2}
19.11 դոնաբացազս	դոնաբացազս gg_1 դոնաբացեազս g_4 (not g_2)	Same as all TD mss (including g_2)
23.12–13 Անդ է և աջն Յովսէփայ Արեմաթացոյն, որ պատեաց և թաղեաց զՏէրն:	Same as all TD mss	Omit the entire text-block (U adds in the margin)

The relationship between sub-groups g_g and A_{g2} is largely based on common omissions or additions and this could be considered a weak point. However, there is a significant consistency in such omissions in A_{g2} vs the g_g sub-group. Moreover, as can be seen in the above list, many are not omissions of small words that could be restored/corrected easily, but often there are also relatively large (sometimes comprising one line) text-blocks. I have taken this as being weighty enough evidence for postulating a stronger relationship of mss within the g_g sub-group compared to their relationship with the rest of the A_g mss. Another point to emphasise is that within the *g sub-group* g_2 does not share all the textual variants which are either pluses compared to the base text or variants of words shared only by gg_1g_4 . It can, thus, be suggested that the forefather of g_2 was more distant from those of gg_1g_4 but still closer to it than to the forefather of A_{g2} . Thus, g_2 occupies an intermediate position between the ancestor of A_{g2} and the rest of the g_g sub-group.

From among mss of the *A_{g2} sub-group*, two sub-sub groups can be isolated: one comprised of UU_1 and another of $KK_1K_2K_3$, which I denominated *K sub-sub group* and marked with the *siglum* K_g in the apparatus. Sample-collated ms M10728 also belongs to this sub-group. The remaining mss, namely M, M_1 , M_2 , m, as well as sample-collated mss J1296, J652, M1881 (partially),¹⁰⁹ and W111 have no significant common textual variants beyond the common group variants of A_{g2} . They do, naturally, contain some individual variants not shared by other mss which, again, strengthens the point that they do not share a closer forefather than the common ancestor of the *A_{g2} sub-group*.

¹⁰⁹ Cfr the note above.

3.4.5.2. UU_1 Sub-Sub Group

[7.33]

ընդդէմ ատելոյն Քրիստոսի → ընդդէմ ատելեաց Քրիստոսի in A_g and further corrupted in UU_1 → ընդ դիմամարտելեացն (this is mentioned also above).

[9.4]

դաւսիճայն → դաւաճայն (U) or դաւաճան. (U_1)

The lemma դաւսիճայն is a hapax. The variant of U and U_1 is obviously a corruption of an incomprehensible (for the scribes) word, which has become ‘traitor’ in U_1 .

[9.5]

ամբարհաւաճատեսիլս → ամբահաւաճեալ տեսիլս
pleasant looking (both variants)

In this sub-sub group the word (an adjective) is divided into its two components, using the aorist participle of the first half. The meaning remains the same.

[9.14]

փանտիւռնս → փանտիւռանս (U) փանդուռան. (U_1)

The two mss agree in their (different from the rest) spelling of the same word.

[14.13]

UU_1 are the only mss within this group to omit վայրենի (wild) in

կերպարանս վայրենի վարազի
the appearance of the *wild* boar

[16.3]

All TD mss have: Դանուբայ գետոյն հզարի ([of] the mighty river Danube) and UU_1 are the only two mss to present a different word order: գետոյն դանուբայ [U_1] հզորի.

[16.4–5]

Այսու յաղթեսցես → + *թշնամեաց քոց*
 with this you will win + *your enemies*

UU₁ add the italicised lemmata.

[16.5]

նկարել → նկարեալ
 to paint painted (aorist participle of the same verb)

[16.5–6]

ի վառս սանջախացն → ի վարս սանջախացն
 On the *emblems* of the flags vs on *the lower* part (?) of the flags

The word վառ is usually used to indicate a royal sign, flag or herald. In this context, Constantine orders the sign of the cross to be placed on the flags used by his army. Thus, almost all mss use the word վառ to indicate the sign/emblem put on the flags. The lemma ի վարս is a corruption and changes the meaning of the phrase. Mss in *K sub-sub group* also exhibit a variation in this place which is discussed below.

[18.9]

ի մերմէ թագաւորութենէս → ի թագաւորութենէս մերմէ
 from our kingdom

UU₁ invert the word order.

[19.25]

առաջարկութեամբ իւրեանց թագաւորին most mss
 with the *suggestion* of their king

առաջնորդութեամբ իւրեանց թագաւորին UU₁
 with the *leadership* of their king

The UU₁ variant does not fit the context.

[19.38]

ի դրունս դրախտին → ի դունս դրախտին UU₁
 to the gates of paradise (all mss)
 to this gate of paradise UU₁

[22.8]

զսնարից կուբայն → զսնարից կուպարի UU₁
 from the upper part in the dome (?) where UU₁ use a different spelling կուպար
 for կուբայ.¹¹⁰

[22.10]

In the phrase լատինացւոց և հայոց և հելլենացւոց (of the Latins and of the Armenians and of the Hellenes) UU₁ omit հայոց (Armenians) which is not appropriate in the given context.

From the examples given above, the relationship between UU₁ can be postulated, even if some of the common variants presented may be argued to be weak from a text-genealogical point of view. The above selection demonstrates that the common variants of UU₁ are often corruptions, differences in cases or case endings, as well as common omissions. Moreover, the text of U is deficient in that it starts at 6.25, while U₁ has numerous illegible lemmata due to physical qualities of the ms. Overall, the text-type of UU₁ is of poor quality compared to the other text-types of the Agat'angelos group. For this reason I have decided not to include either of the two mss in the critical apparatus.

3.4.5.3. K Sub-Sub Group

[9.3–4]

All mss չքնաղագեղ արիորդն → արիորդի K_g
 beautiful maiden of the beautiful maiden

The context does not support the use of the genitive case here.

[10.3–4]

զՊռոտոն Արմենիանն → զՊռոտոնն:
 արաւնէան] K₂
 արմաւնիան] K₁
 արմաւնէան] K₃
 Armenia Prima vs a corrupted word armawenean

¹¹⁰ On the difficulties related to the meaning of this phrase cfr the notes to the English translation of Section 22.

All four *K sub-sub group* mss variants represent the same corrupted lemma in different spellings.

[11.1]

եցոյց ինձ տէր (God showed to me) is transformed in various ways in the A_g , among which the *K sub-sub group* mss have a common variant: եցոյց ինձ, (showed to me) omitting տէր (God).

[14.1]

In վասն ամենայն անցիցն (about all that happened) K_g mss add a final ի: ամենայն*ի*.

[15.9]

In զղուստր սորա (lit. and the daughter of this one) the last word is corrupted in $K_1K_2K_3$ (but not in K) to:

օրու	K_2
իւր	K_1
սւօր	K_3

None of these readings have an obvious connection between them, but it is clear that all were copied from a corrupted version and possibly each scribe tried to correct it in his own way. However, it is unlikely that they had the same common exemplar, rather, their hypothetical exemplars had a common ancestor.

[16.5–6]

ի վասն սանջախացն	→	ի վասն սանջախացն in K_g
on the signs (or as a sign) of the flags		vs to the glory (?) of the flags

[16.7]

կուրտակս	→	կորդակս K_g
kurtaks		vs kordaks

This word is a hapax, used in accus. pl. It is supposed to mean some kind of a military helmet. It has no ‘standard’ spelling and one finds great orthographical variation in various mss. All *K sub-sub group* mss share this spelling and are the only ones to spell it this way.

[17.6]

նիկողայոս → նիկնայոս (Nikolayos vs Niknayos) in K_1K_2 is a corrupted version. Moreover, in K the variant նիկղայոս has a correction above the letter ղ which could make it look like ն.

[18.17–18]

շահին ի մերում աշխարհիս → շահին ի մեր աշխարհիս in K_g
[who] earn profit in our lands

[19.1–2]

In the example below there is a great number of variants in all mss. Here I present the version of the base text for comparison. The *K sub-sub group* variant is not shared by any other ms.

պոտայ պապայս → պոտապապոյս K_g
přtay papays přtapapoys (standing for ‘the first Pope’)

[19.18]

Պապ և պատրիարք → K_g omits պապ
Pope and patriarch Pope is omitted

[19.30–31]

առաջարկութեամբ աղուանից թագաւորին All mss
with the *suggestion* of the Albanian king

առաջնորդութեամբ աղուանից թագաւորին in K_g
with the *guidance* of the Albanian king

The variant of the *K sub-sub group* does not fit the context.

[21.10]

Ին որ էր փակեղն Յիսուսի K_g omits էր

which *was* the veil of Jesus *was* is omitted in the *K sub-sub group*
mss

[23.14]

Էտ/դ ի ձեռն առաքելոցն
and put *in the hand* of the apostles
 K_g mss omit ի ձեռն (in the hand)

In order to fully represent the A_g group, while not overburdening the apparatus, the following choices have been made. The *sigla* used for mss groups and sub-groups (already discussed) should allow a sufficient view as to group variants. However, given the large number of mss some had to be excluded from the apparatus after the initial collation and evaluation of their usefulness. Among those not maintained in the apparatus are UU_1 , keeping them would amount to indicating their common errors which give no significant textual information. This can be seen also in the discussion above when outlining the variants that allowed me to conclude that UU_1 had a common ancestor. All the common variants of the *g* sub-group have been marked with the *siglum* g_g in the apparatus. Within this, I maintained the full collation of ms *g*, which happens to be not only the oldest ms within this sub-group, but also has, by far, a superior text compared to any of the other three manuscripts of this sub-group. From the remaining manuscripts none has any obvious superiority over the others. Therefore, I selected the oldest ms to represent the K sub-group, which is K. Mss M_2 and *m* were selected as two other witnesses of the A_{g2} group based on their age (especially for M_2) and generally good text quality. It must be emphasised, again, that these two mss do not have any important individual omissions of text blocks larger than two words; their orthographic features, the use of demonstrative articles, prefixes, case endings and the choice between plural vs singular verbs usually is more in line with the other manuscripts of the group (as opposed to individual use not shared by any other manuscripts either within the group or outside it). Thus, these are reliable representatives of the group.

3.4.6. *The N Group*

There are ten mss which are designated with the letter N and indexed by numbers (N to N_9), however only N– N_6 , N_7 until Section 23 and ms N_9 surely belong to the same group, while N_8 has a rather corrupt text and demonstrates only distant affiliation to this group. Thus, ‘N group’ refers to mss N– N_6 , partially N_7 , and N_9 . Even though N_7 shares the variants of the group for the most part, its exemplar was changed towards the end of the text. There are very few significant variations between mss of this group and no sub-groups can be outlined. The relationship between mss within this group can be presented in the chain in Fig. 6.1.

The collation of mss demonstrates that NN_6 , N_3N_4 and N_5N_9 are more closely related to each other, and, thus, can be defined as sister mss. From

external data (Cfr the description of these mss) it is evident that N, N₁ and N₄ descend from a common ancestor. While the collation demonstrates that N and N₆ are sister mss, N could not have been copied from N₆ since the latter has some unique corruptions not found in N. Thus, the chain above can be oriented to the stemma in Fig. 6.2. The direct line that connects the branches always implies an open delivery.

The stemma implies that the N group text-type can be further divided into three 'text-types' (not counting the contaminated N₇). The differences between these three, however, are minimal and calling them 'text-types' is not really justified. The N group in general is isolated already in a 'negative' way, in that it does not share the specific common variants that set apart the other A family groups, such as the Agat'angelos, C, F and T groups and ms A₁. Beyond this, there are very few other common significant variants to be reported here. Thus, in the list below I have included also some common variants that are weak from text-genealogical point of view.¹¹¹ For example, I included two cases where the N group mss have a different verbal form. Usually differences in verbal forms are not informative from text-genealogical point of view and more than one example from the text at hand can be presented to corroborate this position. One of the reasons is, for example, that two completely unrelated mss may use an 'erroneous' verbal form because of external factors, such as dialectal use, and the appearance of that 'erroneous' form does not indicate that the two mss in question stem from the same forefather. However, the two examples presented below corroborate evidence brought forth in other examples and are not taken alone as proof for affirming N group's subgroups.

The mss with the greatest amount of significant unique variants are N₆ and N₇. It must be noted, however, that while N₆'s significant idiosyncratic variants (more precisely corruptions) amount to no more than ten in number, those of N₇ are much more abundant. Moreover, those of N₆ are obvious corruptions or additions of small words which could have been introduced by the scribe of N₆, whereas in the case of N₇, dozens of significant variants, usually corruptions, (not shared by any other ms

¹¹¹ I have been more rigorous when presenting the variants of other groups and usually did not include some of the type of variants that I present here. The reason is that I had more significant variants which defined the other groups and did not need to rely on the weaker common variations. The case of N is different in that there are not enough 'strong' examples, but the weaker examples help clarify the group's text-type which is, in any way, isolated from the other groups by not sharing their group-specific variants.

from any other group), signify that either the scribe worked from an already altered text or that he changed his text deliberately. Moreover, N₇ has a large lacuna due to missing folios (433 till 437) and is contaminated.

Ms N₂ is the best representative of this group. Instead of the common significant errors that set apart the N₃N₄, N₅N₉ and NN₁N₆ mss, its variants agree with all the other TD mss and by consequence it is closer to the archetypus.

The list below demonstrates the variants that justify the stemma presented in Fig. 6. The left column includes the variant(s) found in all other mss, whereas the right column indicates those of the N group. Whenever this is not the case I make a specific note of it. Since the examples are not numerous, I included also those which help define the closer relationship between N₃N₄, N₅N₉ and NN₆ in the same list.

[2.4]

արևմտից մինչև յարևելս all N mss (and most other mss)
from west to east

յարևելից մինչև ելս N₃N₄
from east to east

[5.5]

In the following variation place orthographical differences of all other mss (besides the N group) are suppressed. There are two competing variants here:

բանտեալք vs բանդարկեալք.

Within the N group all but two mss (NN₆) have the version բանտեալք, whereas NN₆ follow the version found in all other TD mss, i.e. բանդարկեալք. Both lemmata mean ‘prisoners’.

[5.9]

քրէական
criminal¹¹²

քրական all N mss
corrupted word

¹¹² Some F group mss present other corruptions, not related to the N group, for this word. For the F group see the appropriate section.

[6.5–8]

In the text-block below the italicised section is omitted in all N group mss.

... Տրդատ արքայ, իւրով զահերեց մեծամեծ նախարարաւքն կթանասուն հազարաւքն *իսկ երկոքին հայրապետքս իրեանց արքեպիսկոպոսաւք և քահանայաւք*, կամաւքն աստուծոյ ...

... King Trdat, with his seventy thousand great, senior naxarars, *and the two patriarchs with their archbishops and priests*, with the will of God ...

The omission is due to homoeoteleuton (the instrumental plural case endings) and possibly also parablepsis, since the omitted section is about one line long.

[8.7]

արքունադրոշմս
with royal signs

արքունական դրոշմս N₆F₅L

Both variants have the same significance for which reason this variation could be considered weak from a text-genealogical point of view. Moreover, this is not a Type 2 variation since also F₅L share it. However, I included this example because it does show that all N mss behave in a uniform way here.

[8.10–11]

In the example below I have chosen the best variant (also found in all other N group mss) for the left column. However, it should be noted that there are corruptions of this word in other mss. Moreover, the case ending for the instrumental plural also present a number of variations in various mss.

շիփորայաւք
with trumpets

փիշորայաւ NN₆
a corrupted word, due to the inversion
of the letters փ and շ

[8.11]

զղանոնայաւ N₅N₉

զղանոնայաւ all other N mss

Both words indicate a type of a string musical instrument, something like a *lyre*.

The variant of N₅N₉ agrees with all the other TD mss. Admittedly this variation is, again, weak from text-genealogical point of view. The letters ղ and լ are often interchangeable both due to their similar shape, but also

due to a linguistic confusion between these letters. The reason I included this example is that only these N group mss write the word in question differently.

[9.2–3]

In the example below there is a great variation in the mood, person and number of the verb. Thus, below I indicate the versions found in most mss whence the corruption of N₅N₉ (presented below) could have stemmed, in order to pinpoint the close affiliation of the latter two mss.

պսակեցի/պսակեսցի/պսակիցի բամբիշն արևելային other mss

I crowned (aorist active 1 p. s.)/[she] shall be crowned (aorist subjunctive passive/II future passive 3 p. s.)/[she] shall be crowned (present subjunctive passive/I future passive 3 p. s.)

պսակիցից + *իմ* N₅N₉
an erroneous verbal form + *my* corrupt varriant

While all verbal forms found in diverse mss pose syntactical and grammatical problems (cfr the discussion in Chapter 3, pp. 314–315), the version of N₅N₉ is an obvious corruption (possibly stemming from պսակեցից in aorist subjunctive active 1 p. s.), attesting to the close relationship between these two mss.

[9.3]

վայելչավայլ
charming

վայելչավայն NN₆
corrupted lemma

[9.8]

դաղմատականս
Dalmatian (in accusative plural)

դաղմատակս NN₆
corrupted lemma

[9.9]

արքայականից
royal (in genitive plural)

արքայականի (all N mss)
of royal (in genitive singular)
արքականի N₆
corrupted lemma

All mss but the N group present the word ‘royal’ in genitive plural, even if the case endings are varied (not presented here). The version of the N group stems from the omission of the last letter *ց* which, however,

disturbs the syntax of the sentence. Moreover, only mss of the N group have this common error. The version of N₆ obviously stems from the common N version.

[9.13]

դրաւշս	դրճշմս NN ₆
flags (in accusative plural)	seals (in accusative plural)

The variant in the left column is superior.

[9.17]

կանանց	սկանց N ₃ N ₄
of women	of gems

The N₃N₄ variant does not fit the context, it is due to the inversion of the first two letters կւ and the omission of the first ն.

[10.3]

գՊոռսոն	զպոռսն NN ₆
the First [Armenia]	corrupted word due to the omission of the letter n

[11.4]

In the example below I present the most common variants, suppressing orthographical differences.

դիպեցին/դիպիցին/դիպեցին all other mss

they shall/will encounter (in aorist subjunctive passive, i.e. II future passive but supposes the root դիպել whereas the most common form is դիպիմ)/they shall encounter (present subjunctive/I future of դիպիմ with no possibility of distinction between passive or active)/they encountered (aorist indicative active based on դիպել)

դիպին N_g

The N group version is an irregular verbal form. Only this group employs this form.

[15.16]

յաբեթեանս բաժնիս NN₆ are the only mss to omit this expression

[16.9]

ճնշելն *qhu*

pressuring me (accusative case)

ճնշելն *hnd* NN₆

pressuring me (dative case)

The use of the dative case found in NN₆ is not adequate grammatically.

[19.16]

Բառկանիայ

պառկանիա N պառկանիս N₆

N and N₆ are the only mss to spell Barkaniay, standing for Vulcanus (here indicating Mount Etna) with the letter պ, where the version of N₆ is a further corruption of that lemma.

[20.2]

անընդել (including N₅N₉)
unusualանըսել all other N mss, N₇
adds the second լ above word for
correction
a corrupted word

[20.20]

գտիեզերական իշխանութիւնս
[this] universal ruleգտիեզերականութիւնս NN₆
a corrupted word, the result of
merging of the two words

3.4.6.1. Ms N₇

This manuscript has several lacunae. The first major lacuna occurs because of missing folios, namely pp. 434 and 435 (the manuscript has a continuous pagination without reference to *recto* and *verso* of folios) containing the text between 14.23 and 16.7. Moreover, as mentioned above, it is a contaminated manuscript. It follows the N group of the A family until the end of Section 22. From Section 23 its exemplar was changed and its text becomes very similar to that of mss F₅L. This can be proved by some of the significant common variants between these mss, such as:

[23.11]

հարիւրապետի
of the centurionաստուածամուխ F₅LN₇
permeated by God

The variant of F₅LN₇ is unfitting in the context.

[24.1–2]

աստուածապետականն
divine

աստուածապարզն F₅LN₇
donated by God

[24.5]

զբազուկս երկուց առաքելոցն *Պետրոսի և Պողոսի և զահեակն Անդրէի*
the arms of the two apostles *Peter and Paul and the left arm of Andrew*

The italicised text-block is found only in mss T₂FF₁F₄F₅LN₇. Thus, N₇ now shares a common variant with the F group (to which F₅L belong). Moreover, together with F₅L, N₇ omits the following textblock that should have appeared immediately afterwards: պարզևեցաք և այլ անթիւ մասունս (We donated other innumerable relics).

[25.1]

այս զիր
this letter

այս կտակ F₅LN₇.
this testimony/will

3.4.6.2. Ms N₈

This ms has one of the worst quality texts from among TD mss studied. Not only obvious corruptions are abundant, but also, physically, the text was copied in a less than careful manner. N₈ omits almost the whole Section 6 because of missing folios. It also omits parts of Section 10 and the entire Section 11. There are several misplaced large text-blocks and, as a result of this, other text-blocks are lost. Thus, after 19.29–30: Եւս և աշխարհն Աղուանից եղիցին ընդ հնազանդութեամբ հայոց հայրապետին, N₈ mistakenly inserts a different text-block, namely from 22.10 (the last line of the Section 22) until the end of TD. However, once it reaches the end, part of the missing text-block is inserted, namely from 21.14 until 21.24. Consequently, some of the text in between the inserted text-blocks, i.e. 19.38 until 21.11, appears at the very end, after the concluding sentence that should have been the last sentence of TD. The end result of this arrangement, or rather mis-arrangement, of text-blocks is the loss of text between 19.28 and 19.38. Because of these reasons, N₈ was not included in the critical apparatus. Its text-type is closest to the N group. However, as mentioned, the abundant corruptions and omissions did not allow me to place it in the group chain or stemma in a secure way.

Sample-Collated Mss

From among sample collated mss M1889, M10236 also belong to this group. M1889 has a partial text, ending at Section 9.1.

To summarise, there are no important significant variations between N group mss. Moreover, mss from this group do not have significant additions not found in the other groups, but have some omissions of words or small text-blocks which could easily be restored based on the evidence of other mss. The second oldest ms with the text of TD is from this group and that is N₉. There are also two mss copied in the XV c. within this group (i.e. N₂ and N₄). Since ms N₉ is not fully legible, I selected ms N₂ as the base text and maintained N₉ in the critical apparatus. Further reasons for the choice of the base text are presented below.

3.5. THE CHOICE OF THE BASE TEXT

The choice of the base text was conditioned by several factors. The first was the 'philosophy' behind this edition: that is to prepare a revised diplomatic edition with some emendations to the text and with a representative apparatus. The purpose of this edition is not to attempt to reconstruct the hypothetical archetypus based on an assessment of 'best' or 'most original' variants presented by all mss or to create an eclectic text, but rather to present a representative base text, with some revisions, and provide all other variants in the apparatus. For an open text like TD with such a rich and complex transmission history preparing a 'critical edition' would be next to impossible. Moreover, in many instances the 'original' variant is not possible to be determined.

As discussed above, there is no hierarchical relationship between the hypothetical ancestors of A and B families, but rather each descends from the archetypus independently of the other. Mss with an A family text-type are much more numerous and one may argue that they circulated more profusely. Even if the random survival of mss is taken into consideration, the fact that the vast majority of mss where TD follows the text of Agat'angelos belongs to the A family (19 mss in the A family vs 2 (yY of the *d* group)) speaks for this group's text-type being the most widely-spread and read. Last, but not least, the oldest mss, i.e. F (1307), N₉ (1322) and A₁ (1341) all have an A text-type, whereas the earliest ms with a B text-type is I (1409). Again, this could be due to pure chance, but is worth

mentioning here. These were some of the reasons why it was decided to use an A text-type for the base text.

Another reason for choosing an A text-type is the conclusion, based on the collation of all mss, that the choice of the base text from the A family would mean less reconstruction of the text. In fact, any ms from the *d* group of the B family was excluded a priori because of the large lacuna (comprising more or less the entire Section 17) contained in all of them. The *D* sub-group of the B family, on the other hand, has many specific variants, including additions, shared only by the mss of that sub-group which hardly go back to the archetypus. Thus, the use of a *D* sub-group text would also mean either a heavy reconstruction of the text on my part or a heavy apparatus. From the remaining B family mss, namely EE₁IJ, E₁ is physically damaged and illegible in many parts; EIJ, on the other hand, present numerous idiosyncratic orthographical or grammatical features specific to them and would, again, require much reconstruction.

From the A family, mss C and F (from the homonymous family)¹¹³ occupy an intermediate position; especially C. The reasons why ms F was not used were spelled out when describing this ms; namely, that on four folios several lines are cut out due to a restoration effort and are illegible. After an initial attempt to base the edition on ms C the idea was abandoned for reasons of C's text quality. It has too many individual obvious corruptions, idiosyncratic orthography and several omissions of text-blocks ranging from 2 to 5 lemmata¹¹⁴ which would need to be 'normalised' or else the apparatus would become heavier. This is similar to problems one would encounter if choosing mss E, I or J. Moreover, C contains a paragraph not found in any other ms and it would be misleading to include it in the base text. The Agat'angelos group mss have too many variants specific only to this group and, similar to the *D* sub-group of the B family, this text-type is not representative of the entire tradition. From the remaining A family groups/text-types A₁ has a deficient text due to lost folios, which leaves the choice to either ms A (its sister T₁ has numerous illegible lemmata due to physically damaged folios) and a ms from the N group. Overall, N group mss present a good text-quality, with very few uses of idiosyncratic orthography or grammar. The draw-back of this group's text-type is some omissions of small text-blocks which were definitely present in the

¹¹³ Other F group mss have too many corruptions and their choice as a base text would be difficult to justify.

¹¹⁴ Naturally, all of these now appear in the apparatus.

archetypus.¹¹⁵ These text-blocks were reconstructed based on the evidence of other mss and inserted into the base text, always in ⟨ ⟩ brackets. However, whatever ms one chose some text-blocks had to be reconstructed. Ms A, on the other hand, is deficient in the list of Roman provinces and has many more individual differences compared to all other texts than an N group text. Thus, overall, an N-group text would require a less heavy apparatus and provide a representative base ext.

From the N family ms N₂ was selected to be the base text. It has very few individual errors and is physically in a very good condition.¹¹⁶ Moreover, even though it was copied in the 15th c. its text has no significant differences compared to N₉ copied in 1322.

The discussion above demonstrates that TD has an extraordinarily rich ms tradition. It was copied profusely throughout centuries and must have been a very popular text.

3.6. GRAMMAR AND LANGUAGE

TD was written in the Cilician period and has numerous loan words, many of which hapaxes, which indicate its provenance from this milieu. This was one of the main points emphasised by Šahnazareanc' in his dating of the text.¹¹⁷ Moreover, he gave a very negative judgment on the language and style of the author of TD who, according to Šahnazareanc', 'used ugly words' and a 'rustic' or 'base style' when composing this work. This opinion is not fully justified. It is true that TD abounds in loan-words from various languages, many of them not found in any other texts. However, its author wrote in an overall acceptable *grabar*. Moreover, there is no reason to suppose that the text is a translation from Latin or Greek.

3.6.1. *Declensions*

One can point out several grammatical features found in the text. Firstly, there is a great variation in case endings of certain words. This refers not only to variants between two or more mss, but the same word can

¹¹⁵ A list of revisions is presented on pp. 312–320.

¹¹⁶ This is especially to be emphasised compared to N₉ which is older (from 1322) but which is illegible at some parts and has several unique errors.

¹¹⁷ Šahnazareanc' 1862, esp. 93–98.

be declined differently in the same ms. For example, ms N₄ uses two different instrumental plural endings for the substantive աղաւթք, i.e. աղաւթիք at 12.6 and աղաւթաւք at 13.8. In ms B the lemma զարդ is declined as զարդոյք at 8.6 and as զարդիք at 8.12, just a few lines below. In mss dYy it is declined as զարդաւք at 8.6 and as զարդոյք at 8.12. In the expression արքեպիսկոպոսաւք և քահանայաւք (6.7–8) the substantive արքեպիսկոպոսաւք has no variations, whereas քահանայաւք has a different case ending in a number of mss (e.g. the F group and the Agat'angelos group), i.e. քահանայիք. The substantive պապ is պապոս in genitive singular in most mss, but the variants պապոյս and պապիս are also attested. Another interesting example is the substantive քոյր which appears once in the text in genitive singular. None of the mss decline it according to 'classical' rules, but the variants found are: քուեր, քեր, քվեր. In this case it is rather evident that the archetypus also did not decline the word according to the rules of classical *grabar*.

It is not easy to determine in each case which of the variant case endings goes back to the archetypus. The declination of the Old French loan-word սանթ (*saint*) is a case in point. The spelling of the word is already problematic since usually the diphthong *ai* is maintained in Armenian loan-words of Romance origin.¹¹⁸ In this case the lemma is used once in, presumably, ablative singular and the variants are:

սանթէս
սանթենէս/սանդենէս
սանթանէզ
սանթանէս
սանթէս/սանթենէս
սանթէսս

Since this is a loan-word and a hapax at that, there can be no sure way of determining its 'correct' declination. From the first glance one may only exclude the variants սանթանէզ, սանթէս/սանթենէս and սանթէսս as obviously corrupt and suppose, in the case of սանթէս, that the word was declines as an -ի declension substantive with an invariable stem. However, the forms սանթանէզ or սանթենէս may be corruptions of

¹¹⁸ Mildonian 1980, e.g. the Old French *bail* becomes *bayl*, or *maistre* becomes *maystri*. There are no loan-words, however where the diphthong *ai* is followed by a nasal consonant, which is the case here. This hapax is not included in the list of loan-words from Romance languages prepared by Mildonian in her above-mentioned article.

սանթանէս which implies that it was declined as an -ա- declension substantive with a variable stem, and thus its nominal form would be *սանթն.

Below is a list of those substantives which exhibit a number variations in case endings.

Արտաշրայ	ծիրանաւք	Ղկոնդէայ
Արտաշիրի	ծիրանեօք	Ղկոնդա
	ծիրանիւք	Ղկոնդիայ
զարդաւք		
զարդուք	Կեսարիայ	մեհենաց
զարդիւք	Կեսարեայ	մեհենեաց
		մեհենից
զինաւք	Կովկասու	
զինուք	Կովկասայ	մետաքսաւք
զինիւք		մետաքսեաւք
զինեօք	Հայաստանեաց	մետաքսիւք
զինովք	Հայաստանեայց	
	Հայաստանաց	շիփորայաւք
Խոսրովիդիստոյ		շիփորայիւք
Խոսրովիդիստի	հրաշեաւք	
	հրաշիւք	Սուրիասեանց
	հրաշաւք	Սուրիասանց

I have not been able to establish a clear correlation between the place of copying (thus, possibly a dialectal influence) and the type of case ending attested in a given ms. Sometimes these follow ms groups, but often this is not the case. In fact, I never used case-endings as significant variations when defining the relationship between mss. The system of declension of words was far from that of the 'Golden Age' *grabar*¹¹⁹ when TD was written and it is known that in the Cilician dialect some declensions tended to disappear.¹²⁰ Later scribes, on the other hand, may have wished to 'correct' certain case endings which they recognised to be erroneous. When working on the base text the following choices were made with regards to the use of case ending. Whenever it was clear that a given 'mistaken' case ending was specific only to the N group (to which N₂ belongs), I emended the text based on the evidence of other mss, naturally providing the other variants in the apparatus. The base text was emended according to the classical rules of declension of given words

¹¹⁹ But even the 'Golden Age' *grabar* is difficult to define as indicated in Weitenberg 1993.

¹²⁰ Karst 1901.

only if such orthography was supported by a variety of mss from different branches, particularly by the oldest mss, such as A₁, F and C (because of the latter's position in the transmission chain) and especially when their variant was also shared by the B family mss. This, of course, does not guarantee that the emendation always corresponds to the version found in the archetypus, but there is a good chance that it does, given the evidence provided by diverse ms branches. When the oldest mss did not agree, I maintained the variant of the base ms as it was. This procedure implies that whenever there was no supporting evidence I did not emend the base text. This is the case, *inter alia*, of the substantive քուեր mentioned above.

3.6.2. Verbs

While different case endings do not change the meaning of the text (unless there is ambiguity as to *which* case is implied), the difference in verbal forms sometimes does. In general, there is an abundance of variants in mss in the use of the present subjunctive (I future) vs. the aorist subjunctive (II future). This should not be surprising. If already during the classical period there were no set rules for the use of the two,¹²¹ one can expect to find the same phenomenon in a text written at the end of the twelfth century. Moreover, both subjunctive verbal forms disappeared in middle Armenian.¹²² There are two significant examples of this problem: the variety of verbal forms at 9.2–5 and at 11.4. Both these cases are discussed below, when enumerating the emendations made to the base text.

In two occasions, in clearly hortative sentences, one finds the main verb in the present indicative. For example, at 19.31 ... հայոց հայրապետն ձեռնադրեացէ (let the Armenian patriarch ordain ...) many A family mss (including the base ms) attest the form ձեռնադրէ. I have emended the text based on the testimony of all B family mss, as well as A₁C and all the F family mss. The same can be said about the same verb at 19.25–26.

¹²¹ Cfr Minassian 1976, 228 who cites Meillet. However, as mentioned by Thomson 1975, 58, there is a difference in the *aspect* of the two forms: '[the present subjunctive indicates] an action that has not been completed or which is repeated, and [the aorist subjunctive] an action that is single and complete'.

¹²² Vaux 1995, esp. 139.

3.6.3. *Conditional Clauses*

Another grammatical feature for which many variants can be found in mss is in the use of verbal forms in conditional clauses. This is, again, related to the ambiguous employment of subjunctive formations. Thus, at 18.5–7, in the clause: Իսկ որք անհնազանդին ... և ընդ հարկաւ արկանեն ..., հալածեալ լիցին ... The underlined verbs are in present indicative 3 p. pl. (the first one in passive and the second verb in active). Here A and B families part their ways. In all A family mss, except for the Agat'angelos group, the verb անհնազանդին is in present indicative 3 p. pl. passive. Since the version անհնազանդեսցին is specific only to the Agat'angelos group, it may be the result of a correction made in the hypothetical ancestor of the group and not stem from the archetypus. The B family mss present such variants as: անհնազանդ[+p E] լիցին/լինիցին/լինին; thus, employing a composite predicate and using the present or aorist subjunctive of the verb լինել (yet, in the case of լինին it uses the present indicative too). I would argue that the archetypus did not use the verb անհնազանդիլ in a subjunctive form (either present or aorist) but in the present indicative, as attested in A family mss. This is confirmed by the fact that the following verb արկանեն is also employed in the present indicative and no other variants are attested. Thus, no emendations were made in the base text.

In another location, 19.34–36 the A family mss use the aorist subjunctive active 3 p. s. in the subordinate clause, while the B family mss employ its present indicative form, i.e. որք նոր նստցի (նստի in B family) ... ծանուցէ' ... (whoever seats/occupies ... shall make known). The base text has not been emended in this case either, since both variants are acceptable.

3.7. PRINCIPLES OF EDITION AND EMANDATIONS

In the First Apparatus, before providing the variant readings of other mss, the lemma from the base text is provided followed by a] bracket. Some differences are not noted in the apparatus, unless the lemma in question is a proper name, a name of a people, or an uncommon loan-word. In such cases any variation in the orthography is fully presented. However, if a lemma in the apparatus is different from that found in the base text for other reasons, then it is presented in the apparatus as it appears in the mss (including the differences listed below). However, when a different

lemma appears in all the mss of a given group compared to that of the base text and the variant is cited according to the group siglum, those orthographical differences of individual mss which are listed below, will not appear. The differences which are not marked in the apparatus are:

1. the use of o instead of uı; following the usage of the base ms (strengthened by that of the oldest mss) the letter o is always spelled as uı
2. the use of the ending -uıı or -on for the present participle
3. the use of inter-consonantal -p-
4. the incorrect use of intervocalic or final j
5. the use of -ı- or -ı- for nı before a vowel in open syllable
6. the use of -ı- vs. -ıı-, e.g. pııı vs. pıı
7. confusion of ı/ı
8. the omission of ı in oblique cases of n declension words ending in ı, e.g. the variant hnqıı for hnqıı, etc. is not reported.
9. abbreviations of numbers with corresponding letters, or alternative spellings of ıııı, ıı etc.
10. all abbreviations have been resolved; the cases of ambiguity are specifically mentioned

The main orthographical features of individual mss are outlined in their description. Besides the differences listed above, all other variants (including the different use of consonants) are provided in the apparatus. The orthography of the base ms has been regularised only in a few cases, providing the variant in the apparatus, based on evidence from other mss. The punctuation has been revised according to the commonly accepted rules.

The three oldest mss with the text of TD, i.e. F, A₁ and N₉ (N₂, the base ms agrees with N₉) have served me as guides when deciding the type of orthography to maintain in the base text for rare words or those used only in TD. The choice is justified by the fact that there is more chance that older mss are loyal to the hypothetical archetypus than those copied much later. These three mss belong to different branches of the A family and thus, their agreement with each other (as opposed to other mss within the same branch) can be considered as a reliable sign that they preserve an 'original' orthography going back to the archetypus.

Several revisions and reconstructions have been made to the base text (providing the variant of the base ms in the apparatus). The cases presented below are *not* marked in the base text with ⟨ ⟩. The following are related to orthography:

1. the confusion of η/ρ , when there is no ambiguity of orthographic rules, i.e. the variant $\rho\acute{\eta}\rho\eta\omega\acute{\iota}\nu\iota\rho$ is corrected to $\rho\acute{\eta}\eta\omega\acute{\iota}\nu\iota\rho$ (the base ms uses both spellings on different occasions);
2. the spelling of proper names and names of peoples have been standardised only when there were other ms witnesses attesting to the 'standard' spelling. This means, for example, that the name $\Theta\eta\lambda\upsilon\tau\eta$ is not corrected to $\Theta\eta\lambda\upsilon\tau\eta$ as no mss attest to its spelling with τ . It is to be noted, however, that besides the example above, often the same name is spelled in different ways in the same ms. In such cases I assumed that it was justified to 'regularise' and standardise the orthography in the base text. Although proper names are capitalised in the base text I have not done so when presenting the variants in the apparatus.
3. I have maintained the orthography $\kappa\alpha\rho\theta\omicron\nu\eta\eta\kappa\nu$ in the base text, as it appears in numerous mss, including the oldest ones (and N_2). There is no safe way to argue that this may not have been the orthography of the archetypus. Moreover, often the lemma is abbreviated.
4. The use of the preposition $\eta/\jmath$ has been standardised (i.e. the double use of both η and $\jmath$ before vowels is corrected and differences are placed in the apparatus).
5. The use of intervocalic and final $\jmath$ has been regularised and standardised (the usage in each ms is presented in its description).
6. The use of suffixes $u, \eta, \acute{\iota}$, has been corrected in very few occasions when the variant of N_2 was an obvious error unique either to this ms alone or to the N group. The same can be said about the use of the preposition η .

Besides the list above, other more intrusive revisions and reconstructions have been made to the base text (vs. the variant in the base ms). In cases, when the lemma or the text-block in question are absent in the base ms, those have been taken in $\langle \rangle$ brackets. In cases, when the lemma or the text-block were emended/corrected, those have been taken in $[]$ brackets. In order not to overburden the base text, the few corrections of obvious orthographical errors or prepositions and suffixes, have not been marked in the base text, but the usage of the base ms can be inferred from the apparatus. Naturally, all emendations and reconstructions are based on the comparison of the evidence from various mss. Below is a list of most significant emendations made to the text.

3.1 I have selected the variant հգաւրքն instead of գաւրքն based on context and evidence from mss. For a discussion cfr pp. 237–238 (in this Chapter).

5.9 The variant քրական specific to a branch of N group mss has been emended to քրէական based on the evidence of other mss (including N₉ from the same group).

6.7–8 The following text-block is present in all mss but omitted by those belonging to the N group. This is possibly due to a homoeoteleuton (the same case ending of the instrumental plural of the two words opening and closing the text-block) and a parablepsis (as the text-block is about one line long). I have inserted it in the base text based on the evidence of other mss: (իսկ երկոքին հայրապետքս իւրեանց արքեպիսկոպոսաւք և քահանայաւք).

7.6 The following provinces are omitted in most A family mss but are present in the B family mss and ms C. For a reconstruction of the full list of provinces, cfr Appendix 1. The base text has been revised by the addition of: (յԵգիպտացոց, ի Պաղեստինացոց աշխարհիդ).

7.15 The N group mss present the variant հաստատահէղոյս for հաստահէղոյս attested in A₁ and F, among the oldest mss, as well as a number of other, later, mss. The word in question has numerous other variants presented in the apparatus. The variant of the N group is due to dittography and confusion between the letters լ and դ. Moreover, this word (հաստատահէղոյս) along with the other variants found in other mss presented in the apparatus (e.g. հաստատահոյլս, հաստատահէղոյս) are not attested in dictionaries and should be considered corruptions of հաստահէղոյս. I have emended the base text by replacing its corrupted variant with հաստահէղոյս.

7.39 All A family mss, except for C and C₁, present an unidentifiable toponym արաղայ, whereas the B family mss (and mss CC₁ from the A family) have the variant Մարաղայ, the name of a city in Atrpatakan, as the context requires. I have emended the text accordingly. This issue is also discussed in Chapter 3, pp. 198–201.

8.7 The N group mss present the variant արքունական դրոշմս instead of արքունադրոշմ of all other mss. It is unlikely that this group-specific variant was that of the archetypus since all other mss attest the latter reading, which is what I placed in the base text.

8.10 Several A family mss, including all mss of the N group, present a corrupted (and incomprehensible) variant—լորոտընդոստ—instead of որոտընդոստ. I have emended the text by choosing the latter variant attested in all B family mss, as well as mss A₁, F and C from the A family.

8.11 The lemma զլաննաւք of N₂ and some other N group mss (not N₉) has been emended to զաննաւք.

9.2–4 In the following text-block the choice of the main verb presents several problems:

... պատրաստեցին ընծայս զարմանազանս, որովք պսակեցի/պսակեցի/պսակիցի բամբիշն արևելային վայելչավայլ թագուհին մեծն Աշխէն և չքնադազեղ արիորդն Հայոց Մեծաց Խոսրովիորիստ դասիճայն:

Three verbal forms are attested for պսակել (to crown, to adorn, to embellish). In the first case the verb is in aorist active 1 p. s. and the text-block can be translated as: ‘... [they] prepared dazzling gifts, with which I adorned the beautiful great Queen of the East, Ašxēn and the charming Princess of Great Armenia, the maiden Xosroviduxt’. This implies that while the gifts were prepared by the wife and sister of Constantine (as appropriate), it is Constantine alone who ‘adorns’ Trdat’s wife and sister. Although the sentence is acceptable grammatically, it creates problems from a contextual point of view, as it seems rather strange that the Emperor alone would adorn the Armenian royal women. Such an incongruity is especially evident when one considers that several lines below, Constantine specifically mentions that he, again, ‘adorns’ (or ‘crowns’) Trdat’s son Xosrov with his own son Constance. The text-block, as tentatively translated above, also gives the impression that Ašxēn and Xosroviduxt had travelled to Rome with Trdat and Gregory and thus could be adorned by the Emperor directly. However, the text does not specify their presence or participation in the voyage to Rome.

The other two variants, however, present syntactical problems. The second form պսակեցի (she shall be adorned) is in aorist subjunctive passive (or II future passive) 3 p. s. Yet, the subject is in plural since the persons being adorned are Ašxēn and Xosroviduxt. The same can be said about the third form, i.e. պսակիցի (she will be adorned) in present subjunctive passive (or I future passive) 3 p. s. Both versions can be translated in the same way in English. No definitive conclusion can be made as to the ‘originality’ of one of the variants based on ms evidence.

While most B family mss have սասկեցի (she shall be adorned), the oldest mss A₁ and F, along with N₂ maintain the form սասկիցի. It is not excluded that the form սասկեցի (I adorned), attested in C and many mss from the Agat'angelos group, is either a correction made by scribes or due to an accidental omission of the letter ս from սասկեցի. Given this situation I opted for a more 'intrusive' reconstruction of the text. First, I chose the form սասկիցի (attested in the oldest mss) and emended it to սասկիցի[ս], thus to the present subjunctive passive 3 p. pl. All other variants are provided in the apparatus.

9.3 I have included the lemma մեծն in the text-block թագուհին մեծն Աշխէն based on evidence from all other mss. It is omitted by the N group mss.

9.5 The variant ամբարիաւաճեա տեսիլս specific to the N group has been emended to ամբարիաւաճատեսիլս based on the evidence of other mss.

9.11 The N group-specific corrupt variant անըտել has been corrected to անընդել attested in all other mss.

9.14 The N group mss present a variant բարձրաբառս for բարձրաբարբառս due to haplography. The text is emended based on the evidence of all other mss.

11.4 In the following expression various verbal forms are attested: Երո՛ւկ, որ ղիպեցին/ըիպին/ըիպիցին/ըիպեցին ... Constantine makes a prophetic mourning: 'Woe to those who will happen to be (in those times)!' Given the context, the variants ըիպեցին (presumably in aorist indicative 3 p. pl., even though the classical form should have been ըիպեցան) and ըիպին (in present indicative 3 p. pl.) are not suitable. The latter form is attested in N group mss. Since the prophecy foretells a future event, it is likely that the verbal form used was either present subjunctive (or I future) or aorist subjunctive (or II future), e.g. either ըիպեցին or ըիպիցին. The emendation was based on the evidence of the oldest mss, such A₁F, as well as C and the variant ըիպ[եց]ին was placed in the base text.

11.5 Based on evidence from various mss the lemmata ւ աշխարհն are added to the text. This is discussed on p. 238 (of this Chapter).

12.4 The lemma նեխեալ, an obvious corruption found only in some N group mss, is replaced with նեղեալ attested in all other mss.

14.14 In the expression *ի վեր ի վիրապէն* the preposition *ի վեր* is found only in N₂. It has been removed from the text based on the evidence of other mss.

14.24 At this variation place there are several competing variants for a lemma within the following text-block: *վասն սպասահարկութեան սարտաւաց/սատարաց/սպասաւորաց(ն)/շիրիմացն սրբոցն*. The first variant, *սարտաւաց*, attested in all N group mss, as well as some within the F group (including ms F) is an un-identifiable word. Thus, despite the fact that the oldest mss N₉ and F share this variant, it is most likely a corruption of what is found in other A family mss, i.e. *սատարաց* (lit. *of auxiliaries*) and could be due to a misplacement of letters *ր* and *ւ*. A hypothetical reconstruction of this process of corruption would be *սատարաց* → *սարտարաց* → *սարտաւաց*. The variant *սատարաց* makes perfect sense in the given context. It is supported by mss A₁A and all the mss of the Agat'angelos group. Most likely the variant *շիրիմացն* (*of or for the graves*, attested in F₅ and its sister ms L) is a scribal correction to replace the incomprehensible *սարտաւաց*. Moreover, one could also hypothesise that the variant *սպասաւորաց(ն)* (*of servants [of the saints]*) found in the *E sub-sub group* and the *d sub-group* of the B family was a correction made by the scribe of the common ancestor of the B family, in order to replace the lemma *սարտաւաց*. This implies that the corruption entered some mss of the text of TD before the final bi-forcation between A and B families. It must be noted that the *D sub-sub group* omits a text-block which would include this lemma. Thus, it presents no variants for it. Nevertheless, it cannot be excluded that the B family mss variant *սպասաւորաց(ն)* is the 'original', even though it is less easy to explain on palaeographical grounds how *սպասաւորաց* was transformed to *սատարաց/ սարտաւաց*. Based on this reasoning, I emended the base text and placed the lemma *սատարաց* in this location.

16.7 The following lemmata (once, possibly only one lemma) present several problems of interpretation: *ի կուրտակս վեղենդի արա(ն)ցն*. Hypothetically this means 'on the helmets of the *silentarii*?' All lemmata here are hapaxes. According to NBH and HAB the word *կուրտակ* (which both dictionaries cite as *կորդակ*, a variant attested only in the *K sub-group* of the Agat'angelos group), refers to a type of a military helmet and derives from Greek *κόρυς* (gen. *κορύθους*). Presumably, it is used in TD in the Armenian diminutive form. No better hypothesis can be suggested in this study.

The next two lemmata—վեղենդի արա(ն)ցն (*velendi ara(n)c'n*)—are also corrupted and, according to HAB, probably derive from one lemma, e.g. վեղենդիարացն (*velendiarac'n*) in gen. pl., itself a corrupted form of Greek σιλεντιάριος. This interpretation is plausible in the light of evidence from the Lawcode of Mxit'ar Goš. Here the 'elendiark' (whose functions correspond to a Byzantine *silentarios*) are mentioned as the first rank of dignitaries at the royal palace.¹²³ According to T'orosyan, Mxit'ar was aware of and influenced by Byzantine court ceremonial. However, in the mss of the Lawcode the word եղենդիարք (*elendiark'*) is not found in this form, but in a rather corrupted version, such as եղեն դիարքն (*elen diwrk'n*). The version եղենդիարք (*elendiark'*) was a reconstruction proposed by Karst and accepted by T'orosyan¹²⁴ and HAB. It is interesting to note that also in TD's manuscript tradition (as in that of the Lawcode) a, hypothetically single, lemma was divided into two. Thence, some TD mss declined the second half արացն as արանցն, thus assuming that the lemma in question was առն (*man*). Another hypothesis to be suggested is what Ajarian discarded in HAB as an accidental similarity between *velendiar* and *valentior*. Yet, this last solution also needs to be considered, assuming that the lemmata վեղենդի արա(ն)ցն (*velendi ara(n)c'n*) are divided correctly. It is known that during the Cilician period the transformation of *l* to *l'* was usual (e.g. Baldwin became Baldin). But the transformation of the first *e* into *a* in the Armenian is not common. Thus, in this case, again, it remains only a hypothesis that *velendi* may have been a transliteration of an oblique case of Latin *valens* in the sense of *valiant*, *brave* referring to *aranc'n*, i.e. *of men*. Whatever the case, it is evident that many scribes took the word *velendi* to be a qualifying adjective of *aranc'n*. Lastly, the variant վեղեն դահացն (*velen dahacn'*) attested in the Agat'angelos group mss is too corrupted to be considered for the reconstruction of the original reading. I have translated the lemma with a generic term of *officials* but these complexities should be born in mind.

16.11 In N₂ there is sometimes confusion between u and q before q. The lemma uquլ was emended to qqալ based on evidence from other mss.

¹²³ MG 1965, 138 and 599–600 for the editor's comments. In the English translation Thomson also accepted this emendation and used the word *silentarii* MG 2000, 280.

¹²⁴ MG 1965, 599–600.

16.15 The following text-block is omitted by the N group mss but reconstructed in the base text based on the evidence of other mss: և գովեալ գումարքն գաղիոսեան.

18.4 չովխասզեստք is corrected to չովխազզեստք, attested in A₁F and numerous other mss.

18.5 սզեցցին is corrected to զզեցցին attested in A₁F and numerous other mss.

19.6 Many mss (including N₂) attest to an erroneous division of word boundaries in the following text-block: ըստ այսմս արարի. The version of N₂ (and other mss indicated in the apparatus) ըստ այսմ սարասի has been emended.

19.9 The following text-block, omitted in some A family mss, is added to the base text: և ալամանացոց և սպանիացոց. For a discussion cfr Chapter 3, pp. 238–239.

19.9–11 The following text-block poses problems of interpretation:

... ժողովեցի զամենայն արքեպիսկոպոսունս և զամենայն ուխտս եկեղեցոյ ի դուռն դռնաբացացս արքայութեան, ի պատուել/պատուեալ պա(շ)տգամս սրբոցս Պետրոսի պնետորի և Պաղոսի գլխափոխանիս Քրիստոսի

The lemma *պա(շ)տգամս* has many variants, with two possible meanings. The variants in question are:

պաշտգամս	N group mss, F ₃ F ₅ T
զպաշտգամս	F
պատշգամ	A _g
<i>an upper construction, upper niche but also bema, used in the sense of an altar</i>	
զպատգամս	AIy
omitted in ms B (and the entire <i>b</i> sub-sub group)	
զպատգամ	CbS ₁ E
<i>commandment, instruction</i>	

The lemma *պաշտգամ* or *պատշգամ* (NBH cites both spellings) means an upper room, a balcony or in some cases the atrium of a larger building. According to HAB this word is used by Lambronac'i to denote the *bema* of a church. The lemma *պաշտգամ/պատշգամ* is supported by most A family mss except for A and C, which, as can be seen above, agree with B family mss. Those B family mss which do not omit this lemma, on the other hand, read *զպատգամ(u)* (as do A and C from the A family), meaning *commandment, instruction, order*.

Three translations are possible depending on the variant chosen:

1. I assembled all archbishops and the entire covenant of the Church to the open doors of the Kingdom, *to venerate the altar/niche* of saints Peter, the *p̄retor*, and Paul, the successor of Christ.
2. I assembled all archbishops and the entire covenant of the Church to the open doors of the Kingdom, *to the venerated altar/niche* of saints Peter, the *p̄retor*, and Paul, the successor of Christ.
3. I assembled all archbishops and the entire covenant of the Church to the open doors of the Kingdom, *to venerate the orders/instructions* of saints Peter, the *p̄retor*, and Paul, the successor of Christ.¹²⁵

The context where the word is used does not help in finding an easy solution. The choice of any of the variants raises difficulties in understanding the meaning of the sentence in general. If one chooses the variant *quyauṇquuṇ(u)* (command, order), the overall sentence becomes problematic from the point of view of the ritual of ordinations. It indicates that the archbishops and the covenant of the Church assembled at the 'open door of the Kingdom', presumably at the Royal residence, to ordain St. Gregory as the Catholicos of the Armenians. This would mean that St. Gregory was ordained not in a church but in the imperial (or royal) palace at a special ceremony of 'open doors'. All mss of the *P sub-sub group* of the B family add 'heavenly' to the 'doors of kingship', resulting in 'doors of heavenly kingship' which would change the meaning of the sentence completely. Since the *b sub-sub group* of the same sub-group has a deficient text here, one cannot determine whether this reading was supported by the forefather of the *D_g sub-group* and hypothesise that even the archetypus of all manuscripts had this reading. All that can be said is that one sub-sub group probably tried to emend the sentence. Thus, the choice of the variant *quyauṇquuṇ(u)* implies that the ordination of St. Gregory was based on the instructions of Peter and Paul but the location of the ordination remains obscure.

If, however, one chooses the reading *uyauṇṇquuṇ*, then, another interpretation can be proposed. The word *uyauṇṇquuṇ* could refer to an altar dedicated to Sts. Peter and Paul (supposedly in the royal palace) and everyone assembled there to ordain St. Gregory. Moreover, the mss of Agat'angelos family, A₁, F₃ and some N mss (N–N₆) use the participle *uyauṇṇuṇuṇ* which would change the meaning of the sentence as:

¹²⁵ For the unusual appellations of Peter and Paul in this sentence, cfr notes to the translation.

‘assembled ... to the *venerated altar* of Sts. Peter and Paul’. Stretching this interpretation even further one can imagine this to be a reference to some kind of a chapel dedicated to these saints where the ordination of St. Gregory took place. The choice of *սխառնական*, thus, would make more sense when ordaining a catholicos and one can explain the presence of *սխառնական* by assuming that the letter *ռ* was erroneously omitted during the text transmission within the B family. The variant of the A family (found in N₂) has not been emended.

The lemma *սխառնական/սխառնական* appears again at 21.20, always in a somewhat garbled sentence, which states that ‘splendid and magnificent preparations’ were donated to the *սխառնականաց* (vestibules? atriums? balconies?) of a convent dedicated to St. Hrip’simē and her companions. In this case the lemma clearly has the meaning of a specific architectural unit within the convent for the adornment of which gifts were sent. In this location (i.e. 21.20) only one manuscript has corrupted the word to *սխառնականացն* (the orders, admonitions, etc. in ms I).

Thus, I have maintained the variant *սխառնական* at 19.9–11, as found in the base ms.

19.25–26 In a clearly hortative clause ... *հայոց հայրապետն ձեռնադրեց* (the Armenian patriarch shall ordain ...) many A family mss use the same verb in present indicative 3 p. s, i.e. *ձեռնադրել*. I have emended the text based on the testimony of all B family mss, as well as A₁C and all the F family mss.

19.27 In the expression *յրնդհանուր աշխարհ* the last lemma appears as *աշխարհք* (in nominative plural) in the N group mss and F₃ which is erroneous. B_{g2} group mss along with F and C attest *աշխարհ*, other A family mss and ms γ (B family) only *աշխարհ*, while the Agat’angelos group has *աշխարհաց*. I have emended the lemma to *աշխարհ*.

19.31 For the same reasons as 19.25–26 the same emendation is made.

21.11–12 The following text-block is added based on discussion in Chapter 3, pp. 239–240: *և զահեակ ձեռն Անդրէի առաքելոյն*.

25.4 The infinitive forms *մականգրել*, *կնքել* և *ստորագրել* found in the base ms are replaced with the aorist participle forms of the same verbs based on the evidence from all other mss and syntactical requirements.

Symbols Used in the Base Text

[]	emendation/reconstruction of a lemma/letter(s)
< >	reconstruction of a lemma or a text-block not present in the base ms

Symbols Used in the First Apparatus

+	addition of a letter/lemma/text-block exactly after the given lemma
f.	the final letter of the given lemma
f. om	the final letter of the given lemma is omitted in a given ms
f. letter	the final letter of the given lemma is different and corresponds to the one that appears after 'f', e.g. if the base text has the variants $\omega\pi\pi\omega\gamma$ and the apparatus reads $\omega\pi\pi\omega\gamma$] f. ι A, this means that ms A reads $\omega\pi\pi\omega\iota$ instead of $\omega\pi\pi\omega\gamma$.
f. + letter	another letter (which is given) is added to the last letter of the given lemma, e.g. if the base text has the variant $\omega\pi\pi\omega\gamma$ the apparatus reads $\omega\pi\pi\omega\gamma$] f. + ι A, this means that ms A reads $\omega\pi\pi\omega\gamma\iota$ instead of $\omega\pi\pi\omega\gamma$.
i.	the initial letter of the given lemma
i. om	the initial letter of the given lemma is omitted in a given ms
i. letter	the initial letter of the given lemma is different and corresponds to the one that appears after 'i'.
i. + letter ant	another letter is added before the initial letter of the given lemma preposition/conjunction before the given lemma, e.g. if apparatus reads $\omega\pi\pi\omega\gamma\iota$] om η_{ant} A, this means the preposition η which appears in the base text is omitted in ms A.
om	omission
omt lemma	the text-block between the given lemma (which is repeated in the apparatus) and the lemma that appears after 'omt' in the apparatus is omitted in the given ms. This means that the first omitted lemma is what appears immediately after the lemma of the base text which is repeated in the apparatus. When the omitted text-block is of more than 2 lines the section and line number of the first lemma that follows is also provided. E.g. omt 8.14 $\omega\pi\pi\omega\iota\kappa\omega\iota\omega\gamma\iota$ A, means that the text-block starting immediately after the given lemma until the lemma $\omega\pi\pi\omega\iota\kappa\omega\iota\omega\gamma\iota$ of Section 8 line 14 is omitted in ms A. The lemma $\omega\pi\pi\omega\iota\kappa\omega\iota\omega\gamma\iota$ is the next lemma that appears in A after the given lemma.
[...]	the lemma is illegible in the given ms. When only part of the lemma can be read, that part appears before or after [...], depending on which part is legible.
[...] a lemma	the text block between the given lemma, repeated in the apparatus (starting with the lemma that immediately follows the repeated lemma) and the lemma that appears after [...] is illegible in a given ms. The first lemma that is legible is the one that

	appears after [...]. When the illegible text-block is of more than 2 lines the section and line number of the next legible lemma is also provided. E.g. [...] 8.14 փախկաւայն A means that the text-block starting immediately after the lemma repeated in the apparatus and the lemma փախկաւայն of Section 8 line 14 is illegible in ms A.
ditt	dittography
des	end of a given ms (the repeated lemma is the last)
incipit	in the given ms the text starts with the lemma given in the apparatus
(?)	the variant is not clearly legible

Symbols Used in the Second Apparatus

The purpose of this apparatus is to provide various scribal features, e.g. corrections, marginal notes, etc.

i.	correction/erasure of the first letter
f.	correction/erasure of the last letter
corr	correction is introduced
1 ⁰ , 2 ⁰ , etc. letter corr letter	The first, second, etc. letter of the given lemma is corrected to another letter provided after 'corr'
ras	a letter/lemma/etc. is erased
1 ⁰ , 2 ⁰ , etc. letter ras letter	a given letter is erased and replaced with another letter which appears after 'ras'
{...}	letters/lemma in {} are/is reconstructed
[...]	letters/lemma in [] appear(s) in the text and are/is given in the apparatus for clarifying the exact location of the variant
→	followed by
+ lemma/text-block L ^A	the given lemma/text-block was omitted and added later by the same hand (unless otherwise specified) above line
+ lemma/text-block L ^B	same as above but below line;
	In both cases, when the lemma omitted and added above or below line is a small word which appears more than once on a given line, the next lemma is also provided for clarity, placed in square brackets. E.g. + ւ L ^A [ախկաւին] F ₃ means that only ւ is added above line and [ախկաւին] is provided for clarifying the exact location of the addition.
lemma + 1 ⁰ , 2 ⁰ etc. letter(s) w ^A :	an addition is introduced above the given lemma after the specified letter (first, second, etc.), e.g. letters or lemmata originally omitted are added above the given word.

	For example, $\text{մէտսւաւք} + 3^0 \text{ւք } w^A$ A means that instead of մէտսւքսւաւք ms A reads մէտսւաւք but the scribe added ւք for correction above the third letter of մէտսւաւք , thus correcting it to մէտսւքսւաւք ;
lemma + $1^0, 2^0$ etc. letter(s) w^B :	same as above, but the correction is introduced below the given word;
+ letter/lemma/text-block mg^L :	a correction or addition is introduced in the left margin, e.g. letters, lemmata or a text-block originally omitted are added in the left margin or any text-block (such as a gloss) is added in the left margin;
+ letter/lemma/text-block mg^R :	same as above but for the right margin;
+ letter/lemma/text-block mg^U :	same as above but for the upper margin;
+ letter/lemma/text-block mg^B :	same as above, but for the bottom margin.

STEMMAS OF MANUSCRIPT RELATIONSHIPS

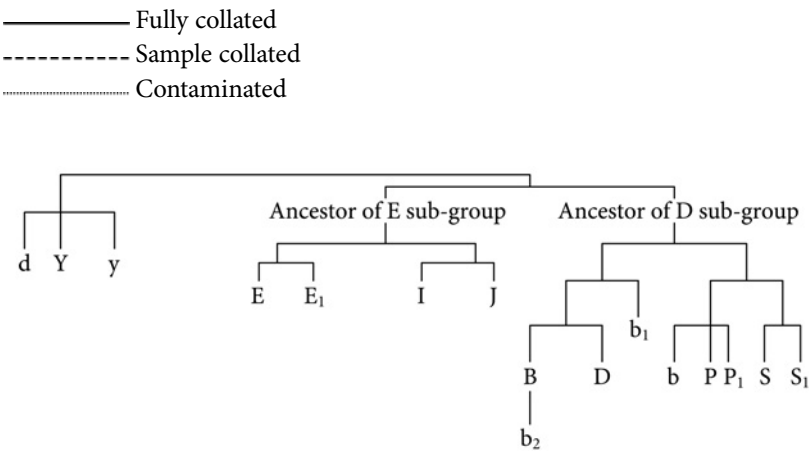


Fig. 1.1 Chain of B family mss

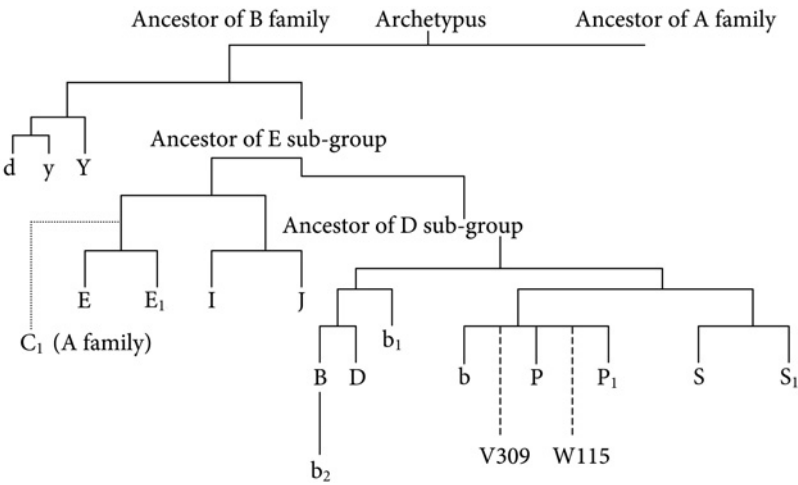


Fig. 1.2 Stemma of B family mss

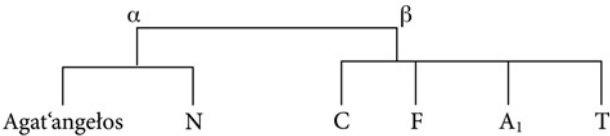


Fig. 2.1 Chain of A family mss according to group ancestors.

α = hypothetical intermediate node 1
 β = hypothetical intermediate node 2

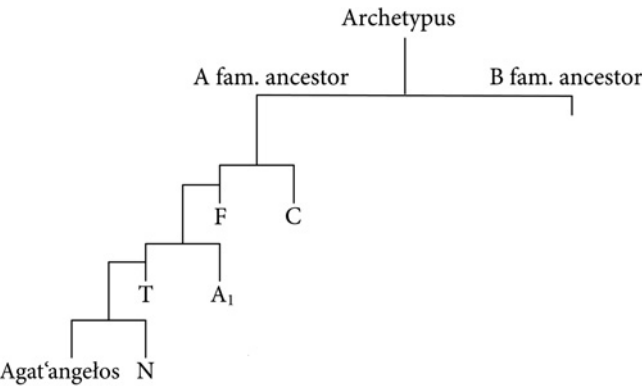


Fig. 2.2 Stemma of A family mss according to group ancestors.

NB: The letters stand for the respective ancestors of each group (e.g. N = ancestor of the N group). A₁ is not a true group because it has no sister ms. C includes C and C₁ only partially.

- Agat'angelos group: gg₁g₂g₄KK₁K₂K₃MM₁M₂mUU₁
C group: CC₁(partially)
F group: FF₁F₂F₃F₄F₅L
N group: NN₁N₂N₃N₄N₅N₆N₇(partially)N₈(?)N₉
T group: ATT₁T₂ (?)

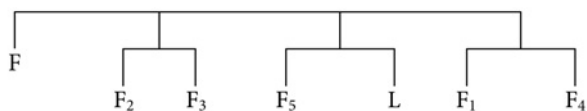


Fig. 3.1 Chain of F group mss

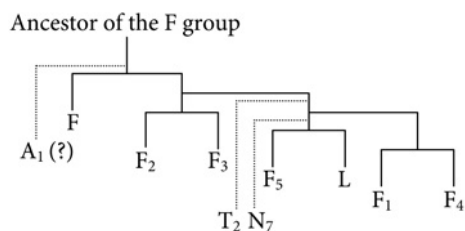


Fig. 3.2 Stemma of F group mss

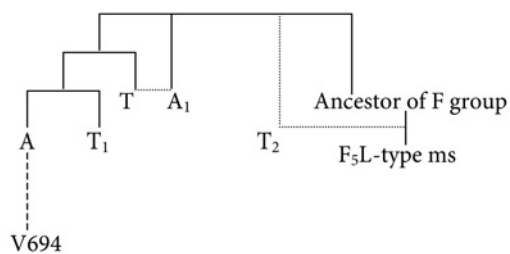
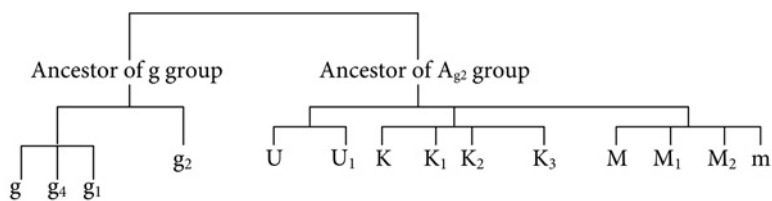
Fig. 4.1 Chain of T group mss and A₁

Fig. 5.1 Chain of Agat'angelos group mss

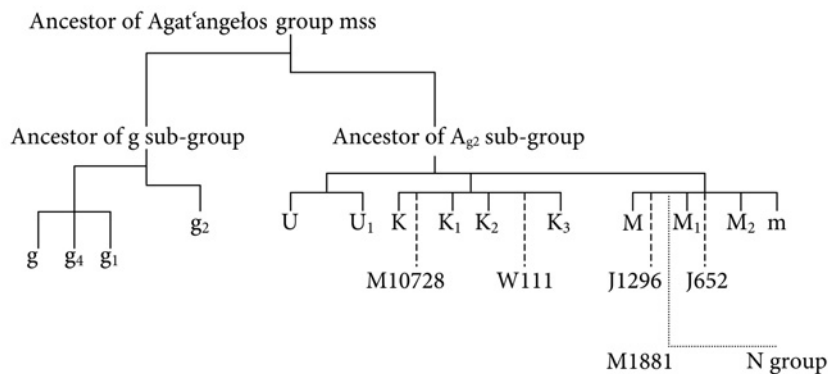


Fig. 5.2 Stemma of Agat'angelos group mss

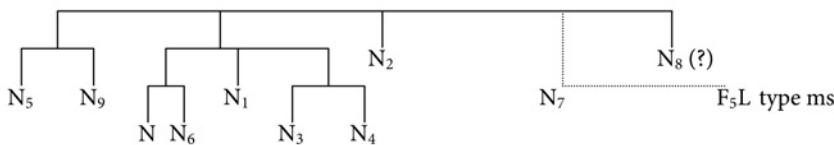


Fig. 6.1 Chain of N group mss

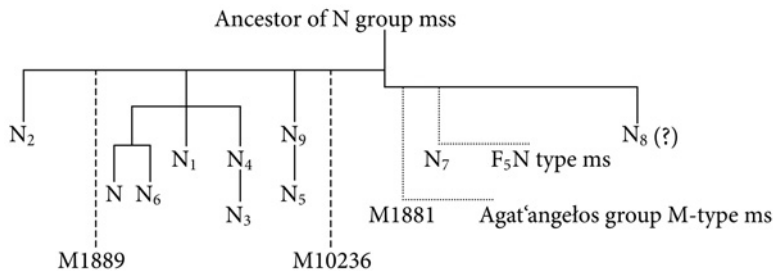


Fig. 6.2 Stemma of N group mss

THE *LETTER OF LOVE AND CONCORD*

(Armenian and English)

331^r Թուրթ սիրոյ և միաբանութեան մեծի կայսերն Կոստանդիանոսի և սուրբ պապուն Սեդրեստրոսի և Տրդատայ՝ հայոց արքայի, և սրբոյն Գրիգորի՝ հայոց Լուսաւորչի

1. Կամաք և կարողութեամբ համագոյ Սուրբ Երրորդութեան՝ Հաւր անհասի և անխմանալոյ, և Միածնի Որդւոյ նորա՝ Տեառն մերոյ և Փրկչին Յիսուսի Քրիստոսի, և կենդանարար և ազատիչ Սուրբ Հոգւոյն: Այս կտակ կայսերական, Աստուծով հաստատուն և անփոխադրական, որ զծագրեցաւ հզար հրամանաւ ինքնակալ և մշտայադթ կայսեր Կոստանդիանոսի 5 Մեծի և աւգոստոսափառ թագաւորաց թագաւորի տիեզերատարած և աշխարհաճաւալ, խրոխտ և անխոնարհելի իշխանութեանս հռոմայեցոց,

1 Թուրթ] գիր AT թուխթ BgM₂mN₉ թուխտ F₅ 1 մեծի] f. + ն F₃F₅ 1 կայսերն] om F₃F₅ f. om T 1 Կոստանդիանոսի] + կայսերն F₅ 1 սուրբ] սրբոյն B om C 2 պապուն] om B պապին F₃F₅y հայրապետիս T 2 Սեդրեստրոսի] սեղաւտրոսի F₃ սեղրեստրիոս I 2 Տրդատայ] տրտատայ B 2 հայոց] f. + u AT om y 2 արքայի] f. + ն AbEF₅S₁ արագի F₃ թագաւորին y 2 և] om C 2-3 սրբոյն Գրիգորի հայոց Լուսաւորչի] + և սուրբ հայրապետին b + հայոց F₅ սուրբ լուսաւորչին գրիկ[ո]րի g գտուրբ լուսաւորչին գրիգորի K սուրբ լուսաւորչին գրիգորի M₂m + և սուրբ հայրապետին որ ի վաղարշապատ սուրբ Էջմիածինն S₁ սրբոյն գրիգորի y 3 հայոց] om AF₅T 3 Լուսաւորչի] f. + ն ATF₃F₅ 1.1 կարողութեամբ] ողորմութեամբ D_gEy ողորմութիւն I 1 Երրորդութեան] + հօր և որդւոյ և սուրբ հոգւոյն g_gM₂m + հօր և որդւոյ և հոգւոյն սրբոյ K 1 Հաւր] f. + ն I 2 անհասի] f. + ն F₃F₅S₁ 2 և] om y 2 անխմանալոյ] անխմանալի B_{g2} f. + ն F₅ 2 Միածնի] միածնոյ T 2 Միածնի Որդւոյ նորա] որդոյ միածնի BEy որդոյ նորա միածնի bS₁ որդոյն միածնի I 2 և Փրկչին] om B_g 3 Հոգւոյն] + ամէն A_gbF₅ f. om y 3 Այս] + մեր B_gC + է մեր S₁ 3 կտակ] f. + u F₃y 4 որ] և B_g 4 զծագրեցաւ] զձագրեցաւ F₃ գործեցաւ g 5 հզար] + ինքնակալ C ditt E յաղթող F₃ 5 հզար հրամանաւ] հրամանաւ հզօր և F₅ 5 մշտայադթ] միշտ հզօր F₃ միշտ յաղթող F₅ 5 կայսեր] f. + u FF₃ 5 Կոստանդիանոսի] Կոստանդիանոսի E 6 Մեծի] f. է F₅ f. om KM₂my 6 աւգոստոսափառ] աւգոստափառ ABbEF₅Ty ոգոստափառ C օգոստոսայ փառաց F₃ 6 թագաւորի] f. ն F₃ 6 տիեզերատարած] տիեզերաճագ B_g 7 աշխարհաճաւալ] աշխարհակալ A_g 7 խրոխտ] om C խորոխտ F₃ խրոխտ y 7 իշխանութեանս] i. + j b f. om E 7 հռոմայեցոց] հռոմայեցոց bEF₃F₅S₁ հռովմայեցոց C հռովմայեցոց g_gK_gM₂mN₂ հռոմայեցոց I

1 Կոստանդի + անոսի m^L b 3 + վ{ա}ս{ն} գնալոյ Տրդատայ և սբ Լուսաւորչին ի ստմբաւ և միաբանեցան with a different *notrgir* hand mg^B N₉ 3 + միաբան{ու}թե{ան} գիրն mg^B F 3 + Agathangelos mg^R A 1.1-7 repeats twice, the same hand, no variations C 4 կասերական + 2⁰ j w^A N₉; հատատուն + 2⁰ u w^A T 5 կոստանդիանոսի crossed out 9⁰ ն C

Letter of Love and Concord between the Great Emperor Constantine and the Holy Pope Sylvester and Trdat, King of the Armenians, and St. Gregory, the Illuminator of the Armenians¹

1. With the will and power² of the co-essential Holy Trinity—the unreachable and unknowable Father, his Only Begotten son, our Lord and saviour Jesus Christ, and the life-giving and liberating Holy Spirit. This [is] an imperial testament, confirmed and made unchangeable by God, which was written by the mighty order of [myself], the autokrator and always victorious Emperor Constantine the Great, the augustly glorious King of Kings of the universal³ and world-wide, superb and

¹ I have used standard English versions for commonly known names, such as Constantine, Sylvester, Gregory, St. James, David, etc. For specifically Armenian names (except for Gregory), or those names which have idiosyncratic forms in this text or are not commonly known, I use their Armenian transcription, e.g. Mak'sintēs, Ašxen, etc.

² All B family mss have *mercy* instead.

³ While the A family has a word which literally signifies 'spread in the whole universe', the B family's variant literally means 'untill the edges of the universe'.

որ զարութեամբ ճշմարտին Աստուծոյ տիրեմ տիեզերաց, ի ծագաց ովկիանոսի՝ ահագին ծովուս, մինչև յելս արևու, յաղթող զարութեամբ պարծանաց խաչիս Քրիստոսի:

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2. Այսպէս և ստորագրեցաւ հրովարտակս հրամանաւ իմով՝ մեծի պապուս հռոմայեցոց Եւսեբիոսի, որ և Սեղբեստրոս, աթոռակալի գլխաւորաց առաքելոցս՝ սրբոց Պետրոսի և Պաւլոսի, որ երկնաւոր և երկրաւոր

8 տիրեմ] om A_{g2} տիրեն F_5 9 ովկիանոսի] f. է F_3F_5 i. + j F_5 9 ահագին] i. + j I 9 ծովուս] ծովէս F_3F_5 f. om $g_gK_gM_2m$ 9 մինչև] f. om C մեծ և y 9 յելս] + ի_{ant} $AA_1BbCF_3F_5N_2N_9y$ i. om EF_3 10 խաչիս] f. ն A_gy 2.1 Այսպէս և] սապէս AT սա ապէս և CF սայապէս և D_gEN_2 սայսպէս և F_3 սապէս և F_5 սայ այսպէս և Iy սայապէս N_9 1 ստորագրեցաւ] f. p F_3F_5 1 հրովարտակս] om b հրովարտաքս EF_3 1 իմով] + հրովարտակս b om C 1 պապուս] պապոյս $B_{g2}F_5$ 2 հռոմայեցոց] հռովմայեցոց $B_gKM_2mN_2$ հռոմայեցոց b ES_1 հռովմայեցոց CI հռոմայ F_3 հռոմայ F_5 հռովմացս y 2 Եւսեբիոսի] f. om b S_1 ևսեբիոսի E ևսեպիոս F_3 om F_5 2 որ] om F_5 2 Սեղբեստրոս] սեղբեստրոսի E f. + ի F_5 սեղբեստրիոս I սեղբե[...] T 2 աթոռակալի] f. + u F_5 f. om T 2 գլխաւորաց] գլխաւոր B_gF_5 + ի_{ant} F_3 3 առաքելոցս] f. ն $A_gEF_3F_5$ 3 սրբոց] om AA_gB_g omt որ C սրբոյն F_3 3 որ] om E + և F_3 3 երկնաւոր և երկրաւոր] երկրաւոր և երկնաւոր gK_gM_2m 3 երկրաւոր] երկրաւորաց F_3

3 + ա{ռա}ք{է}լ{ոց}ն պ{է}տրոսի և պօղոսի որ երկնաւոր $m^L K$

unbending dominion of the Romans, who with the power of the true God dominates⁴ the universe, from the edges of the great sea—the Ocean—until the point where the sun rises, victorious with the power of the Cross of the glory of Christ.

2. And⁵ thus, this edict was signed by my order, the great Pope of the Romans, Eusebius, who is also Sylvester,⁶ the holder of the chair of the chief apostles, Saints Peter and Paul,⁷ who with earthly and heavenly

⁴ This Section is narrated in the first person singular; the narrator is Constantine. Some of the expressions used to qualify Constantine, such as ‘always victorious’ or ‘augustly glorious’, as well as the reference to the universal domain of the Romans, are reminiscent of *Constitutum Constantini*, CC 1968, 56.5–6 and 57. 10–11: ‘victor ac triumphator, semper augustus’ and ‘imperialem constitutionem subiectis in universo orbe terrarum ...’.

⁵ In this Section the narration is still in the first person singular but the narrator is now Sylvester/Eusebius.

⁶ The author of TD attempted to reconcile diverse traditions related to Constantine the Great: one focused on his baptism in Rome by Pope Sylvester (about which he could read in the *Vita Silvestri* but also in the CC) and the other, historically more accurate one, on his relationship with and eventual baptism by Eusebius of Nicomedia. Moreover, the name Eusebius is found in Agat’angelos as the bishop who meets Trdat and Gregory when they arrive in Rome. Aa §875 and Vg §182.2 (Garitte 1946, p. 110). Among later historians it is repeated also by Uxtanēs, who specifically mentions the alliance between Trdat and Constantine, and Eusebius and Gregory. Cfr Uxtanēs 1871, 106–107. Bartikian thinks that the name Eusebius refers to the bishop of Nicomedia and can serve for determining the *terminus ante quem* of the ‘original core’ of TD, that is before 318 (the date when Eusebius became bishop of Nicomedia). Cfr Bartikian 2004, 93–95. However, there is a general tendency in TD to harmonise traditions of diverse origins related to the four main ‘actors’ of this covenant, as well as other historical or legendary characters related to them, such as Saints Hrip’simē, Nino, etc. The ‘identification’ of Eusebius with Sylvester is the first among many such examples. Confronted with the names of two Bishops—Eusebius and Sylvester—who were or could have been in Rome (in the case of Sylvester as the Bishop of Rome) during the visit of Trdat and Gregory there, he resolved the problem by presenting the two names as referring to one and the same person. The name of Eusebius can be explained based on TD’s author’s sources and does not have to stem from a fourth century ‘original core’.

⁷ While the concept that the Pope was the holder of the Chair of St. Peter, along with that of the Petrine primacy, was especially solidified in the eleventh century, the idea that the Pope was the successor of both Apostles Peter and Paul was developed throughout the twelfth century. A certain Byzantine influence is also possible in TD, since according to it the two apostles were held in the same high esteem in an anti-Roman and anti-Petrine key. Cfr Chapter 2, pp. 92–93 for a more detailed discussion. The idea that Sylvester was the successor of the Apostles Peter and Paul is found also in *Vita Silvestri*, SSEH 692 and the vision of Apostles Peter and Paul who appear to Constantine the Great is a major theme in CC. In one of his poems dedicated to St. Hrip’simē, Nersēs Šnorhali also refers to Apostles Peter and Paul together as two apostles of Rome. Cfr NS 1928, 512, 513.

331^v քանալեալքդ ունիմ իշխանութիւն յարևմտից մինչև յարևելս, ի վերայ ամենայն ազգաց և ազանց և լեզուաց քրիստոսադաւանից, կապող | և 5 արձակող յերկինս և յերկրի, և հրամանահան հզաւր յընդհանուր եկեղեցիս Քրիստոսի:

3. Ուստի ի հրաւիրմանէ Հոգւոյն Սրբոյ հասին առ մեզ [ի]զաւրքն հայոց՝ մեծն Յովհաննէս, որ և Տրդատէս արքայ հայոց, և կենդանի վկայն Քրիստոսի և մեծ խոստովանողն, սրբազնակատար կաթողիկոսն, տէր սուրբ Գրիգոր Լուսաւորիչն ամենայն արևելից և հիւսիսոյ, սիրելի եղբարքս մեր ի Քրիստոս և բուն բարեկամքս բարձրագահ իշխանութեանս մերոյ և հաւա- 5 տարիմ հազարապետքս խորին խորհրդոց մերոց, ժառանգակալք աշխարհակալ և տիեզերասաստ արքայից արքայութեան Արշակունեաց:

4 քանալեալքդ] f. u AbCEF₃F₅IT f. om A_g քանալաւքս B f. u F բնաւօքս γ 4 ունիմ] f. + p F₃F₅ 4 յարևմտից] i. om F₅ 4 յարևմտից մինչև յարևելս] յարևելից մինչև ի մուտս F₃ յարևելս γ 4 յարևելս] i. om AIK 5 ազգաց] omt քրիստոսադաւանից A_g ազգեաց F₃ 5 և ազանց] om C 5 քրիստոսադաւանից] քրիստոսադաւանաց b 6 յերկինս] + ի_{ant} AA₁BbEFF₃gKM₂mN₂N₉Ty 6 յերկրի] + ի_{ant} AA₁BbEFF₃gKM₂N₂ i. om S₁ 6 հրամանահան] + և T 6 հրամանահան հզաւր] հզօր հրամանահան bS₁ 6 յընդհանուր] յընթիւնուր ABbEgM₂mN₂N₉ յընթանուր CIKTy i. om F₅ 6 եկեղեցիս] i. + j BFF₅mT 3.1 Ուստի] + և A_gFF₃F₅ i. ա γ 1 հրաւիրմանէ] om ի_{ant} F₃S₁ հրամանէ T 1 Հոգւոյն Սրբոյ] սուրբ հոգւոյն B_g 1 հասին] հազին F₃ 1 [ի]զաւրքն] զաւրքն AA₁K_gM₂mN₂N₉T f. om CFF₃ 1 հայոց] omt և կենդանի A_g2 f. + և F₃ 2 Յովհաննէս] յոհաննէս AbCEFIT յոհանէս BCy ռհանէս F₃ յովաննէս F₅g 2 և] է B 2 Տրդատէս] տրտատ B f. + u E 2 արքայ] f. + և F₃ om g_g 2 կենդանի] om I 3 խոստովանողն] խոստովանողսն E omt տէր FF₃ 3 սրբազնակատար] սրբասնակատար bS₁ 3 կաթողիկոսն] կաթողիկոսն BCEg 3 սուրբ] om FF₃ 4 Լուսաւորիչն] f. om γ 4 ամենայն] i. + j F₃ 4 արևելից] i. + j K 4 և] + ի F₃ 4 հիւսիսոյ] հիւսւսոյ ACFIM₂ հիւսւսոյ Bmy հիւսիւսոյ gE 4 եղբարքս] f. om CFF₃T եղբայրքս EF₅K 4-5 ի Քրիստոս] om F₅ om ի_{ant} I 5 բարեկամքս] Incipit A₁ 5 բարձրագահ] բարձագահ M₂m 5 մերոյ] omt ժառանգակալքս A 5 և] om B_g 6 հազարապետքս] հազարապետս F₅ 6 խորին] om FF₃F₅ 6 ժառանգակալք] f. + u AA_gCFTy f. om B_g2 ժառանկակալքս F₃ ժառանգակալս F₅ ժառանկակալ I 6-7 աշխար[ի]ակալ] om B_g2 + տիեզերակալ և F₃F₅ աշխարակալ N₂N₉ 7 արքայից] f. + η F₃F₅ 7 արքայութեան] f. + և C 7 Արշակունեաց] f. + η F₃F₅

keys has authority from West to East, over all nations and peoples and languages who profess Christ, to bind and loose on earth and on heaven and to command the powerful and universal Church of Christ.⁸

3. Thus,⁹ by the invitation of the Holy Spirit, the mighty¹⁰ Armenians—the great Yovhannēs, who is also Trdatēs,¹¹ King of the Armenians, and the living martyr of Christ¹² and the great confessor, perfect in holiness, Catholicos lord St. Gregory, the Illuminator of the entire East and the North, our dear brothers in Christ and true friends of our lofty power, loyal generals of our deepest secrets, heirs of the kings of the Kingdom of the Aršakunis who held the world and tamed the universe—reached us.¹³

⁸ The reference to Mat. 16.19: ‘Tibi dabo claves regni caelorum, etc.’ is found in CC. That the Pope held the heavenly and the earthly keys as the successor of Apostle Peter was a well-developed concept in the Roman Church by the eleventh century. This papal prerogative is specifically mentioned in two extant papal letters addressed to the Armenian catholicos, i.e. by Lucius III writing to Grigor Tlay in 1184 (Ananian 1996, 215) and by Pope Innocent III to Catholicos Grigor Apirat in 1199 (Haluščynskij 1946, 199). A further similarity with CC in this section is the reference to the Pope as the commander of the universal Church of Christ.

⁹ The narration is in the first person plural. While the narrators can be both Constantine and Sylvester together, it is more likely that it is Constantine alone and that *pluralis majestatis* is employed. That the narrator is Constantine becomes clear in Section 5 when he tells that an imperial edict was issued at his command.

¹⁰ Almost all A family mss have *the army of the Armenians*. I have emended the base text here. For discussion cfr Chapter 3, pp. 237–238.

¹¹ To my knowledge the only other source which mentions the name Yovhannēs in connection to King Trdat is the Third Recension of PA. Here it is clarified that Yovhannēs was the name that King Trdat received at his baptism. Cfr ms M2270, 179^v.

¹² St. Gregory is named ‘martyr’ in Vg 174.3 (Garitte 1946, 106) and ‘martyr of Christ’ in Aa §876 on the occasion of his visit to Rome.

¹³ These honorific titles, read in the light of what Constantine had to say about his own universal rule, provide a backdrop where the Armenian King Trdat looks no less powerful than the Roman Emperor and the Armenian catholicos St. Gregory the Illuminator, no less holy than his Roman ‘colleague’ St. Sylvester. The word ‘brother’ in relation to Trdat will be repeated more than once in the text and on one occasion in its Old French form *frère*. Bartikian 2004, 105–106 rightly suggests that this should be read as a technical term, denoting the relationship of equality between the Roman Emperor and the Armenian King. While I fully agree with this suggestion, the appearance of such a technical term in this text can hardly be used as proof that the text’s original core goes back to the fourth century, since the same terminology was used in the Byzantine Empire (as Bartikian himself cites) and an author living in Cilicia would easily know of such an important aspect of political ideology still valid for his time.

4. Ժամանեցին ի տեսութիւն տեղոյս տէրունական տանս արևմտեան և արևելաժառանգ սրբոց և զլիաւորաց առաքելոցս, և փոխանորդի սոցա՝ պատուեալ պապիս պերճապսակ, և կայսերս նորընծայ ի հաւատս Քրիստոսի Աստուծոյ, և մեծի ղշխոյիս Հեղինէի, հզար թագուհոյս, և ծիրանածին զարդու զաւակաց զաւրացելոյս: Ընդ որս հրճուեալ՝ բերկրեցաւ 5 Աստուածահաստատ թագաւորութիւնս մեր, և մեծահանդէս հանդերձանաք՝ ելաք ընդ առաջ Այրարատեան թագաւորութեան և Ազքանագեան գնդին: Եւ պատահեալ միմեանց՝ երկրպագութիւն մատուցաք անմահ արքային մերոյ Յիսուսի Քրիստոսի: Եւ ողջունեալ զմիմեանս՝ դարձաք ի 332^բ վկայարանս սուրբ առաքելոցս, և երկրպագեցաք Աստուածամուխ սուրբ | 10 նշխարաց սոցա, փառաւորելով զՔրիստոս՝ զպսակիչն սրբոց: Եւ եկեալ ի պաղատն պանծալի՝ բազմեցաք արքայքս ի միում բարձրաբերձ

4.1 տանս] տանոյ E 2 արևելաժառանգ] արևաժառանգ By արևելեան ժառանգ F₃F₅ արևելան ժառանգ g 2 և] om S₁ 2 զլիաւորաց] զլաւորաց B զլիաւոր F₅ 2 առաքելոցս] f. տ I f. om my 2 փոխանորդի] փոխանակ որդո F₃ փոխանորդաց F₅ 2 սոցա] om F₅ 3 պատուեալ] պատուելի A_g պատուել y 3 պապիս] պապոյս D_gE պապուս I 3 պերճապսակ] պերճապակաս I 3 և] om A₁ 3 նորընծայ] նորընծայ Ig [...] N₉ 3-4 Քրիստոսի] f. om ABEK 4 Աստուծոյ] om CT + մերոյ F₅ 4 ղշխոյիս] ղշխոհիս F₅y 4 Հեղինէի] հելինէ A₁ հեղինեայ A_g հեղինէ EF₃ հեղինեա F₅ 4 թագուհոյս] omt հրճուեալ C 4-5 ծիրանածին] ծիրածին F₃ 5 զարդու] զարթու T 5 զաւրացելոյս] զաւրացելոցս bEF₃F₅IS₁ 5 որս] f. om B_g + հոյժ E 5 հրճուեալ բերկրեցաւ] բերկրեալ հրճուեցաւ y 6 թագաւորութիւնս] f. om F₃F₅ 6 մեր] om FF₃F₅ 7 ելաք] ելեաք B 7 առաջ] i. + j bF₅gIKM₂mTy 7 Այրարատեան] արարատեան F₅ այրատեան I 7 Ազքանագեան] ազգանագեան AF ազքանագան B ազգագան F₃ ազքագեան F₅ ազգքանագեան I այսքանագան K ասքանագեան M₂m ազանգան T 8 գնդին] գնտին E 8 Եւ] om B_g 8 մատուցաք] omt աստուածամուխ y 9 արքային] թագաւորին y 9 ողջունեալ] f. + p ACD_gIy 10 վկայարանս] f. om CFF₃ 10 առաքելոցս] f. ն I f. om N₉ 11 նշխարաց] f. + u B_g 12 պաղատն] պաղտան F₃ պալատն F₅S₁ 12 պանծալի] պանձալի B 12 բազմեցաք] բազմեցայք E 12 ի միում] իմում F₃T + բարձի և y 12 բարձրաբերձ] բարձիաբերձ C գերահրաշ F₃ բարձաբերձ F₅ բարձրայ բերձ I

5 զաւրացելոյս 10⁰ j corr g w^A I 7 ազգագան + 3⁰ ն w^A T 8 պատահալ + 5⁰ ե w^A T 10 աստուածամուխ + 11⁰ ղ w^B E 12 պանալի + 3⁰ ծ w^A g

4. They arrived to visit the church¹⁴ of the saints—whom East and West inherited—and of the chief Apostles,¹⁵ as well as their successor, the splendidly crowned honourable Pope, and the Emperor, newly converted to the faith of Christ the God,¹⁶ the powerful, great Queen Helen, and the purple-born, marvellous children of the potent [Emperor]. With them, our God-strengthened Kingdom rejoiced with happiness and we went out with great and lavish preparations to meet [those of] the Kingdom of Ayrarat and the army of Ashkenaz.¹⁷ When we met each other we gave glory to our immortal King, Jesus Christ, and greeted each other. Then we went to the Martyrion of the Holy Apostles,¹⁸ and worshipped their holy relics permeated with divinity, giving glory to Christ who crowns all saints. [Then], coming to the magnificent palace, we the Kings

¹⁴ The Armenian version literally reads ‘the place of the House of the Lord’ which denotes a church. I have used the latter, common term in order for the translation to flow smoother. The sentence is somewhat ambiguous. First of all, grammatically it is clear that the Armenian contingent went to Rome to visit only one church. Given this, it must be assumed that the ‘saints whom both East and West inherited’ is not a general reference to some un-named saints (to whom a church was dedicated), but must refer to the ‘chief apostles’, and the church was also dedicated to the ‘chief apostles’. If this interpretation is correct, then the church in question can only be the Basilica of St. Peter in Rome (presently in the Vatican). Since the author implies that it was the church of both ‘chief Apostles’, then he must have known about newly emerging Roman traditions (from the twelfth century on) and about the belief that the relics of both Peter and Paul were kept at the Basilica of St. Peter. For a more detailed discussion cfr Chapter 2, pp. 57–58. According to Vg Trdat and Gregory went to the ‘Church of the Apostle Peter led by the Patriarch of Rome, Eusebius’ (Vg 182.1 Garitte 1946, p. 110), and this tradition is found also in SA 1976, 24.

¹⁵ The reference, again, is to Aspostles Peter and Paul. Thus, here, too, the Pope is described as the successor of both Apostles.

¹⁶ Quite diplomatically, the author of TD does not provide any hints as to whether Constantine converted before Trdat or vice versa. Aa and Vg do not concur on this point. According to Aa Trdat converted before Constantine, while Vg states the opposite. Cfr Charter 2, pp. 53–54, 56 and 79 for discussion.

¹⁷ Armenians as the ‘nation of Ashkenaz’ is mentioned several times in YD 1912, 13, 47, 139, and 219, among others. From sources contemporary with TD which refer to this tradition one can mention SA 1976, 202.

¹⁸ The language of the phrasing is ambiguous. It could be translated both as ‘to the martyrion’ or ‘to the martyria’. Given what was said in note 14, it is most probable that only ‘one martyrion’ should be intended and that the reference is most likely to the Basilica of St. Peter in Rome. See also Chapter 2, pp. 56–57 for further discussion.

բազմականի, և հայրապետք՝ ի միում գերահրաշ գահաւորակի: Եւ զբազում աւուրս անցուցաք ի հոգևոր և ի մարմնաւոր ուրախութիւնս:

5. Նաև հրաման հանաք ընդ ամենայն տիեզերական իշխանութիւնս մեր, զի ամենեքեան ուրախացին ի կերակուրս և յմպելիս ընդ ամենայն աշխարհ: Եւ արգելցին հարկահանքն ընդ ամենայն տեղիս յայսմ ամի՝ յաղագս ցնծութեան սրտից մերոց: Իսկ ի հրամանէ սրբոյ Լուսաւորչիս ազատեսցին գերեալք, արձակեսցին կապեալք, գերծցին բանտեալք, պատառեսցին մուրհակք պարտականաց, դատ և իրաւունք ելցեն յարքունուստ ամենայն որբոց և այրեաց և հայրենազրկաց: Իսկ ի հրամանէ քաջ արանց եղբարս մերոյ Տրդատայ, դարձցին ամենայն դատապարտեալք, որք ի քր[է]ական մետաղս իցեն, և թողցին ամենայն պարտք արքունականք: Ընդ որս և աղ աւրինութեան հրամանաւ Լուսաւորչիս առաքեցաք ընդ ամենայն աշխարհս իշխանութեան մերոյ՝ ի սպանդանոցս և յառ տնին զենլիս, զի

13 բազմականի՝ գահաւորակի F_3 13 ի միում՝ իմում I 13 գերահրաշ՝ բարձրաբերձ F_3 13 գահաւորակի՝ գահաւորի A_g բազմականի F_3 գահաւորակի F_5 գահաւորին K գահաւորականի y 14 զբազում՝ i . om B_gCF_5KT 14 անցուցաք՝ անցուցաք F_3 5.1 հրաման հանաք՝ հրամանայիսանաւք I 1 տիեզերականի՝ omt զի F_5 1 տիեզերական իշխանութիւնս մեր՝ տիեզերս որ ընդ իշխանութիւնս մեր է A_g 2 յմպելիս՝ i . om $ES_1 + \text{ի ant } F_5S_1$ յմբելիս A_1IKN_9 յմբելիս CF 2-3 ընդ ամենայն աշխարհի՝ om A_g 3 աշխարհի՝ $f. + \text{ի } A f. + u EF_5IT$ $i. + j S_1$ 3 հարկահանքն՝ f . om A_gF_3y հարկայ հարկահանքն I 3 ընդ՝ om A_g 3 ամենայն՝ $i. + j g_gK_gM_2my$ 3 տեղիս՝ տիեզերս F_3F_5 4 յաղագս՝ ի յաղակս B 4 մերոց՝ $+ \text{և ուրախութեան } y$ 4 ի հրամանէ՝ om $\text{ի } T$ 4 սրբոյ՝ սուրբ S_1 4 Լուսաւորչիս՝ f . ն $EK_gM_2mS_1 + \text{և } F_3$ omt գերծցին T 5 գերեալք՝ $f. + \text{և } D_gEF_5 + \text{և } S_1$ 5 արձակեսցին՝ արձակեցին F_5 5 արձակեսցին կապեալք՝ om A_{g2} 5 կապեալք՝ $f. + \text{և } D_gF_5$ 5 գերծցին՝ զարծեցին A զերծին BF_3 զերծցին I 5 բանտեալք՝ բանդարգեալքն $BbCS_1$ բանդարգեալք Elg_gK բանտարգեալք FM_2my բանդարկեալք F_3 բանդարկեալքն F_5 բանդեալք N_9 բանդեալքն T 5-6 պատառեսցին՝ պատարեսցին F_3 6 պարտականաց՝ պարտապանաց $CFF_3F_5 f. + \text{և } D_g$ 6 յարքունուստ՝ $+ \text{յարգունուստ } C \text{ի ant } D_g$ i . om T 7 ամենայն՝ om y 7 հայրենազրկաց՝ հայրենազրկեաց B հայրենայ զրկաց E 7 արանց՝ արեանց B 8 մերոյ՝ մեր T 8 Տրդատայ՝ տրտատայ B om FF_3F_5 8 դարձցին՝ դարձին BF_3 դարձի T 8 դատապարտեալք՝ $f. + \text{և } F_5$ 8 որք՝ f . om IKT 9 քր[է]ական՝ քրեական B քերան F_3 քերան F_5 քրովբեական I քրական N_2 9 մետաղս՝ մետաղից F_5 9 իցեն՝ են F_5 9 և՝ om y 9 թողցին՝ թողցեն KS_1 9 արքունականք՝ f . om F_3K արքունայ կանք I 10 աւրինութեան՝ $+ \text{և } F_5$ 10 հրամանաւ՝ $+ \text{սուրբ } g$ 10 Լուսաւորչիս՝ f . ն F_5y 10 ամենայն՝ $i. + j y$ 11 իշխանութեան՝ $f. + u AA_1M$ իշխանութենէ I 11 մերոյ՝ մերում $bEIS_1Ty$ 11 սպանդանոցս՝ սպանտանոցս E սպանդացոցս F_3 om $\text{ի ant } y$ 11 յառ՝ i . om dF_5Ty 11 յառ տնին՝ առանին F_3 11 զենլիս՝ զենիս B զենլիս F_3

4 հրանէ $+ 2^0$ ամ with a different hand $w^A B$ 5 արձակեսցին $+ 9^0$ ն $w^A M_2$

reclined on the same lofty reclining chair while the Patriarchs [sat] on the same marvellous throne.¹⁹ And we spent many days in spiritual and bodily festivities.²⁰

5. We also issued an order to our entire universal domain that everyone in the whole world²¹ shall rejoice in eating and drinking. May all tax-collectors be prohibited in all places this year because of the joy of our hearts. And upon the command of the Holy Illuminator, may all captives be freed, those in chains be liberated, prisoners be released, certificates of debtors be torn apart, and justice and rights arise from the Royal Court to all orphans, widows and those who have lost their paternal [property]. Moreover, upon the order of the brave one among men²²—our brother Trdat—may all those in metal mines for criminal offence²³ return [to their homes] and may all royal debts be cancelled. With these and by the order of the Illuminator, we sent the salt of benediction throughout the countries of our dominion, to butchers and to the sacrificial victims at the

¹⁹ On the significance of sitting on the same ‘reclining chair’ and the ‘same marvellous throne’ cfr Chapter 2, pp. 59–62.

²⁰ Vg has a similar sequence and narrative. After the visit to the ‘Church of Apostle Peter’ the dignitaries go to the imperial palace, where they feast for several days. Vg 182 (Garitte 1946, 110).

²¹ Since the word աշխարհ can have different meanings in Armenian, I have not translated it consistently with the same word in English. Depending on the context, I have translated it as *world*, *land* or *country*.

²² In Armenian the expression is problematic. It literally means ‘upon the order of *brave men* of our brother Trdat’. This would mean that the order came not from Trdat (which is what best fits the context) but from his *brave men*, supposedly the dignitaries that accompanied him. However, the word *k’aj* (brave) could be interpreted as a qualification of Trdat, i.e. ‘Trdat, the brave one among men’. While it is acceptable that the ‘Holy Illuminator’ ask for justice and mercy from the Emperor, it is rather strange that ‘brave men’ of Trdat, i.e. the dignitaries that went to Rome with him, also interceded for releasing criminals and cancelling royal taxes. Thus, I have not been literal in my translation, but have rather ‘interpreted’ the sentence. But this problem must be kept in mind.

²³ Bartikian 2004, p. 97, cites the *Vita Constantini* where criminals working in ‘metal mines’ are mentioned. The suggestion that the expression *սևսաղս իցեն* here should be interpreted in that sense, i.e. ‘criminals working in metal mines’ is acceptable and I used it in this translation. However, *սևսաղս իցեն* could also simply refer to criminals in prison, that is, behind the metal bars of a prison. Overall, the release of prisoners from jails and the cancellation of debts is similar to Aa §844. In Aa, however, these events take place in Armenia, as part of Gregory’s evangelising activity, while TD increases the importance of Trdat and Gregory by stating that they gave similar orders with regards to the Roman Empire.

մի հեթանոսաբար լիցի խրախուրթինս մեր: Նան գղաւանութիւնս հաւատոյ սուրբ հաւրս մերոյ Գրիգորի արձանագրով քարոզեցաք յամենայն եկեղեցիս ուղղափառաց:

- 332^v 6. Իսկ յորժամ հանդերձեալ էին հրաժարիլ | ի մենջ հոգեզարդ հայրս մեր
 և եղբայրս Տրդատ, ժողով մեծ եղև առաջի սուրբ առաքելոցս՝ երեքհարիւր
 և քսան սինկղիստոսաւք, և քսան և չորք թագաւորաւքս, և բազմաբիւր
 իշխանաւքս դադմատական, հնազանդեցելաւքս ի ներքոյ բարձր բազկի
 մերոյ Աստուծով աւժանդակեալ, նան բազկակից եղբայրս մեր Տրդատ 5
 արքայ, իւրովք գահերեց մեծամեծ նախարարաւքն՝ կթանասուն հազա-
 րաւքն, իսկ երկոքին հայրապետքս իւրեանց արքեպիսկոպոսաւք և

12 մեր] om γ 12 գղաւանութիւն] f. + u BF₃gS₁ + մեր F₃ i. om S₁ 12–13 հաւատոյ
 սուրբ] սուրբ A_gEF₅ om B սուրբ հաւատոյ C 13 սուրբ] սրբոյ A 13 հաւրս] f. om
 Fg 13 մերոյ] + սուրբ Bb 13 Գրիգորի] լուսաւորչիս B + լուսաւորչիս bS₁ + գոր
 և ընկալեալ էր սորա ի նախնեացն և նոցա ի սրբոց առաքելոցն. և առաքելոցն
 աւանդեաց Քրիստոս ի վերնատուն. գոր և առեալ զհացն արինեաց և ետ
 աշակերտացն և ասէ առեք, կերայք ի սմանէ ամենեքան. այս է մարմին իմ:
 Նոյնպէս և զբաժակն անապակ առեալ ի ձեռն արինեաց և ասէ. արբեք ի սմանէ
 ամենեքան. այս է արին իմ. որ վասն ձեր և բազմաց հեղու ի քաւութիւն:
 զայս արարեք առ իմոյ յիշատակի: Նոյնպէս և մեր ընկալեալ ի սբ. հաւրէս
 մերմէ Գրիգորէ, փոխանակ կուսածին մարմնոյն Քրիստոսի հացն անխմոր և
 փոխանակ արեանն Քրիստոսի գինի անապակ C 13 արձանագրով] i. + j F₃F₅
 արձագրով T 13 քարոզեցաք] հաստատեցաք և քարոզեցաք B քարոզեցաք
 և հաստատեցաք b 13 յամենայն] i. om S₁ 13 եկեղեցիս] i. + j F₅T
 6.1 հանդերձեալ էին] հանդերձէին I 1 հրաժարիլ] հրաժարել B_gFF₃F₅N₂
 հրաժարեալ C 1 հոգեզարդ] հոգիազարդ CFF₃F₅ 2 եղբայրս] + մեր D_gF₃F₅ f.
 om γ 2 Տրդատ] տրդատիոս F₅ 2 մեծ եղև] եղև մեծ ACT 2 առաջի սուրբ] om
 γ 2 սուրբ] om F₃ 3 սինկղիստոսաւք] f. + u ABbIKTy f. + ն E սինկղիստոսաւք
 FF₃ սինկղիստոք F₅ սինգղիստոք g 3 թագաւորաւքս] [...] N₉ 3 և] om
 I 3 բազմաբիւր] բազմաբեր F₅ 4 իշխանաւքս] omt ի ներքոյ A_g իշխանքս
 I f. om γ 4 հնազանդեցելաւքս] հնազանդելաւքս CFF₃ հնազանդելէօքս F₅
 հնազանդեցելովքս N₂ հնազանդեցելոքս S₁ 4 բարձր բազկի] բարձրաբազկի
 A₁ 4 բազկի] f. + u A_g 5 աւժանդակեալ] աւժանդակելոյ B_g աւժընտակէ C
 5 բազկակից] բազկակցիս A₁ բազկայ կից I 5 եղբայրս] f. om F₃T 6 իւրովք]
 f. om A_gC 6 գահերեց] գայերեց F₃ omt եաթանասուն հազարաւքն F₅ f. p I
 6 նախարարաւքն] f. om A_g + և γ 6–7 հազարաւքն] f. om A₁gKM₂m omt կամաւքն
 N₂N₉ 7 երկոքին] f. + և E 7 իւրեանց] իւր KN₉ մեր γ 7 արքեպիսկոպոսաւք] f.
 + և bg_gKM₂mS₁

12 լիցի + 2⁰ u w^A I 6.1 հանդերձեալ + 6⁰ Δ w^A B 3 սինկղիստոսաւք + 3⁰ կ w^A N₂

house,²⁴ lest this joy be celebrated in the pagan manner. Moreover, with an inscription we professed the confession of faith of our Holy Father Gregory in all orthodox churches.

6. And when our father, embellished with the Spirit, as well as our brother Trdat were getting ready to leave us, a great assembly was convened in front of the Holy Apostles²⁵ attended by three hundred and twenty senators²⁶ and twenty-four kings, as well as many thousands of Dalmatian princes, subjects under our high hand²⁷ which is supported by God, and our companion-in-arms, brother King Trdat, with his seventy thousand²⁸ magnificent senior princes, as well as the two Patriarchs²⁹ with their archbishops and priests.

²⁴ The Armenian phrasing is problematic. First of all, the lemma տնիւն is erroneous, since the gen./dat. sing. (if these are, indeed, the cases implied by տնիւն) of տուն should be տնու. If the preposition (յ)ւն refers to both substantives 'house' and 'sacrificial victims', the phrase could mean 'to the sacrificial victims at/near the house'. The other solution would be to assume that the preposition refers only to the 'sacrificial victims' in which case the translation is 'to the sacrificial victims of the house'. Both expressions make little sense. I have opted for the first solution since its sense was slightly more acceptable. This sentence was also meant to be an apology for the Armenian ritual of *matał*. The text would 'prove' that not only did Constantine fully approve the ritual but also that St. Gregory the Illuminator was so important that he was authorised to send the 'salt of benediction' to the houses of sacrifice 'throughout the countries' under Constantine's dominion. Moreover, TD's author may have also wanted to emphasise that the Armenian *matał* had nothing to do with pagan rituals since, for example, the 'salt of benediction' guaranteed its full orthodoxy according to this text. It must be mentioned that the immolation of animals in Christian context was not unknown either in Byzantine or Latin Churches all throughout the middle ages, cfr Kovaltchuk 2008. For an apology of the Armenian *matał* cfr, *inter alia*, a letter by Nersēs Šnorhali in NS 1871, 252–253.

²⁵ In all the previous occasions, the allusions to the Holy Apostles seemed to refer to Peter and Paul and the Basilica of St. Peter. However, here the reference is more general. According to Bartikian, here the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople was intended. Cfr Bartikian 2004, 93. Given the absolute absence of the mention of Constantinople in this text, as discussed in Chapter 2, this suggestion does not seem tenable.

²⁶ The number 320 may be a conscious imitation of the number of bishops—318—who participated at the Council of Nicaea. Cfr also Bartikian 2004, 93. The number of kings—24—is less easy to explain. It may carry some apocalyptic significance, i.e. this is the same number as the foul nations or kings that Alexander the Great enclosed behind the 'Gates of the North' who would invade the world before the End of Times. Cfr also Chapter 2, pp. 64–65.

²⁷ I have been literal in my translation of 'high hand' (for *barjr bazuk*). It obviously refers figuratively to Constantine's rule/domination.

²⁸ This is the number of dignitaries which traveled to Rome with Trdat according to Aa § 873 and repeated in other Armenian sources.

²⁹ It is significant that the author of TD here, again, places Gregory and Sylvester on the same footing by calling both of them 'Patriarchs', implying a hierarchical equality between them.

քահանայարք)՝ Կամաւքն Աստուծոյ և միջնորդութեամբ սուրբ Ասուածածնին և սուրբ առաքելոցս և ամենայն սրբոց, երկոքին արքայքս և երկոքին հայրապետքս և երկոքին ազգս՝ հռոմայեցիք և հայք, միաբան և 10 միախորհուրդ, համաշունչ եղբարք գրեցաք միմեանց: Եւ ուխտ և դաշինս հաստատեցաք յաւիտենական ի միջի մերում առաջի փառաց փայտիս՝ նշանիս Քրիստոսի, արիական լատինացիքս և անյաղթելի թորգոմացիքս: Եւ յաղագս հաւատարմութեան հաստատուն և անջրելի ուխտիս մերոյ, զահագին և զանգին արիւնն Քրիստոսի ի մելանս խառնեալ, գրեցաք ֆրէրք 15 միմեանց արևմտեան և արևելեան ազգս, որք հաւատ և սէր և միամտութիւն պարտիմք միմեանց, որպէս եղբայրացելոյն մեր Քրիստոսի Աստուծոյ, ճգնելով ի վերայ միմեանց մահու չափ և մեռանելով յաւժարութեամբ ի վերայ միմեանց, սիրելեացն միմեանց սիրելի լինելով և թշնամեացն՝

8 քահանայարք] + և A_g քահանայիւք $CD_gFF_5g_5IK_gM_2mT$ քահանայիւքն EF_3
 8 Կամաւքն] կամաւն A_g f. om F_3F_5 9 սրբոց] f. + u y 9 արքայքս] արքայս
 F_3 թգր օ որքս g թագաւորքս K_gM_2 10 երկոքին] omt ազգքս g 10 ազգս]
 ազգքս g_5IK 10 հռոմայեցիք] հռովմայեցիքս C հռոմայեցիս F_3 հռովմայեցիք
 $gKM_2mN_2N_9y$ f. + u I 10 հայք] հայրք m 11 միախորհուրդ] մի խորհուրդ
 F + և S_1 f. + p y 11 եղբարք] եղբայրք $bgKm$ 11 գրեցաք] գրեցայք N_9
 11 Եւ] om F_5 11 ուխտ] f. + u by f. + p F_3 f. դ F_5 omt 6.19 միմեանց սիրելի
 y 11 դաշինս] f. p F_3F_5 12 միջի] մէջ F_3 12 առաջի] f. + ն A i. + j S_1
 12 փառաց] om E 12 փայտիս] f. om $A_gCFF_3F_5$ + սուրբ F_3F_5 13 նշանիս] f.
 ն bS_1 13 լատինացիքս] լադինացիքս BFI լադինացիք F_3 լատենացիքս KM_2m
 omt և յաղագս g 13 անյաղթելի] i. + j E 13 թորգոմացիքս] թորքոմացիքս AT
 թորգոմեցիքս $BbEI$ 14 հաւատարմութեան] հաստատութեան A_1 14 անջրելի]
 անջնջելի F_5 14 ուխտիս] f. om F_3 15 զանգին] + անապական C զանգիւն E
 զանգնելի FF_3F_5 15 ի մելանս խառնեալ] խառնեցաք ի մելանս և F_5 15 մելանս]
 մելեանս A_1E մելանս BF 15 խառնեալ] խառնեցաք + և F_3 15 ֆրէրք] ֆրէրքս C
 ֆրատք FF_3F_5 ֆրէրք gKM_2mN_9 f. om T 16 միմեանց] + որպէս եղբայրացելոյն
 մերոյ Քրիստոսի աստուծոյ F_5 16 արևմտեան] արևմտին B_g2 om և F_3 i. + j
 KF_3 16 արևելեան] i. + j F_3 16 ազգս] ազգքս $BbIS_1$ i. + j F_3 16 որք] f. om A_g
 16 հաւատ] f. + p F_3 16 և] om D_gF_5IT + միաբանութեան E 16 միամտութիւն]
 միաբանութիւն A_g միամտութեամբ D_g և միամիտութեամբ E միամտութեան I
 om F_5 17 պարտիմք] պարտիմք $AA_1CEKN_2N_9T$ պարիսպք F_3 17 միմեանց]
 omt ճգնելով F_5 17 որպէս] + և C 17 եղբայրացելոյն] եղբայր այցելոյն F_3 i. +
 q S_1 17 մեր] մերոյ $D_gCg_5M_2m$ om K_gT 17 Աստուծոյ] + մերոյ F_3 18 ճգնելով]
 ճգնել B_g2 18 ի վերայ միմեանց մահու չափ և մեռանելով] om F_5 18 մեռանելով]
 մեռանել B_g2 մեռանիլ F_3 18–19 յաւժարութեամբ ի վերայ միմեանց] ի վերայ
 միմեանց յաւժարութեամբ $bCFF_3F_5S_1$ 19 միմեանց] om A_gF_5 19 սիրելի] i. լ I
 19–20 սիրելի լինելով և թշնամեացն թշնամի] սիրելի լինել և ատելեացն ատելի
 և թշնամի լինելով y 19 լինելով] լինիլ F_5

11 գրեց + 4^0 արք $w^A B$ 17 եղբարացելոյն + 4^0 j $w^A N_9$

With the will of God and the intercession of the Holy Mother of God, as well as of Holy Apostles and all the saints, we, the two Kings and the two Patriarchs, the two nations—Romans and Armenians—proclaimed in writing to be of one word and of one mind, always concordant brothers.³⁰ And we established an eternal covenant and alliance between us in front of the glorious wood, the sign of Christ, we, valiant Latins and invincible sons of Torgom.³¹ And in order to confirm the loyalty to our firm and indissoluble covenant we mixed the awesome and priceless blood of Christ with the ink³² and promised each other in writing, Western and Eastern nations,³³ to be *frères* and pledged faith and love and concordance to each other as we do to our God Christ, who had become our brother,³⁴ striving for each other until death, dying for each other willingly, loving those who are loved by the other and

³⁰ Two texts that have similar wording are the *Document on Borders* (Alishan 1901, 98) and the *Vipasanut'iwn* of Nersēs Šnorhali (NS 1928, 570).

³¹ The belief that the Armenians are 'sons of Torgom' goes back to MX 1981, 1.10 and was standard, received tradition. It is cited, among others, in NS 1928, 110, where Torgom is said to be the father of Hayk, the progenitor of the Armenian nation.

³² This detail seemed quite unorthodox to the first and later publishers of TD. Yakob Holov, for example, omitted it in his 1683 edition. Cfr Chapter 2, pp. 62–64 for further discussion. The *Document on Borders* (Alishan 1901, 98) has a similar clause. It says that the covenant was written 'by the blood of Christ'.

³³ It is interesting to note the idea that the author of TD assumes (or wants his audience to assume) that the world is composed of two main nations—Eastern and Western—the Armenians and the Romans respectively. The concept of this two-partite division is present also in the SA, cfr comments of the editor Frasson in SA 1976, LXXI. Cfr also Chapter 2, pp. 73–76 for further discussion.

³⁴ I have translated 'who had become our brother' literally. The expression probably refers to the humanity and humility of Christ who by the act of incarnation became a 'brother' to all men.

333^r թշնամի: Եւ յերկուց ազգացս ոչ որ իշխէ միմեանց սուր քարշել, և որք 20
յանդգնին, սուրք նոցա մտցեն ի սիրտս իւրեանց և աղեղունք նոցա
փշրեսցին ի բազուկս իւրեանց: Եւ այս ուխտադրութիւն հաստատուն
կացցէ ի մէջ երկուց ազգացս մինչ ի կէտ կատարածի աշխարհի: Իսկ որ
որ վերջացի յայսմ վճռէ՝ որոշեալ լիցի ի քրիստոսական հաւատոցս և
անէծս զԿայենին և զՅուդային և զտիրասպան քահանայիցն ժառանգեսցէ: 25
Ասասցեն հրեշտակք և մարդիկ. «Եղիցի՛, եղիցի՛ »:

7. Ըստ այսմ խորհրդոյ՝ և մեք հրովարտակ հանաք ընդ ամենայն տիեզերս
իշխանութեան մերոյ: «Որք էք ընդ արևելս, յայնկոյս Ադրիական ծովուն,
և ի միջոցս Պոնտական և Կասքիական պիղագոսացն. գիտութիւն լիցի

20 յերկուց] f. om B i. om F₃F₅S₁ 20 ազգացս] f. om E 20 իշխէ] յիշխէ F₃
իցէ F₅ իշխեսցէ γ 20 միմեանց] om B_gCFF₃ միմեաց M₂ 20 քարշել] քաշել
BbEI + միմեանց B_gC 21 յանդգնին] i. om F₅ յանդքնին S₁ 21 մտցեն] մտցէ
B 21 սիրտս] f. p F 21 իւրեանց] նոցա AA_gBbCF₅I omt և այս T 21 նոցա]
իւրեանց I 22 փշրեսցին] f. om B փշրեսցեն I 22 ուխտադրութիւն] f. + u
AF₅T ուխտայ դրութիւնս I ուխտատրութիւն T 23 կացցէ] կայցէ K կայցցէ N₉
23 մէջ] մէնջ K 23 երկուց] f. + u A 23 ազգացս] f. om ATy 23 մինչ] f. + և
A_gA₁B_gCFF₅ 23 ի կէտ] om FF₃F₅ 23 կէտ] om A_gT 23 կատարածի] f. om A_gF₃F₅T
23 աշխարհի] f. + u BbEF₃F₅IS₁Ty 23–24 որ որ վերջացի] որք վերջացին A₁B_gC
որք վերջացի KM₂m 24 յայսմ] + ի ant D_g i. om K 24 վճռէ] վճիռիս FF₃F₅
24 լիցի] f. + և B_gC 24 հաւատոցս] f. և A_gBbEF₃F₅IS₁γ հաւատոյցն B f. om CFT
24 և] om F₃ 25 զԿայենին] f. om B_gC i. om F₅ 25 զՅուդային] f. om B_ggK_gM₂m
զուդայի b om C զուդային F₃ + առցէ γ 25 զտիրասպան] զտիրասպանիցն F₅
զտիրասպանացն S₁ 25 քահանայիցն] om F₅S₁ 25 ժառանգեսցէ] ժառանգեսցեն
B_{g2} om γ 26 Ասասցեն] ասացին CF₃F₅ 26 հրեշտակք] f. om B հրեշտաք F₅
26 մարդիկ] f. p B f. + p bCEF₃S₁Ty մարդ I 26 եղիցի] + ամեն F₅ 7.1 Ըստ]
ընդ BF₅ly 1 այսմ] f. + և N₉ i. + γ 1 խորհրդոյ] f. + u g_gM₂m խորհրդոցս K
խորհրդի γ 1 հրովարտակ] f. p F₃F₅I 1 հանաք] om A_g 1 ամենայն] om K_g i. +
γ 1 տիեզերս] տեղիս B_g 2 մերոյ] + առաքեցաք A_g 2 Որք] f. om ACEF₃F₅N₉
2 արևելս] արևելս CEF արևս F₃ i. + γ gKM₂my 2 յայնկոյս] + ի ant D_g om FF₃F₅
2 Ադրիական] անդրիական EK_gM₂m 2 ծովուն] ծովոյն C 3 միջոցս] միոջս FF₃
om F₅ f. և T 3 Պոնտական] պոնդական CFF₅gK_gM₂mN₂N₉ 3 Կասքիական] + և
BbEIS₁γ կազբիական T 3 պիղագոսացն] պեղագոսացն A₁K_gS₁ պիղիգոսացն C
պիլագոսացն FF₃F₅γ 3 լիցի] լիցեն E

22 ուտադրութիւն + 2⁰ ի w^A B 23 կացէ + 3⁰ g w^B A 24 որք [վերջացի] + 2⁰ n w^A
A 26 եղից + 4⁰ ի w^A I 7.1 այմ + 2⁰ u w^A T 3 կազբիական 3⁰ q corr u L^A A₁

being hostile to each others' enemies. And none from the two nations shall dare to raise his sword against the other and those who do, may they be stabbed with their [own] swords in their hearts and may their arches be pulverised upon their arms. And this alliance shall remain constant between our two nations until the End of the world.³⁵ May those who break this pronouncement be excommunicated from the Christian faith and inherit the curses of Cain, Judas and the priests who assassinated the Lord.³⁶ May angels and men say: 'Let it be! Let it be!'

7. According to this counsel³⁷ we promulgated an edict in the whole universe³⁸ under our domination. "To those of you who are in the East, on the other side of the Adriatic Sea and between the Pontic and the Caspian

³⁵ Very similar wording is found in the *Document on Borders*. Cfr Alishan 1901, 98. The author of TD may have had access to official documents and could have borrowed common formulae of peace agreements. However, there is no verbatim dependance of this phrasing on any identifiable source. The apocalyptic significance of such a covenant that would last 'until the end of the world' should also be born in mind, given the interest in such speculations in the Cilician milieu during the time of the composition of TD.

³⁶ Recalling Cain, Judas and the crucifiers of Christ is common in Armenian curses, cfr Harut'yunyan 1975.

³⁷ I have translated the word *xorhurd* as 'counsel'. It could also mean a mystery, e.g. the mystery of the covenant signed between Trdat and Constantine. I opted for a more down-to-earth meaning.

³⁸ The word 'universe' could be intended here also in the sense of the *oikumene*.

ձեզ՝ ամենայն ազգաց և ազանց և լեզուաց, թագաւորաց աշխարհակալաց, և իշխանաց ազգաց և զլիսաւորաց գաւառաց, որք էք յԱփրիկեցւոց աշխարհիդ 5 և յԵգիպտացւոց, ի Պաղեստինացւոց աշխարհիդ և յԱրաբացւոց, ի Միջագետաց աշխարհիդ և ի Մեծ Ասորոց, ի Փիւնիկեցւոց աշխարհիդ և ի Կիլիկեցւոց, ի Փոնիգացւոց աշխարհիդ, ուր մեծն Նոյ կազմեաց

4 ազգաց] om I 4 և] om B_g 4-5 և իշխանաց ազգաց] om FF₃F₅ 5 որք] f. om AE 5 յԱփրիկեցւոց] + ի_{ant} Bb յափրիկեցոց bFF₅N₉ omt և ի պաղեստինացոց S₁ 5 աշխարհիդ] f. տ A₁ f. u EI 6 և] omt յարաբացւոց AA₁A_gFF₃N₂N₉T omt կիլիկեցւոց F₃ omt ի մեծ ասորոց F₅ 6 յԵգիպտացւոց] յեգիպտացոց b + և by i. om γ 6 Պաղեստինացւոց] պաղեստինացոց b om C om ի_{ant} γ 6 աշխարհիդ] f. տ B om C f. u Ely 6 յԱրաբացւոց] յասիացւոց B_g յարաբացոց FT 7 Միջագետաց] միջագիտաց F 7 աշխարհիդ] f. տ A₁BEI omt կելիկեցւոց KM₂m 7 և] om BbIS₁γ 7 Մեծ Ասորոց] om ի_{ant} BbEIS₁γ ասորոց մեծացդ bS₁ մեծ օրաց g_g + և γ 7 Փիւնիկեցւոց] փինիկեցոց B փինիկեցւոց b փիւնիկեցոց FF₅S₁ փիւնիկոց S₁ + ի փոնիգացւոց γ 7 աշխարհիդ] f. տ B omt որում C omt ուր և նոյ F₅ om γ 8 Կիլիկեցւոց] om ի_{ant} AFF₃gN₂N₉S₁γ կիզիկեցւոց A₁ կիլիկեցոց BbFT կիլիկեցւոց F₃N₂ կելիկեցւոց M₂m omt ի պանփիլացւոց γ 8 Փոնիգացւոց] փոնիգացոց bS₁ փոնիգացւոց EI փոնիգեցւոց F փոնիկեցոց F₃ փոնիգեցւոց gM₂m փոնիգեցւոց K փոնիգացոց N₂ փոնիգացոց T 8 աշխարհիդ] f. տ BEI 8 ուր] որ A_g 8 ուր մեծն] որում եմ C ուրեմս F ուր և F₃F₅

4 ditt լեզուաց corr իշխ[անաց] m^L M₂ 5 յԱփրիկեցւոց աշխարհիդ] + ի մեծ ասորոց but ras T

Seas.³⁹ May it be known to all of you, nations and peoples and languages, kings of countries and princes of nations, and heads of provinces, those who are in the land of Africa⁴⁰ and Egypt, in the land of Palestine and Arabia, in the land of Mesopotamia and Great Assyria, in the land of Phoenicia and Cilicia, in the land of Phrygia where Great Noah built his

³⁹ The Adriatic Sea, even if with a different meaning and in a different context, is mentioned also in SA 1976, 48 and 152, Frasson's comments on pp. 129–130. In one case, both Long and Short Recensions of SA identify it as the 'Sea of the Indians' which is supposed to be at the 'edges of the world'. In SA it probably refers to the Indian Ocean. However, the Short Recension of SA, on another occasion (p. 152), implies that it is the Sea of the South, that is the South of Europe. Frasson cites Syriac authors according to whom the Adriatic Sea signifies the Mediterranean Sea in general, and thinks it possible that also SA implies the same on p. 152. In TD the Adriatic Sea could refer both precisely to the Adriatic Sea itself but also to the Mediterranean. The territory defined here by the three seas, i.e. the Adriatic, the Black and the Caspian Seas clearly refers to territories in the Eastern half of the Roman Empire. The author of TD is clearly exaggerating, because during Constantine's reign the Roman 'dominion' was far to the West of territories adjacent to the Caspian Sea. Moreover, if the Adriatic Sea refers to that sea and not the Mediterranean, then it must be noted that in the list of provinces that follows, the Balkan provinces (which technically are on the other side of the Adriatic Sea compared to Italy) are not at all mentioned. This cannot be coincidental. One may propose two hypotheses. The first, is that the source of the author also did not list the Balkan provinces. The second is related to the political aspirations expressed in TD which envisioned a strong Armenian rule East of the Mediterranean and not necessarily stretching all the way to the Balkans. This would be especially important in light of the Third Crusade, and Barbarossa's (and the future Emperor Henry VI's) plans on these territories. Last, but not least, the author used the Greek word for 'sea' for the 'Pontic and Caspian Seas', that was transiterated into Armenian as *pitagos* (in most mss) or *pelagos* (in some).

⁴⁰ Mss belonging to different groups omit this or that province. I have presented all these variations in Appendix 1. The list of provinces included in the base text (and the translation) is the one reconstructed based on the evidence of all extant mss. The source for this list was probably a document similar to the *Laterculus Veronensis* or the *Notitia Dignitatum*, even though these two specifically do not seem to have been what the author of TD used. The 'lands' mentioned here are all provinces of the Eastern half of the Roman Empire, except for Africa. However, the list is not complete. It omits, for example, Pisidia, Caria, etc. which were all provinces known to have existed during the reign of Constantine. This precise territorial description points out the 'wishful thinking' of some members of the Armenian elite living in Cilicia who hoped to extend their influence in the formerly Eastern Roman territories with the help of the Western (Crusading) armies. It is difficult to accept the conclusion of Bartikian that TD can serve as a reliable fourth century source for describing the situation of Eastern Roman provinces at the time of Constantine, unless one checks this against other sources. As mentioned, it omits provinces which are known to have been part of the Eastern Roman Empire during his reign. Cfr Treadgold 1997, 80 for a map of the Eastern half of the Roman Empire c. 312.

զտապանն, և ի Պանփիլացոց, ի Կապադովկացոց աշխարհիդ և ի
 Բիւթանացոց, ի Գաղատացոց աշխարհիդ և ի Պոնտացոց, յԱսիացոց 10
 աշխարհիդ և յՈնոռնացոց, ի Դրանէ Բիւզանդացոց՝ մինչև ի Դրունս
 333^v Հոնաց, և հաւատարիմ սահմանապահք իմ՝ մեծդ Միհրան թագաւոր
 Վրաց և քաջդ Ուոնայր արքայ Ադուանից, և այլ խառնիճաղանճ բազմու-
 թիւնքդ առհասարակ, որք ի Սագաստան և ի Դելմաստան, որք էք

9 և] om BbEIKM₂mS₁ 9 Պանփիլացոց] պանփիլացոց AA₁EF պանփիլացոցն
 B պանփիլացոց bF₃F₅T + և Cg om h_{ant} F₅ պանփիլացոց N₂ պանփիլացոց
 N₉ պանփիլացոց S₁ 9 Կապադովկացոց] կապադովկացոց AA₁FN₂N₉
 կապադովկացոցն B կապադովկացոց bF₃F₅mS₁T om h_{ant} CKM₂m 9 աշ-
 խարհիդ] f. տ A₁ om A_gB_g 9 և] omt պոնտացոց AA₁ + ի պոնտացոց C om g
 10 Բիւթանացոց] բիւթանացոց bF₃F₅S₁T + և CF₃ om h_{ant} Cg 10 Գաղատացոց]
 գաղատացոց BbF₃F₅S₁T om h_{ant} CF₅ 10 աշխարհիդ] om Bg_g 10 և] omt
 հաւատարիմ սահմանապահք C om g 10 Պոնտացոց] պոնդացոց A₁N₉
 պոնտացոց b պոնդացոց F₃F₅N₂ om h_{ant} EFF₃F₅gIN₂N₉ omt ի դրանէ F₅ պոնտացոց
 S₁ պոսպացոց T 10 յԱսիացոց] i. om AFgN₉S₁T ասիացոց BbN₂γ ասիացոց
 EI 11 աշխարհիդ] f. տ BEI 11 յՈնոռնացոց] i. om AA₁EIN₂N₉ ոնոռնացոց
 BbS₁T + աշխարհիդ bS₁ ոնսունացոց g 11 Բիւզանդացոց] պիդատոց B
 պիդանտացոց b պիզանտացոց E բիւզանդացոց FT բիւզանդոց F₃ բիւզանդիդ
 F₅ պիդանտացոց I բիւզանտացոց N₂ պելանտացոց S₁ պիզանդացոց γ
 11 մինչև] f. om F₅ 12 Հոնաց] հունաց F₅ 12 հաւատարիմ] f. + ն F₃ +
 սահմանակալք իմ և γ 12 իմ] om γ 12 մեծդ] f. ա B f. տ I 12 Միհրան] միհրամ
 S₁ 12 թագաւոր] f. + դ FF₃ 13 քաջդ] f. տ I 13 արքայ] f. + դ BbS₁ թագաւոր
 F₅ 13 Ադուանից] ադաւնից A ադաւնից bgKM₂m ադուափնից I ադվանից S₁T
 13 այլ] այլ և N₂N₉ 13 խառնիճաղանճ] f. ջ CF₃T 13-14 բազմութիւնքդ] f. om
 F₅IT բազմութիւնդ CFF₃γ բազմութիւն + քղք E բազմութեան K 14 Դելմաստան]
 դէլմաստան Fy 14 որք] f. om F₅

10 + h_{ant} [Բիւթանացոց] L^A I 14 Դելմաստան + 5⁰ u w^A A

Arc⁴¹ and Pamphylia, in the land of Cappadocia and Bithynia, in the land of Galatia and Pontus, in the land of Asia and Honorias, from the Gates of Byzantion⁴² till the Gates of the Huns;⁴³ also you, my loyal border guards—Great Mihran King of the Georgians, and valiant Urnayr King of the Albanians⁴⁴—as well as other sundry multitudes in general, that are in

⁴¹ The source of this information is the *Ašxarhac'oyc'* (Geography) of Anania Širakac'i. Cfr Anania Širakac'i 1994 (1881, 23 (of the Short Version) and 345 (of the Long version)). According to Yeremian, cited in Hewsen 1992 102 note 48, the idea that Noah built his arc in Phrygia, and specifically in the city of Kibotos as in the *Ašxarhac'oyc'*, came from the misunderstanding of the word *kibotos*, which could refer both to the arc (and this is what was understood), thus Arc of Noah, and to the wealth of Apamea, since it could also mean 'chest, coffer'.

⁴² This is the location of the city of Constantinople. The absence of any mention of Constantinople is significant from a political point of view, as discussed in Chapter 2, pp. 72–76 and reflects a specific agenda of its author, i.e. ignoring the Byzantine Empire and presenting Armenia as the super-power in the East, on a par with the Western Roman Empire.

⁴³ Gates of the Huns are usually referred to as Ճոքայ պահուլ *Čoray pahak* (as, for example, in MX, 2.65, 3.13) or *Duṛn Čoray* in Armenian sources, rather than *Duṛn* or *Pahakn honac'* (Watch of the Huns) while its Persian name is Darband: *Dar* meaning door or gate, and *band*—bound, locked, i.e. *locked gate*. Cfr Hewsen 1992, 122 notes 105 and 106. Hewsen specifies that 'this pass was on the Caspian Sea at the point where the Caucasus Mountains descended to the shore leaving a 3 km littoral pass from which nomadic tribes invaded South'. Nalbandyan 1965, 140 says that Darband has often been called *Duṛn honac'*, but does not indicate the sources that do so. The *Ašxarhac'oyc'* mentions the 'wall of Darband' in connection to the Huns, specifying that the Huns lived North of it. Cfr Anania Širakac'i 1994 (1881), 27. Darband and Darial (which is mentioned in TD below) could both be identified as the Bronze Gates built by Alexander the Great in order to stop the 'Barbarian northern peoples' and Gog and Magog from attacking the civilised world. This would happen, however, at the End of times. Manselli 1983, esp. 498–505; Giardina 1996, esp. 100–105 on the 'Caspian Gates' in Roman sources, and Alexander 1985, 185–192 on the apocalyptic significance of Gog and Magog as well as the location of the Bronze Gates in the Caucasus. On the latter issue cfr esp. Anderson 1932. Given TD's interest and use of apocalyptic motives, placing of these territories under Trdat's control may have had also an apocalyptic dimension. However, this hypothesis is weakened by the fact that the Armenian sources usually do not identify any of the two passes with the 'Gates of the North' built by Alexander the Great. Cfr Schmidt 2008.

⁴⁴ The names of Georgian and Albanian kings contemporary to Trdat are found in MX 1981, 2.37 (for Mihran), and Movsēs Kałankatuac'i, cfr MK 1083, 14–15, where it is stated that the King Urayr was converted by St. Gregory the Illuminator.

հաստատե[ալ] ի [հաստահեղոյս] գաւազանս երկաթի, ի խրոխտ և յանխո- 15
նարիւնի իշխանութիւնս հռոմայեցոց: Արդ՝ հրամանք ել ի հզաւր կամաց
իմոց կայսերս Կոստանդիանէ, զի ի վերայ ձեր (ամենեցուն) կացոցի
թագաւոր և իշխան միահեծան զմեծ արքայն Տրդատէս, զհամամիտ և
զհամակարի եղբայրն իմ և զբազկակից բարեկամս, զի հրամանաւ իմով
տիրեսցէ տիեզերաց, իշխան աշխարհակալ և հրամանահան հզաւր՝ առհա- 20
սարակ ծովու և ցամաքի: Եւ մի՛ ոք իշխեսցէ ի ձէնջ դիմադարձ լինել
հոյակապ հրամանաց հզաւրին հայոց՝ կայսերակերպին Տրդատայ, որ
յաղթեաց Հրաչէի բռնամարտիկ բարբարոսի առաջի Դիոկղետիանոսի
թագաւորի: Արդ՝ ի հասանել հզաւր հրամանաց ինքնակալ և Աստուա-
ծապսակ թագաւորիս թագաւորաց, ամենեքեան ընդ առաջ ելէք դմա՝ 25

15 հաստատե[ալ] հաստատել $A_1F_5N_2N_9$ 15 ի] + հաւատս bS_1 15 հաստա-
հեղոյս] հաստահեղուս A_g հաստատահոյս BbI հաստահոյս ES_1 հաստատ
ահեղոյս F_3 հաստատ տեղոյս F_5 հաստատահեղոյս N_2N_9 հաստահոյս y 15 գա-
ւազանս] գաւազանաւս F_3F_5 15 երկաթի] + և T 15 խրոխտ] խորխտ T
15-16 յանխոնարիւնի] i. om $EF_3F_5S_1Ty$ 16 իշխանութիւնս] իշխանութեանս
b 16 հռոմայեցոց] հռովմայեցոց $AA_1CgM_2N_9$ հռոմայեցոց $BbEF_3F_5S_1$
հռովմայեցոց m հռովմեցոց T 16 հրամանք] f. om $CF_3F_5KM_2my$ 16 հրամանք
ել] հրամանել Fg 16 ել] ելի C 17 իմոց] մերոց F_3F_5 17 կայսերս]
կայսեր I 17 կայսերս Կոստանդիանէ] կոստանդիանոսէ կայսերէս
 A_g 17 Կոստանդիանէ] կոստանդայ B կոստանդէայ bIS_1y կոստանդիանէ C
կոստանդէայ E կոստանդիանոսէ F_5 17 զի] om F_3 17 ձեր] om B_g 17 ամենեցուն]
ամենայնի և ամենեցոյն E f. + g F_5 om N_2N_9 18 իշխան] + և FF_3 18 զմեծ]
+ հզաւր B + և զհզաւր bS_1 ditt EI om F_3F_5 18 զհամամիտ] զհամամիայ F_3
19 զհամակարի] զամակարի B զհամակամ F_5 զհամագարի I 19 իմ] om
 S_1 19 զբազկակից] զբամակից B զագակից F 19 բարեկամս] f. u E i. + q
 FF_3 19 հրամանաւ իմով] հրաման իմ F_5 19 իմով] իմ F_3 20 իշխան] f.
+ և m om S_1 20 աշխարհակալ] իշխանակալ S_1 20 հրամանահան] i. + q
 m հրաման T 20 հզաւր] om y 21 իշխեսցէ] իշխեսցի B 21 ձէնջ] omt
հրամանաց C 22 հոյակապ] հո ակապ A_1 + ի_{ant} FF_3 i. իս I 22 հրամանաց]
om A_{g2} 22 հայոց] f. + u F_3 22 Տրդատայ] + դիմադարձ լինել հոյակապ
հրամանաց C 23 Հրաչէի] հրչէի A_gT հրզէի F_5 23 բարբարոսի] բարբարոսի
 BEF_3T 23 Դիոկղետիանոսի] դիոկղիտիանոսի $AEFM_2F$ դէկ լի տիանոսի A_1
դէկղէտիանոսի B դէկղիտիանոսի bI դէկղիդիանոսի F_3 դիոկղիդիանոսի T
24 թագաւորի] կայսեր F_5 f. + և S_1 24 հասանել] հասանիլ S_1 24 հզաւր] om A_1A_g
+ ի_{ant} N_2N_9 24 հրամանաց] f. + u B_{g2} 24 ինքնակալ] + և հզօր A_g ինքակալ B om
և F_3 25 առաջ] i. + j $EF_5gIKM_2mS_1T$ 25 ելէք] ելէք C

15 հատատեալ + 2^0 u w^A A; հաստատել + 7^0 u w^A K 18 արք[ա]ն + 4^0 j w^B K
19 q [հրամանաւ] + 1^0 ի m^L T 21 + մի [ոք իշխեսցէ] L^A E; իշխեսցէ + 4^0 u w^A F₅
22 կայսերային + 6^0 ակեր w^A A₁ 24 հասանելի հասանիլ S_1 24 հզաւր] om A_1A_g
+ ի_{ant} N_2N_9 24 հրամանաց] f. + u B_{g2} 24 ինքնակալ] + և հզօր A_g ինքակալ B om
և F_3 25 առաջ] i. + j $EF_5gIKM_2mS_1T$ 25 ելէք] ելէք E

Sagastan⁴⁵ and in Delmastan and who have been confirmed by our unwavering iron sceptre, by the proud and unbending Roman rule. Henceforth, an order was issued by the mighty will of myself, Emperor Constantine, that I placed the Great King Trdatēs,⁴⁶ my brother, who is of the same mind and will as me, and [my] companion-in-arms, as the sole king and ruler above all of you. He shall reign over the universe by my orders as a prince and a potent commander all over seas and lands. And no one among you shall dare to oppose the magnificent orders of the mighty Armenian, the emperor-like Trdat, who defeated Hrač'ē, the violent barbarian, in front of King Diocletian.⁴⁷ Therefore, as soon as you receive my powerful orders, of the *autokrator* King of Kings crowned by God, all of you should go out to meet the second

⁴⁵ Besides the list of Roman provinces, there are several other toponyms in this Section all related to Eastern or even far Eastern regions of, presumably, the Sasanian Empire. The source of the author's knowledge could have been the *Ašxarhač'oyc'*. In the latter, *Sagastan* is mentioned as one of the regions of Southern Persia, Anania Širakac'i 1994 (1881), 40. However, 'Delmastan' is not found in that form in the *Ašxarhač'oyc'*, but as 'Dlmunk' which was a region near the Caucasus mountains, Ibid. These territories were never subdued by the Roman armies, contrary to what TD implies. Thus, Constantine could not summon their 'multitudes' to help Trdat. It is not clear whether the author of TD has a really vague understanding of geography or is purposely boosting the impression of the mighty Roman Empire and, as a consequence, extending the territory placed under Trdat's control quite far into the East.

⁴⁶ In Armenian he is usually named Trdat. However, sometimes in this text a hellenised form Trdatēs is also found. I have deliberately maintained this variant spelling in the translation.

⁴⁷ The epithet 'emperor-like' is used also in Aa § 45 when describing Trdat's fight with the 'King of the Goths' disguised in imperial clothing. The name of this king is not given in Aa. It is found in Yovhan Mamikonean and Uxtanēs. Cfr YM 1941, 71 and Uxtanēs 1871, 80–82 who must have been TD's sources. See also Chapter 2, p. 76 for further discussion on the legend of the combat between King Trdat and the King of Goths.

արքունական ընծայիւք և ամենայն պատուասիրութեամբ, [երկրորդի] թագաւորութեանս իմոյ՝ Տրդատայ արևելեան ահեղանշան թագաւորի: Զի
 334^r որպէս մեք յարևմուտս տիրեմք բոլոր աշխարհիս, | նոյնպէս և զՏրդատ
 յարևելս կացուցաք իշխել տիրաբար բոլոր աշխարհիդ: Միանգամայն կազմ
 և պատրաստ լերուք՝ ի զէն զինուորութեան արի արանց և ռազմամուտ 30
 երիվարաց, զինեալք և զարացեալք հզար զարութեամբս մերով: Եւ
 գումարեսցի՝ ք առաջի անպատմելի և անպարտելի քաջիդ Տրդատայ ի
 գործ պատերազմի, ընդդէմ ասելոյն Քրիստոսի և թշնամոյն իմոյ՝ Շապիոյ
 մոխրապաշտի և Աստուածամարտ անաւրիւնի, հանելով և հալածելով
 զզարս նորա անդր քան զՄագանդարան և զՏապրաստան: Նաև զամենայն 35
 զէնս պատերազմականս, և զհոռք հեծելիդ, և զամենայն պատրաստութիւն
 երիտասարդաց և երիվարաց՝ հրամանաւ Տրդատայ տարեք ի կողմանս
 Ատրպատականայ և [Մ]արաղայ: Եւ ժողովեցարու՝ ք անհուն բազմութիւնք

26 ընծայիւք] ընծայիւք gI 26 երկրորդի] երկրորդս ի N₂N₉ 27 թագաւոր-
 ւթեանս] f. om A_{g2} 27 իմոյ] մերոյ y 27 Տրդատայ] տրդատեա A₁ + ամենայն
 A_{g2} 28 մեք] մենք B + տիրեմք y 28 յարևմուտս] + ի_{ant} BbS₁ 28 բոլոր] i.
 + q K_g 28 աշխարհիս] f. om F₅ 29 յարևելս] i. om ES₁ 29 աշխարհիդ] f.
 տ B f. u T 29 Միանգամայն] միանգաման B միայնգամայն F₃ 30 լերուք]
 եղերուք C 30 զինուորութեան] f. + g A_gD_g 30 ռազմամուտ] ռազմատուտ A
 բազմամուտ F₅ 31 զինեալք] f. + u E 31 զարութեամբս] f. om CF₅y f. ն K_gM₂m
 31 մերով] իմով F₅ 32 գումարեսցիք] գումարեսցիք B 32 անպատմելի և] om A_g
 32 անպարտելի] պարտելի y 32 քաջիդ] f. տ A₁N₉ f. om BEI f. ն by 33 գործ] f. + u T
 33 ընդդէմ] ի դէմ y 33 ասելոյն] ատելեացն g_gK_gM₂m 33 և] ի F₃ 33 թշնամոյն]
 թշնամոն B 33 իմոյ] իմ FF₃F₅ 33 Շապիոյ] շապուհոյ A₁B_{g2}FF₃ շապոհ F₅
 34 մոխրապաշտի] f. + ն A omt հանելով A_{g2} 34 Աստուածամարտ] f. + ի F₃F₅
 34 անաւրիւնի] անօրէնի F₅ 34 հանելով] հարելով m 34 հալածելով] հալանելով
 F₅ 35 զզարս] i. om BE ըզօրս gM₂ 35 զՄագանդարան] զմագանտարան CN₉Ty
 35 զՏապրաստան] i. om F₅ 35 Նաև] և F₃F₅ 35 զամենայն] om E 36 զէնս] f.
 + ն B 36 զհոռք] զհոռգ F զհոռք m f. + u y 36 հեծելիդ] f. տ Bb հեծելեոքս F₅
 36 և] om g_gK_gM₂m 37 երիտասարդաց] + տարեք ի կողմանս F₃ 37 երիվարաց]
 + տարեք ի կողմանս F₅ երեվարաց N₂ 37 հրամանաւ] f. ն C f. + u F₅N₂N₉
 37 տարեք] արարեք Cg_gKM₂m om F₃F₅ + որ տաջիք [տանիջիք F₅] և տանջիք
 աներկբայութեամբ և անկեղծաւորութեամբ F₃F₅ 38 Ատրպատականայ]
 աղրպատականայ A₁T ատրպալկան BbIS₁ ատրպատական Cy ատրպական E
 38 և] om Cy 38 [Մ]արաղայ] արաղայ AA₁A_gFF₃F₅N₂N₉T + ի_{ant} B 38 Եւ] om F₅
 38 անհուն] անհամար A₁ 38 բազմութիւնք] բազմութեամբ Ely f. om F₃

35 պար corr տապրաստան C

man in my Kingdom, the formidable Eastern King Trdat, with royal presents and all [necessary] honours. Since as we rule the whole world in the West, so we appointed Trdat to reign as the lord of the whole East. Be immediately prepared and ready to take up arms of warfare of valiant men and war-trained mares, equipped and empowered by our vigorous force! Assemble yourselves in front of the indescribably and invincibly brave Trdat for war against the one hated by Christ and my enemy, the ash-worshipping and infidel Šapuh,⁴⁸ chasing and pursuing him beyond the borders of Mazandaran and Taparastan.⁴⁹ Also take all supplies for war and the payment of mounted knights, as well as all necessary paraphernalia of young [warriors] and of stallions by Trdat's orders to the region of Atrpatakan and [the city of] Maraḷay.⁵⁰ And assemble an

⁴⁸ Šapuh is the enemy against which Trdat and the Roman army fight with joint forces according to MX 1981, 2.87. MX gives credit to Constantine for this victory. It is also significant that in MX Emperor Licinius 'makes Constantine his second man in the East' after these victories, whereas in TD Constantine makes Trdat his second man in the East and then sends him to fight Šapuh. The names are changed but there are close verbal parallels between TD and MX. The qualification 'ash-worshipping' is a derogatory epithet for the Persian King's Zoroastrian beliefs. Moreover, he is called 'one who fights God' which I have liberally translated as 'infidel'.

⁴⁹ The enumeration of territories within Persia continues here in connection with Trdat's future campaign with the Persian King Šapuh. The source may be the *Ašxarhac'oyc'* or the author's general knowledge of geography. In the *Ašxarhac'oyc'* 'Taparastan, Dlmunk' (perhaps this is what became Delmestan in TD) and Atrpatakan (the latter mentioned three lines below in TD) are enumerated among Persian territories near the Caucasus mountains, Anania Širakac'i 1994 (1881), 40–41. Mazandaran was a province South of the Caspian Sea. It is interesting that during the Arab domination Mazandaran was identified with and called Taparastan. The name Mazandaran came back into use during the Seljuk domination. Cfr Minorsky 'Mazandaran'.

⁵⁰ The name of the city *Maraḷay* is corrupted to *araḷay* in most A family mss, as was discussed in Chapter 3, pp. 198–201. It is spelled as Maraka in T'ovma Arcruni 1985, 374. Some mss omit the conjunction 'and' between Atrpatakan and Maraḷay. Thus, the sentence could mean either take your war supplies 'to the city of Maraḷay of Atrpatakan' or 'to Atrpatakan and [the city of] Maraḷay'. The use of 'Maraḷay' in the nominative case poses grammatical difficulties since the prepositional phrase *ի կողմանս* governs the gen. case. However, as was mentioned already (Chapter 3, p. 199) the scribes may have taken the ending -ւյ to be that of a gen. sing. The orthography of the city's name is different from that found in T'ovma Arcruni and may be due to Arabic or Turkish influences (cfr Pisowicz 1995 on the phenomenon of the use of 'P' instead of Arabic 'q' in Medieval Armenian due to Turkish influence, even though he analyses material from a later period, i.e. end of the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries). Based on this one example I cannot suggest that the author of TD knew and used an Arabic source, but rather that living in Cilicia where contacts with Muslims, including Arab traders, was not unusual he could have had such, supposedly common, geographical knowledge about a wealthy trading centre in Atrpatakan. Based on this, the reading of Maraḷay (vs. araḷay) is preferable. The base text was corrected accordingly.

իբրև զաւագն առ ամին ծովու յաղագս Պահակին հոնաց՝ Դարբանդայ, և Դալիարայ, զի և գնոսա ի մեծն Տրդատ վստահացայ: Ողջ լերու ք՝ մերով ողջ 40 լինելովս»:

8. Վասն որոյ և մեր պսակեցաք զմեծ արքայս Տրդատ կայսերական թագին՝ լուսատու ակամբք յարինեալ և մեծամեծ մարգարտաւք շրջապատեալ: Եւ զարդարեցաք զհսկահանգոյն հասակ սորա ծովային ծիրանաւք՝ աւքսունական մետաքսաւք մարգարտամալճաւք: Եւս և զանգին գաւտի հարն 334^v իմ[ոյ] հզարի | ածի ընդ մէջ Տրդատայ քաջի: Եւ չորեք հարիւր կրկին 5 [աւ]ծտեցաք զսա կայսերական և զինուորական զարդաւք և զին[աւ]ք մերովք, [արքունադրոշմ] նշանաւոր կառաւք, և ծովային աւղաթոխչ

39 զաւագն] f. om $A_g B_g C F F_3 F_5 T$ 39 ծովու] f. + ն F_3 39 յաղագս] յաղակս M_2 39 Պահակին] բարիակին E 39 հոնաց] f. j $g_g K_g M_2$ 39 Դարբանդայ] դարպանդայ A դարբանտայ F դարպանտա y 40 Դալիարայ] դարիալայ $B_g F_5$ omt ի մեծն $FF_3 F_5$ 40 զի] om C 40 Տրդատ] Տրդատայ T 40 վստահացայ] վստահաց T 40 Ողջ] ողջոյն C 40 լերով] + ի տէր A 40 մերով] մերում F_5 40-41 ողջ լինելովս] ողջունելովս A_g 41 լինելովս] f. om $A F_3 F_5$ 8.1 պսակեցաք] պսակեցայք KN_9 1 արքայս] f. ն I 1 Տրդատ] + և FF_3 1 թագինս] + մերով $B_g C$ 2 ակամբք] ակամբ EF ակամպ F_3 ակամե F_5 i. + j S_1 2 յարինեալ] i. om E 2 և] [...] և զարդարեցաք F om S_1 2 մարգարտաւք] մարգարտով B_g 3 զարդարեցաք] զարդարեցայք E 3 զհսկահանգոյն] զսկայիանգոյն BE զսկայահանգոյն bFS_1 զսկահանկոյն F_3 զհսկայագոյն $F_5 T$ զհսկայագուն $gM_2 m$ զսկայ հանգին I զհայագուն K զսկայագոյն y 3 հասակ] i. + q D_g f. + u E 3 սորա] որպէս E i. դ $FF_3 F_5$ i. և y 3 ծովային] ծովածին B_g 3 ծիրանաւք] + և B_g ծիրանեօք $F_5 gM_2$ ծիրանեաւք m 3-4 աւքսունական] օգսունական EK աւգսունական I 4 մետաքսաւք] մետաքսիւք A_1 մետակսաւք Bb մեծաքսօք E մետաքսեաւք $F_5 gI$ 4 մարգարտամալճաւք] մարգարտամալճօք AT մարգարտամալճաւք A_1 մարգարտամալճովք Bb մարգարտամալճօք E մարգարտալճաւք F մարգարտալճօք $F_3 F_5$ մարգարտեա մահճօք S_1 մարգարտամօճօք y 4 Եւս] om B_{g2} 4 զանգին] + զանգիւտ C 4 գաւտի] f. + ն $F_3 F_5$ 4 հարն] f. om BC 5 իմ[ոյ]] իմ $AA_1 FN_2 N_9$ 5 չորեք] omt զինվորական E 5 հարիւր] i. om $gM_2 m$ 5 կրկին] անգամ A_g om I 6 [աւ]ծտեցաք] i. n N_2 յոժարեցաք F_5 6 զսա] om $F_3 F_5$ 6 կայսերական] զարքայս երական F_3 + արքայս F_5 + զարդուք y 6 և զինուորական] om A_g 6 զարդաւք] զարդիւք $A_g b C F F_3 F_5 S_1$ զարդուք $BEITy$ 6 զին[աւ]ք] զինուք $A_g Bb EIF_3 S_1 y$ զինովք $N_2 N_9$ 7 մերովք] մերաւք IN_9 omt և $FF_3 F_5$ 7 արքունադրոշմ] f. + ն $AA_g Ty$ արքունական դրոշմս $N_2 N_9$ 7 նշանաւոր] նշաւոր I 7 և] om B_g 7 ծովային] ditt B 7 աւղաթոխչ] i. + j C օթաթոխչ ES_1

39 զաւս + $4^0 q w^B M_2$; փն + i. ս $w^A N_2$ 8.2 ակամբք + $4^0 p$ with a different hand $w^A N_9$; աւրինեալ + i. j $w^A I$ 3 զհսկայագոյն + 6^0 ս $w^A T$ 5 [չորեք հարիւր] + լծ դճ տնվոր այրուկին զարդիւք $mg^L C$

unfathomable multitude like the sand at the seashore at the Watch of the Huns—the Darband⁵¹—and the Darial,⁵² since I trusted those to Trdat the Great as well. May you be well [as long] as we are well!’

8. For this reason we crowned the great King Trdat with an⁵³ imperial crown—embellished with shining gems and surrounded by great pearls.⁵⁴ And we adorned his most gigantic stature with sea purple, bright-purple coloured silk [clothes] with pearls [sown] in a wave-pattern. Moreover, I put around the brave Trdat’s waist the precious belt of my mighty father.⁵⁵ And we bequeathed him four hundred times⁵⁶ with our imperial and military ornaments and arms, carriages with engraved

⁵¹ The ‘Gates of the Huns’ was mentioned above at 7.11–12 in connection to the easternmost extent of territories placed under Trdat’s control. Here the same toponym is mentioned but by its other names, e.g. ‘the Watch of the Huns, i.e. Darband’. Whereas at 7.11–12 we have Դրուխ Հոնսաց (lit. Doors or Gates of the Huns), here the Armenian appellation is Դուխակ հոնսաց and its Persian equivalent Darband is also given. Cfr also note 43.

⁵² This is a reference to the Darial Gorge in the Caucasus mountains, named Ալվուսաց դուռն or Gate of the Alans in Anania Širakac’i 1994 (1881) 26. The author of TD uses its Persian appellation which was Dar-i-Alan or Dar-i-Alanan. Cfr Hewsens 1992, p. 113 note 33 for comments on the history, geography and etymology of the Darial Gorge.

⁵³ All B family mss and C mention ‘our crown’ which makes the gift of Constantine to Trdat even more significant and charged with imperial symbolism, as discussed in Chapter 2, p. 68.

⁵⁴ This and the following two sentences leave no doubt that Trdat is envisioned as an *emperor*, thus, more than a simple king. Not only does Constantine place an ‘imperial crown’ on his head, but the type of silk clothing conferred upon the Armenian King also has clear imperial connotations. For further discussion cfr Chapter 2, pp. 67–70.

⁵⁵ On the belt of Constantine’s father Constance cfr Chapter 2, p. 70.

⁵⁶ I have not been able to identify the source or symbolism of the number ‘four hundred times’ which sounds unusual. An interesting parallel may be found in the description of the ‘clothing treasury’ of Harun al-Rashid who was told to have ‘four thousand outer garments ... and four thousand turbans’. Cited in Cutler 2005, 206. However, the recurrence of number ‘four’ may just be a coincidence.

երիվարաւք ոսկէսարաւք, սուսերաւք հաւհալենաւք և նիզակաւք վիշա-
պամխաւք, գումարտակաւք անգին գոհարաւք և գունագեղ գնդաւք տպա-
զիոնաւք, սիզնայաւք խոսուկեփալաւք և [որոտընդոստ] ահագնագոչ շիփո- 10
րայաւք, երգեհոնաւք ականակապաւք և [դ]անոնաւք յորդ[ա]ձայնաւք: Եւ
միանգամայն իսկ ամենայն զարդաւք և ամենայն պատրաստութեամբ
պաղատան իմոյ պատուասիրեցի զսիրեցեալս իմ:

9. Ընդ որս և մեծափառ դշխոյս մեր Մաքսինտէս և քոյր իմ սքանչելագեղ
Կոստասիայ պատրաստեցին ընծայս զարմանազանս, որովք պսակիցի[ն]

8 երիվարաւք] երիվարիւք F_3 8 ոսկէսարաւք] զոսկիասարոք F_3 ոսկէսար F_5
ոսկէսարոք S_1 8 սուսերաւք] om A_{g2} սիւսերոք F_3 8 հաւհալենաւք] հաս
հալենոք E հաւհալենեոք F_5 8 նիզակաւք] f. om EI omt անգին F_3F_5 9 գոհարաւք]
գուհարաւք B գաւհարաւք b + գումարտակոք F_3F_5 9 և] om A_g 9 գնդաւք]
գնտոք ES_1 9–10 տպազիոնաւք] տպազիւնոք EF_5K 10 սիզնայաւք] սիզայնոք
A սիւզնաւք B սիւզնայոք bES_1 սիզնատոք F_3F_5 սիզնաոք gK սիւզնայաւք I
սիւզնաոք γ 10 խոսուկեփալաւք] խոսուկեփալաւք A_1 խոսուկեփալոք
 BF_5S_1 խոսուկեփալաւք b խոսուկիփալաւք C խոսուկեփալոք E խոսաւ կեփալաւք
F խոսօկէ փալոք F_3 խսուկեփալոք g խոսուկեփալաւք I խոսուկէ փալոք K
խոսուկեփալոք M_2m խոսուկեփալաւք N_9 խոսուկեփազօք γ 10 և] om B_g
10 որոտընդոստ] յորոտընդոստ $AgN_2N_9M_2mT$ որոտընդոտ C որոտընտոք E
որոտընտոստ $F_3\gamma$ որոտ ընդ ոստ F_5 զորոտ ընդ ոստ K 10 ահագնագոչ]
սհեղագոչ BbEIS₁ ահագոչ γ 10–11 շիփորայաւք] շիփորայիւք $F_3g_gKM_2m$ +
զանտօքէ F_3 + և զանտօք F_5 11 երգեհոնաւք] երգեհոնաւք BCK գեհեհնօք F_3
եգեհոնօք F_5 11 ականակապաւք] om A_g 11 [դ]անոնաւք] i. + q AA₁T
զանդօք F_3 զանտօք F_5 զլանոնաւք N_2 11 յորդ[ա]ձայնաւք] յորդաձայնիւք
 AgF_3 յորդայնաւք N_2 12 միանգամայն] միանգամ K_g 12 իսկ] om F_3
12 ամենայն] չորս n. AT 12 զարդաւք] զարդիւք BbFF₃F₅g_gIKM₂mS₁ զարդուք
E 12 ամենայն] + պաղատան իմոյ C + պաղատանաւք իմոյ F + պաղատատօք
իմոյ F_3 + պայատաւք իմոյ F_5 12 պատրաստութեամբ] f. + p γ 13 պաղատան]
պալատին E 13 պաղատան իմոյ] ի պաղատն իմ A_g պայազատան իմոյ
և պաղատան իմոյ bS_1 om CFF₃F₅ 13 պատուասիրեցի] պատրաստեցի F_3
13 զսիրեցեալս] զսիրելեալս C զսիրելիս I զսիրեցեալքս S_1 9.1 որս] i. + j S_1 1 և]
om g_gKM_2m 1 մեծափառ] f. + u + իմ BbS₁ 1 դշխոյս] դշխոս F_5 1 Մաքսինտէս]
մաքսինտէս A_1CF մաքբսին տէս F_3 մաքբսինէս ditt F_5 մաքսինտէայ $g_gK_gM_2m$
մաքսէնտէս S_1 մապսիտն γ 1 քոյր իմ] քոյրս B_g 1 սքանչելագեղ] սքելագեղս I
2 Կոստասիայ] կոստասէայ F_5 2 ընծայս] i. + q F_5 ընծայս Ig 2 զարմանազանս]
զարմազանս F_3 2 որովք] f. om $F_5I\gamma$ 2 պսակիցի[ն] պսակեցի ABbEIS₁Ty
պսակիցի A_1FgN_2 պսակեցի CKM₂mF₃ պսակիցից + իմ N_9

8 հաւհալենօք + 8^0 ե $w^A F_5$ 10 խոսուկեփալաւք + 2^0 u $w^A N_2$; խոսուկեփալօք + 2^0 u
 $w^A T$ 13 պատուասիրեցի + 4^0 u $w^A T$

royal signs and airborne sea-horses with golden bridles,⁵⁷ with *hawhaleni* swords⁵⁸ and spears forged in the blood of dragons, with a whole host of priceless gems and colourful topazolite sphere-shaped gems, golden-headed⁵⁹ standards and thunderously loud trumpets, organs decorated with precious stones and mellifluous lyres.⁶⁰ And once more with all the decor and preparation of my palace I honoured my beloved.

9. And so did our glorious Queen Mak'sintēs and my graceful sister Kostasia, who prepared dazzling gifts with which to adorn⁶¹ the beautiful

⁵⁷ The expression 'airborne sea-horses with golden bridles' is confusing and difficult to interpret in the given context, not least because the word *nuł̄t̄uap̄* (*oskēsar*: a composite word derived from 'golden' and 'sar', the latter being an un-identifiable word) is a hapax and its meaning must be derived from the context. I have provided a literal translation here. According to NBH *oskēsar* means 'golden apparel, e.g. bridles, saddle, etc. of horses'. Bartikian 2004, 101–102 remarks that the adjective 'airborne' denotes the swiftness of horses. Yovhannēs Drasxanakerc'i also refers to fast horses (given as presents to the Armenian princes or kings from Arabic rulers) with epithets alluding to air, cfr YD 1912, 139 and 193. Bartikian interprets the meaning of 'sea-horses' and *oskēsar* based on Ancient Greek mythology according to which 'swift, foaming sea-waves were believed to be caused by fast moving mares', usually identified as the horses of Poseidon. Then, he quotes the Illiad where Poseidon is said to have harnessed 'swift horses which had golden manes' and suggests that *oskēsar* renders the Greek expression for 'golden manes'. Bartikian thinks that the source of TD here is not necessarily the Illiad but could be any ancient (obviously pre-Christian) source. It still remains unclear why 'sea-horses' should be mentioned among the presents of Trdat (especially if they had such strong Pagan mythological connotations), why the Greek expression for 'horses with golden manes' (if that is indeed what the author of TD had in mind) should be rendered as *oskēsar* in Armenian and what is the origin and meaning of the word 'sar' in this context.

⁵⁸ I have purposely not translated the Armenian *hawhaleni* here. According to HAB it means 'huge'. This sword, known in popular tales as 'hawłuni sword', was the subject of many legends and oral traditions connected with the name of Trdat or St. Gregory the Illuminator. Cfr Łanalanyan 1969, 368–369 and Russell 2001. The *hawhaleni* swords and the next item, 'spears forged in the blood of dragons' betray the influence of popular legends on this text. Swords embellished with precious gems are often mentioned among gifts bestowed upon Armenian princes or kings by Byzantine or Arab rulers, cfr Chapter 2, pp. 67–68 for sources and discussion. On such occasions musical instruments, especially loud trumpets and drums, are also referred to. Among other sources, Vg § 179, p. 108, specifies that Trdat traveled to Italy with royal banners and loudly sounding trumpets.

⁵⁹ The Armenian here directly transcribes the Greek χρυσοκέφαλος as *x̄rsukep'alawk'/x̄rsukefalawk'* (in instr. pl. in Armenian).

⁶⁰ The author uses two words that may indicate the same instrument. In one case he uses the Armenian *ergehon* and in another case a transcription from Greek, e.g. *lanon*.

⁶¹ For problems of the verbal form used in this clauses, cfr Chapter 3, pp. 314–315.

բամբիշն արևելային վայելչավայլ թագուհին (մեծն) Աշխեն և չքնադագեղ արքիորդն Հայոց Մեծաց Խոսրովիդուխտ դաւսիճայն, որոց առաքեցան թագս և պսակս յակունդ[ե]այ, և յասպիսս [ամբարհաւաճատեսիլս], և 5 աղամանդէս բազմաքանքարս, և բահուանդս բիրակունս, և վարսակալս վայելչավառս, և այլ զարդս բազումս յականց և յապրիշմեղինաց՝ զործ 335^բ ճարտարաց անգիւտք և անգինք, դուղէս | դաղմատականս հարիւր և քսան՝ բարձեալ ջորւոջ վաթսնից արքայականի[ց]: Նոյնպէս պսակեցի զորդիացեալն իմ՝ զԽոսրով զրամիկ իմ, իմով զաւակաւս Կոստանդինեաւ, 10

3 բամբիշն] զամբիշն F_3 i. + q F_5 i. պ I բամբիշն γ 3 արևելային] արևելեան $F_5\gamma$ 3 վայելչավայլ] վայելչափայլ EK_gS_1 վայելչավայել F_3F_5 վայելնավայլ γ 3 թագուհին] թագուհոյն C 3 մեծն] f. om $A_1F_gKM_2m$ i. + q F_5 om N_2N_9 3 Աշխեն] f. + ն A_g 3 չքնադագեղ] չգնադագեղ A չքնադագ B չքնադ C չգնագեղ E չքնագեղ F_3 չգնադագեղն K չչնադագեղ T 4 արքիորդն] որքիորդն E որորդն F_3 օրի որդի K 4 Խոսրովիդուխտ] խոսրովիթուխտ CF_3F_5 խոսրովիթուղտ E 4 դաւսիճայն] դօսիճան F_3 om F_5 դաւճիճայն γ 4 առաքեցան] աքեց F_3 առաքեցի F_5 5 թագս] թագոյ E 5 յակունդ[ե]այ] յակունդայ A_1N_2 յակունթեա[+ j K_g] A_g յակունդէա C յակինթեայ F_5 յակունդէ γ 5 յասպիսս] յասպիսոս F_3 յասպիսեա F_5 յասպիստ gM_2m յայսպիսոյ K յայսպիսս S_1 5 ամբարհաւաճատեսիլս] ամպարհաւաճատեսիլս F ամպար հաւաճայոեսիլս F_3 ամբարհավաճ տեսիլս K ամբարհաւաճեա տեսիլս N_2 ամբարհավաճեայ տեսիլս N_9 6 աղամանդէս] անղամանդէս $ACFF_3F_5T$ աղամանտէս B անղամադայս gKM_2m աղամանտէս I անղամանդէայս M աղամանդայս γ 6 բազմաքանքարս] i. մ F_3 բազմաքանտակս քանքարս + անթիւս γ 6 բահուանդս] f. om E բահուաւանդս F բահու աւանդս F_3 բակսաւանդս F_5 [...] 9.8 անգիւտք F 6 բիրակունս] om F_3 բերակունս gM_2m 7 վայելչավառս] վայելջավառս A վայելնավառս E վայելչավաճառս F_3F_5 վայելչափառս K 7 այլ] om B i. + q F_5 7 յականց] i. om EF_5K_g 7 յապրիշմեղինաց] յապրիշումեղինաց A յապրիշիմեղինաց b յապրըշմեղինաց E ապրշմեղինաց F_3 ապրշմեղինաց F_5 յապրիշեղինաց K յապրեշիմեղենաց S_1 յապրիշմեղենաց T 7 զործ] f. + p E 8 ճարտարաց] + և K + ի_{ant} F_3F_5 8 անգիւտք] f. om $AC\gamma$ [...] N_9 8 դուղէս] դուղէնս B_{g2} f. + u C դուլէս F_3K դիլլէս F_5 դուլէսս g_gM_2m դուլէնս γ 9 բարձեալ] բարձ γ 9 ջորւոջ] + ի_{ant} $CEFF_3F_5$ f. վ E f. g $gKM_2m\gamma$ i. ձ S_1 9 վաթսնից] վացսի B վացնից bF_5IS_1 վանից E վատսնից N_9 9 արքայականի[ց]] om A_g i. + j B արքայականաց C արքայեականից I f. om N_2N_9 9 Նոյնպէս] i. u A_1K + էս F + և էս F_3F_5 որպէս S_1 9 պսակեցի] + և K_gM_2 10 զորդիացեալն] զորդորդացեալն F զօրիորդացեալն F_3F_5 10 գրամիկ] գրամիկ AA_1T om F_5 գրամկ S_1 f. + ն γ 10 իմ] om $A_gCFF_3F_5$ 10 իմով] f. + u S_1 10 Կոստանդինեաւ] կոստանդինաւ A_1B կոստանդինեաւ E կոստանդինեաւ F_3 կոստանդիաւ F_5 կոստանդինն γ

5 յասպիս + 6^0 u w^B C 8 դուլէս + 6^0 u (?) K; դաւատականս + 2^0 դ w^A F_5 10 զխորով + 3^0 u w^A C 10 զաւակաւս + 3^0 ա w^A g

great Queen of the East Ašxēn and the charming Princess of Great Armenia, the maiden⁶² Xosroviduxt. Crowns and diadems of hyacinth, pleasant looking jaspites and weighty diamonds, bracelets with numerous gems, beautiful hair clips and many other plentiful decorations of gems and silk, the priceless and unattainable work of skillful [craftsmen], and one hundred and twenty Dalmatian slaves mounted on sixty royal mules were sent to them. In the same way I crowned my adopted grandson⁶³ Xosrov with my son Constance, which is something⁶⁴

⁶² The word ‘maiden’ is an interpretation for *dawsičay/dawsijay*, possibly a loan word from New Persian, itself stemming from Pahlavi *doshizag*. Cfr the relevant entry in Appendix 2.

⁶³ The word ‘grandson’ is an interpretation. The Armenian text has an un-identified hapax *grampk, gramik, etc.* Cfr Appendix 2.

⁶⁴ The sense of the subordinate clause is not clear. I have translated the conjunction *որ ինչ* as ‘which is something’, assuming that it refers to the coronation of Xosrov by Constance and Constantine. I am grateful to Dr. Sergio La Porta for his helpful suggestions about the translation here.

որ ինչ մանկական հասակին է ցանկալի և արևելից անը[նդ]ել և անտեսանելի: Իսկ հզար Կազարապետաց Կայոց պարզեցաւ ի մերմէ թագաւորութենէս նշանակս և դրաւ զդամատացիս, և վիշապագլուխ փողս և փանդիոնս բարձրա[բար]բառս, և զէնս և զարդս պատերազմականս արի արանց և երևելի երիվարաց, նծոյգք ծովայինք և պահանգք պատենազէնք 15 անգծելի երկաթոյ, և այլ անթիւ և անհամար աւժիտս ոսկոյ և արծաթոյ և ականց պատուականաց, սլեհից սպայից և կազմուածոյ կանանց, ջոկոց ձիոց և բեռանց թագաւորական հանդերձանաց, որովք յփացուցաք զեաթանասուն հազարսն Հայաստանեաց:

10. Պարզեցելի և սիրելի եղբարն իմ[ոյ] Տրդատայ զսիրեցեալն իմ զԲերդե[հ]էմ՝ զբաղաքն մեծին Դաւթի, զտեղի ծննդեանն Քրիստոսի ի սրբոյ կուսէն: Եւ սեփական աշխարհ սահմանեցի նմա զՊռոտոն

11 որ] + $u_{ant} AB_g$ 11 մանկական] մանկան BbI մանկանն E մանգական gM_2 մանկա S_1 11 ցանկալի] ցանգալի gM_2m 11 արևելից] արևելեան y 11 անը[նդ]ել] անըտել N_2N_9 11-12 անտեսանելի] f. om F_5 12 հզար] i. om E 12 հազարապետաց] հայրապետիս F_3F_5 12 պարզեցաւ] f. p F_3F_5 13 դրաւ] f. մ A_1 դրօշակս F_3F_5 14 փանդիոնս] փանդիոն A_1F f. + ն BN_9 փանդիոնս CE փանտիոնս gM_2m փանդիոն I փանտիոն K փանտիոն y 14 բարձրա[բար]բառս] բարձր բարբառս A բարձրաբառս N_2N_9 15 երևելի] om A_1B_g 15 երիվարաց] երիվարաց C + ի_{ant} E f. + ն F_3F_5 15 նծոյգք] նծոյք $AFgKM_2mTy$ նծոյդ E ժայք F_3 ծայք F_5 15 ծովայինք] ծովայիք F_3 15 պահանգք] պահանք AA_1A_gT սրանկք BbS₁ պահանդք C արակք E պահապանք FF_3F_5 սրանտք I սրանք y 16 անգծելի] անգձելի F_3K i. + y 16 և] omt ականց C 16 անթիւ] f. + u E 16 անթիւ և անհամար] անթիվմար A_1 17 և] + յամենայն $g_gK_gM_2$ + ամենայն m 17 ականց] i. + j Bby 17 պատուականաց] պատականաց M_2m 17 սլեհից] սըլեհից C i. n F_5 սլեհից S_1 17 սպայից] ասպայից C սպահահից F_3 պահակից F_5 սպահից y 17 և] om $A_1B_gN_9$ 17 կազմուածոյ] կազմածոյ A_g + ի_{ant} + և F_3 17 կանանց] կանաց A_1BC 17 ջոկոց] ջորոց A_g ջոկաց CFF_3F_5 18 ձիոց] ձիաց C 18 և] om A_g 18 բեռանց] բռանց F_3 18 հանդերձանաց] հանդերձականաց CE 18 որովք] f. om A_gF_5 19 Հայաստանեաց] հայաստանեայց $AEFF_5N_2$ հայաստանաց Bm 10.1 եղբարն] f. u B 1 իմ[ոյ]] իմ $AA_1bEgIKM_2mN_2N_9Ty$ 1 զսիրեցեալն] զսիրելին y 1 իմ] om m 2 զԲերդե[հ]էմ] զԲեդդէմ AN_9T զբերդաւմ A_1 զբերդէմ CN_2 զբերդէմ E զբերդէմ F զբերդէմ F_3 զբերդահէմ F_5 զբերդահէմ gKM_2m զբերդէմ IS₁ զբերդահէմ y 2 զբաղաքն] f. om A_gB i. om F_3KN_2T 2 մեծին] om A_{g2} f. om F_3 2 զտեղի] f. + և E 2 ծննդեանն] ծնդեանն B 3 կուսէն] + մարիամայ BbIy + մարիամայ աստուածածինն S_1 3 սեփական] սեփական BCF_3T սեփական E

14 փանտիոնս + 7^0 ն w^A m 15 պահանք + 5^0 q w^A N_2 16 համար + i. ան w^A M_2 19 հայաստանեաց + 10^0 j w^B F_5 ; հայաստանաց + 8^0 է w^A T 10.1 պարզեցի + 4^0 և w^A g

desirable for youth, and unusual and not seen in the East. And on behalf of our Kingdom we donated to mighty Armenian generals Dalmatian signs and banners, dragon-headed trumpets and sonorous *p'andirns*,⁶⁵ and arms and military gear of brave men and stupendous stallions, sea-mares and protective armour of impervious iron, as well as other countless and abundant gifts in gold, silver and precious gems, arms for knights, ornaments⁶⁶ for women, select horses and loads of royal vestments, with which we indulged the seventy thousand that came from Armenia.

10. I also donated to my dear brother Trdat my beloved Bethlehem, the city of great David⁶⁷ and the birthplace of Christ from the Holy Virgin, and declared the First Armenia and Cappadocia which were taken away

⁶⁵ A string musical instrument. This word is usually used to translate the Greek *kitar* according to NBH.

⁶⁶ In Armenian 'ornament' is in singular, but I have translated it into plural according to the general sense of the sentence.

⁶⁷ The donation of Bethlehem to Trdat had significant implications from the point of view of royal ideology in Cilician Armenia. It was the city of 'great David' and the Bagratid princes claimed their ancestry from King David's house. Cilician rulers, in their turn, were anxious to emphasise the continuity between themselves and the Bagratids. On the other hand, the first King of Jerusalem was crowned in Bethlehem and the author of TD, again, consciously put the Armenian King in a position of supremacy by claiming that the Armenians had rights over Bethlehem going back to the time of Constantine the Great. For further discussion and bibliography cfr Chapter 2, pp. 71–72.

Արմենիան, զԳապադո[վ]կիայ, զոր հանեալ էր ի հայոց Պոմպէի Կեսարիայ: Եւ այս է բուն հայրենիքն Տրդատայ. ի լեռնէն Առճիոյ՝ մինչն ցլեառն 5
 Արարատեայ, և ի Գայլ գետոյն Ելեւսպոնտացոց մինչն ցհգաւր գետն Տիգրիս
 335՝ մեծ: Իսկ ի կողմանցն քո հաստանայ, որչափ | բազունկն իւր բաւեցէ, և
 թուրն թափեցէ: Խնդրեցի յարքայէն Տրդատայ արս երեք հարիւր, հասա-
 կաւ և արիութեամբ հոյակապք, զորս և արմէնք անուանեցի: Եւ կար-
 գեցի ի սպասաւորութիւն արքունական գահոյից իմոց՝ հզաւրիչք 10

4 Արմենիան] f. + ն A₁CFgIKM₂S₁y արմենիանն AbN₂N₉Ty արմէիանն BE
 առմէիանն b արմենիայն F₃ արմենեայն F₅ արմաւենեան K_g + և y 4 զԳապա-
 դո[վ]կիայ] զկապադոկիա AA₁FKN₂N₉ i. om f. om C f. om F զկապադոկեայ F₅
 զկապատոկիայ T 4 էր] om E 4 ի] om F₅ 4 Պոմպէի Կեսարիայ] պոմպէ
 իկերարիայ A մոմպէ եկեսարիայ E պոմպէ ի կեսարիա F պոմպէ ի կեսարիայ T
 պոնպէի կեսարի y 4 Կեսարիայ] կեսարեայ CF₅gKM₂ 5 է] om I 5 բուն] բուն F
 om F₅ 5 Տրդատայ] տրդատեայ B 5 լեռնէն] omt այրարատայ A_g f. om B լեռնէն
 bEF₅K 5 լեռնէն Առճիոյ] om ի_{ant} արճոյ լեռնէն y 5 Առճիոյ] առճիշոյ A արճոյ
 BbES₁ առճոյ CF այճոյ F₃ աճոյ F₅ արճիասոյ I առճիոյ N₉ արճիոյ T 5 ցլեառն]
 i. om + ի_{ant} B_g 6 Արարատեայ] արարատայ A₁F₅ այրարատայ A_g այրայրադայ
 BbS₁ այրարատեայ E այրայադայ I այրարատ y 6 և] om B_g 6 Գայլ] գալ Eg om ի_{ant}
 F₃ 6 գետոյն] f. om F₅ 6 Ելեւսպոնտացոց] էլեւսպոնտացոց A₁ երեւսպոնտացոց
 bS₁ էլեւսպոնտացոց C էլեւսպոնտացոց EF₃ էլեւսպոնտացոց F էլեւսպոնտացոց F₅
 էլեւսպոնտացոց gKM₂m էլեւսպոնտացոց I էլեւսպոնտացոց y 6 ցհգաւր] i. om
 + ի_{ant} B_g om FF₃F₅ f. + և K_gM₂ 6 գետն] գետսն B i. + g FF₃F₅ 6-7 Տիգրիս մեծ]
 մեծ տիգրիս g_gK_gF₅M₂m 7 մեծ] f. + և S₁ 7 ի] om y 7 կողմանցն] f. om A_gBF₃F₅
 7 քո] քաւ F po F₃ 7 հաստանայ] հասանայ F₃ հաստանեայ F₅T 7 բազունկն]
 om բազունկն իւր F₃ f. om Ty 7 և] om A_g 7-8 թափեցէ] + նմ եղիցի B_{g2}
 8 Խնդրեցի] + և ես A₁S₁ + ես D_g + և E 8 յարքայէն] + ի_{ant} ABbCFF₃IN₂N₉S₁Ty i.
 om EF₅S₁ 8 արս] f. p F₃F₅ այրս M₂m 8 հարիւր] ն. E դճ F₅ 9 հոյակապք] om FF₃
 քաջ F₅ f. om y 9 զորս] f. om E om FF₃F₅ 9 և] om S₁ 10 սպասաւորութիւն] om ի_{ant}
 սպասաւորութեան F₅ 10 արքունական] յարգունական S₁ 10 գահոյից] գահից
 y 10 իմոց] + զորեղ A_g om FF₃F₅ 10 հզաւրիչք] omt [իւմ g_g] ի տուէ A_g f. om y

4 + ի հայոց m^R m; + ի_{ant} [հայոց] L^A IT 6 հզաւրն f. ն ras E 7 հաստանա + 2⁰ j w^A
 E 8 արքայէն + i. j w^A T 10 զաւրիչք + i. h w^A M₂

from Armenians by Caesar Pompey as his own territory.⁶⁸ And this is the proper homeland of Trdat: from Mount Argaeus⁶⁹ till Mount Ararat,⁷⁰ from River Gayl⁷¹ of Hellespont till the mighty river, great Tigris. And on your part [may your territory] expand as much as his arm suffices and his sword slays.⁷² I also requested from King Trdat three hundred men of great stature and distinguished in bravery, whom I called *armenk'* and appointed [them] to the service of my imperial throne as sentinels of

⁶⁸ These geographical indications and the information that Caesar Pompey had conquered them from the Armenians may all derive from MX 1991, 1.14 and 2.15 or any source dependent on MX, such as Samuēl Anec'i 1893, 43–44. In MX 1.14 Xorenac'i tells that the legendary ruler Aram reached and conquered territories including the city of Caesarea in Cappadocia. Upon leaving these territories to his trusted men he ordered the inhabitants to learn Armenian and this is why, Xorenac'i explains, the region is called 'zProtin Armenian' by the Greeks. Here the city of Mažak' was built, later called Caesarea. In 2.15 we learn that Caesar Pompey conquered the city of Mažak', which the author of TD could have understood in a larger sense, i.e. that he conquered the 'Protin Armenian' where the city was located. In Samuēl Anec'i 1893 the form 'zproton Armenian' is spelled exactly as in TD. Moreover, Anec'i (p. 44) attests that during the reign of Aram: 'other historians say' that the First Armenia included territories from Cappadocia [the city of] Caesarea until the region of Pontus [at the time of the legendary King Aram]. TD could have combined the information about these territories found in texts by various historians.

⁶⁹ Mt. Argaeus is near the city of Caesarea/Kayseri. It is to be noted that TD's orthography of the mountain's name (employed in gen. sing.) as Առճիոյ/Առճիշոյ/Արճոյ/Առճոյ stands closer to its Turkish pronunciation (Erçiyas Dag) rather than, for example, that found in the *Ašxarhac'öyc'*, e.g. Աղճխու or Աղճխ.

⁷⁰ From the context it seems that by Mt. Ararat the author means what we call Mt. Ararat today, located in the historical province of Ayarat, habitually called Masis in Armenian sources. However, the mention of Mt. Ararat with this name in Armenian indicates the author's possible dependence on a Latin source or even oral traditions. This remains a hypothesis, since as indicated by Paul Peeters 1920, 328–336, even thirteenth and fourteenth century European travellers to Armenia did not identify Masis with Mt. Ararat. William of Rubruck describes popular legends about Noah's Arc on the Masis, but never calls this mountain Ararat. Jackson-Morgan 1990, 267–268. However, one may bring forth a passage from T'ovma Arcruni 1985, 393 where both names are juxtaposed: '*le'anc'n Ayaratean azatn Maseac'*—[in front of] the mountains of Ayarat, azat Masis'. T'ovma identifies Masis as the mountains of the region of Ayarat. TD is different in that it simply names 'Mt. Ararat'. Further research on the use of the name Ararat and identification of its location in medieval sources may shed more light on this issue.

⁷¹ Greek Lykos or Latin Lycus.

⁷² This is a garbled phrase in Armenian. In the principal clause Constantine refers to Trdat in 2nd p. sing. *իւկ ինդսանցն քոյ* (on *your* part) as if directly speaking to him, but in the subordinate clause he switches to the 3rd p. sing., as if telling the story to someone else, *բազմիկն իւր* (his arm). I have maintained this ambiguity in the English translation.

զլիտյ իմոյ և թիկնապահք իմ ի տուէ և ի գիշերի, և առաջապահեստք իմ ի պատերազմի:

11. Ժամ է այսուհետև զալ ինձ ի տեսիլս և ի յայտնութիւնս: Եցոյց ինձ տէր, զի յետ բազում ամաց իշխանքն հայոց տարագրեն գտունն Տրդատայ և ինքեանք տարագրին ի հայրենեաց իւրեանց և անկանին ընդ լծով ծառայութեան այլ ազգեաց զամս բազումս: Եղու՛կ, որ դիպ[եսց]ին յայնմ ժամանակի, զի տառապանաւք տառապի ազգն (և աշխարհն) հայոց մինչև յելս հոգւոց 5 իւրեանց, որոց փրկութիւն ի տեսանէ եղիցի և աւգնութիւն յազգատոհմէ իմմէ: Բայց այս եղիցի ի ժամանակս յետինս, յորում յայտնեսցին նշխարք սրբոց Սուրբիասեանցն քաւշից, զոր[ս] եւս ա[մ]փոփեցի առաջնորդութեամբ հրեշտակի տէառն ի Բագրևանդ գաւառի:

11 թիկնապահք] f. om FF₃F₅ 11 առաջապահեստք] f. om A₁ i. + j bS₁ i. + j f. om F₃F₅ 11 իմ] om K_gM₂m 11.1 Ժամ] + subtitle Յաղագս ավերածոյ աշխարհիս հայոց. վայ մեղաւոր Արքահամ գրչիս γ 1 Ժամ է] + ինձ A₁B_{g2}CF₃ պատմէ F₃ 1 ինձ] om A₁B_gCF₃ 1 յայտնութիւնս] + զոր AA₁A_gCFF₃F₅T om ի_{ant} A_gBbEF₃F₅Iy 1 Եցոյց] i. է C 1 Եցոյց ինձ տէր] տէր եցոյց ինձ g_gM₂ եցոյց ինձ K_g ետ եցոյց ինձ m 1 զի] om A_g 2 ամաց] ժամանակաց F₅ 2 իշխանքն] f. om AF₃γ 2 տարագրեն] աւարեն B + և աւարեն b տարագրին F₃ 2 գտունն] f. u AA₁FN₂N₉T f. om B 3 տարագրին] տարագրեն T 3 հայրենեաց] հայրենաց BI 3 և] om γ 3 անկանին] անգանին gM₂ 3 լծով] ի ծառայութիւն F₃ լուծով I 4 ազգեաց] ազգաց AE omt եղուկ F₅ 4 զամս] i. om A_g 4 դիպ[եսց]ին] դիպիցին ABbEgM₂S₁T դիպեցին Imy դիպին N₂N₉ 4 յայնմ] + ի_{ant} AD_gIKy յայմ B i. om f. om g_gM₂m f. om Ky 4 ժամանակի] f. + ն A_gB_{g2}F₅T 5 տառապանաւք] տառապանօք T 5 տառապի] տառապին F₃ տառապեցի γ 5 ազգն] om CFF₃F₅ 5 և] om A₁A_gCFF₃F₅N₂N₉ 5 աշխարհն] om A₁A_gN₂N₉ 5 յելս] + ի_{ant} D_gE i. om E i. g F₅ 5 հոգւոց] ոգոց CEF 6 իւրեանց] նոցա F₅ 6 աւգնութիւն] օգնականութիւն EF₃Iy 6 յազգատոհմէ] + ի_{ant} Bb յազգէտոհմէ E յազգատոմէ F ի յազկատոհմէ F₃ f. + ն F₅ i. om S₁ 7 իմմէ] իմէ BF₃ om F₅ 7 Բայց] բաց g 7 ի] om ES₁ 7 յորում] յորժամ A_gB_g 8 սրբոց] f. + ն T 8 Սուրբիասեանցն] սուրբիասացն Ay սուրբիասանցն A₁BFF₃F₅N₉Ty սուրբիասանց A_gbEIS₁ սիւրբիասեանց C սուրբիագանց K 8 քաւշից] f. + ն B_{g2}gK_gM₂mT om FF₃F₅ 8 զոր[ս]] f. om AA_gN₂FF₃F₅ 8 եւ] + գնացեալ D_g 8 ա[մ]փոփեցի] անփոփեցի ABbgiN₂ ամփոփեցի F₃ 9 հրեշտակի] f. + ն F₃I 9 Բագրևանդ] զարևանդ A_g

11 առաջապահեսք + 10⁰ տ w^A E 11.2 գունն + 1⁰ տ w^A B 3 + և [անկանին] L^A F₃ 4 ազգաց + 3⁰ ե w^A C 5 ազգ + 3⁰ ն w^A g 8 զոր + 3⁰ u w^A T

my life and my body-guards during night and day, and front-row fighters during war.⁷³

11. Now it is time for me to come to visions and revelations. The Lord showed to me that after many years Armenian princes will expel the house of Trdat and themselves will be expelled from their homelands and fall under the yoke of slavery of the infidels for many years.⁷⁴ Woe to those who will happen to [live] in those times since the nation of the Armenians will suffer with agony until they expire. Their salvation will come from the Lord and assistance from my descendants.⁷⁵ But this will happen in the Last Days when the relics of the Holy Goats Suk'iaseank', which I buried in the province of Bagrevand according to the guidance of the Lord's angel, would be discovered.⁷⁶

⁷³ The tradition about the 'warriors of Trdat' whom he left in Rome is found in the almost-contemporary apocalyptic source the *Prophecies of Agaton*. Cfr mss V222, fol. 268^v, M1382, fol. 307^r. In other mss of PA (from a different recension) the *armenk'* became *alamank'*, e.g. mss M9171 fol. 1^r, M5066 fol. 132^r; M515 fol. 42^r. According to PA the last Roman Emperor—a 'new Constantine'—will be an offspring of these warriors. That the author of TD wished to allude to apocalyptic events already here, by mentioning Trdat's warriors, is evidenced by the fact that in the next sentence Constantine pronounces a prophecy about the end of the Armenian Kingdom and its future restoration. One difference must be noted, however. In PA the number of warriors is either not specified, e.g. M1382, M527 and M4669, or is 'two hundred' as in M3839, M9159, M9171, M5066 and M2270.

⁷⁴ The beginning of Constantine's prophecy echoes those ascribed to St. Sahak (*Vision of Sahak*, 18) and of St. Nersēs (LN 1853). The latter prophecy is found in numerous recensions and is cited by other Armenian historians. Both texts discuss the fall of the Aršakunis and their eventual re-establishment on the Armenian throne at the End of Times. This was one of the most dominant themes in apocalyptic prophecies composed or re-edited during the Cilician period, two of which were already mentioned above, i.e. *Sermo de Antichristo* and the *Prophecies of Agaton*. TD's audience could easily understand such apocalyptic allusions.

⁷⁵ The idea that the salvation of the Armenians will come from the 'West' slowly solidified in the twelfth century, in the Cilician milieu and is elaborated upon in SA, PA and other texts. For further discussion, cfr Chapter 2, pp. 48–50 and 90–91.

⁷⁶ Cfr *Martyrdom of Suk'iaseank'* 1813, 110–120. The relics of the Suk'iaseank' saints are also mentioned in the PA. Cfr Chapter 2, pp. 88–90 for further discussion.

12. Երևեցան և յերկրի մերում հրաշք զարմանալիք ի հայրապետէս հայոց, ևս և ի թագաւորէս, քանզի ի գալն սոցա առ մեզ և յանցանելն ընդ ծովս Յունական, առաքեցի ես և ժողովեցի զամենայն խեղս, զկաղս և 336^բ զկոյրս, զմիակողմանիս և զանդամալոյծս, և զայլս ամենայն, որք նե[ղ]եալ էին ի պէս-պէս ցաւս և ի տանջանս: Եւ զայսպիսիսս ժողովեալ՝ հանի 5 զնոսա զամենեսեան ընդդէմ սրբոյն Գրիգորի, զորս մի անգամ աղաւթիւք բժշկեաց սուրբն Գրիգոր զամենեսեան մինչև զարմանալ մեր ամենեցուն ի վերայ ամենայնի, զոր արար տէր նովաւ: Եւ փառաւորեցաք զՔրիստոս՝ զփառաւորիչն սրբոց իւրոց:

13. Դարձեալ՝ էր վիշապ մի մեծ փասակար ի Կապետոլին, զոր խորտակեաց նշանաւ խաչին Քրիստոսի սուրբս Սեղբեստրոս և արգել զնա յորջ իւր: Յետ

12.1 Երևեցան] f. 1 C 1 և] om A_gB_g2C 1 յերկրի] + h_{ant} CD_gFF₃F₅N₂T i. om E 1 հրաշք] հրեշտակք F₃ f. om I 1 հայրապետէս] հայսապետս C հայրապետս E 1 հայոց] + լուսաւորչէս D_g 2 ևս] om B 2 և] om E 2 թագաւորէս] + Տրդատայ D_g թագաւորութենէս F₅ 2 գալն] f. om A_gCFI om h_{ant} B 2 սոցա] i. ն B_g 2 յանցանելն] յանցանիլն AA₁CFF₅T i. om E անցելն S₁ 3 ծովս] f. ն A₁B_gFF₃ 3 Յունական] + մարբսինտէս F₃ i. om y 3 խեղս] i. + q b 3-4 զկաղս և զկոյրս] զկոյրս և զկաղս A₁ + և A₁CN₉y 3 և] om A_gB_g2CF₃ 4 զմիակողմանիս] f. + u gKM₂m 4 որք] f. om AB_gCT 4 նե[ղ]եալ] f. + p F₃F₅ նեխեալ N₂ 5 էին] է B 5 պէս- պէս] պէս K 5 տանջանա] f. + ն FF₃ 5 զայսպիսիսս] f. + om ACFF₅gKT զամենայն B զայսպիսիքս F₃ զայսպիսի M₂m y 5 ժողովեալ] f. + pu y 5 հանի] f. + ն C 5-6 հանի զնոսա] զնոսա հանի F₃ [...] N₉ 6 զնոսա] om BF₅y 6 զամենեսեան] om By i. j T 6 սրբոյն] f. om B [...] N₉ 6 Գրիգորի] լուսաւորչին B + լուսաւորչին bS₁ [...] N₉ 6 զորս] f. om AB_gCF₃F₅K 6 անգամ] անկամ ACI միագամ B 6-7 աղաւթիւք բժշկեաց սուրբն Գրիգոր զամենեսեան] բժշկեաց աղաւթիւք ջուրս ցանելով B սուրբն Գրիգոր զամենեսեան աղաւթիւք բժշկեաց ջուրս ցանելով b զամենեսեան աղաւթիւք բժշկեաց սուրբն Գրիգոր g_gK_gM₂ բժշկեցաւ զամենեսեան աղօթիւք սուրբն Գրիգորի m աղաւթիւք բժշկեաց զամենեսեան սուրբն Գրիգոր N₉ սուրբն Գրիգոր զամենեսեան աղօթիւք բժշկեաց ջուրս ցանելով S₁ աղաւթիւք բժշկեաց զամենեսեան T բժշկեաց զնոսա զամենեսեան սուրբն Գրիգոր աղօթիւք y 7 սուրբն] f. om A 7 զամենեսեան] om F₅ 7 զարմանալ] զարմանեալ B f. + u C 7 մեր] f. q T 7 ամենեցուն] f. + g F₅ 8 ամենայնի] ամենանի B 8 արար] եցոյց F₅ 8 տէր] f. + ն Bb 9 զփառաւորիչն] i. om F₃ 9 սրբոց] որդոց I 13.1 Դարձեալ] + և y 1 էր] om S₁ 1 մի] + ահագին C 1 փասակար] om A_g 1 Կապետոլին] կապէտոլին CN₉T կապետոլին F₅ կապետոլին gK_gM₂ կապէ տոլեն I կապէտոլին m 1 խորտակեաց] խորխտակեաց M₂m 2 նշանաւ] + սուրբ S₁ 2 Քրիստոսի] om Y 2 սուրբս] f. ն A_gEF₃F₅Ty 2 Սեղբեստրոս] սեղբեստրոս M սեղբեստրոս S₁ 2 արգել] արգելեաց M i. + j S₁ 2 յորջ] + h_{ant} A₁N₂N₉

7 + բժշկեցան with a different hand m^L m

12. Moreover, many marvellous miracles appeared in our country by the Armenian Patriarch as well as by the King since when they crossed the Grecian Sea and arrived here I sent for and gathered all the deaf, the lame and the blind, those disabled on one side and the handicapped, as well as all those who suffered from various illnesses and afflictions. And having assembled all of them I took them to St. Gregory who cured all of them with a single prayer⁷⁷ until we were all amazed at everything that the Lord accomplished through him. And we gave glory to Christ who glorifies His saints.

13. Then, there was a big and harmful dragon on the Capitoline Hill which St. Sylvester had destroyed by the sign of the cross of Christ and locked him up in his den.⁷⁸ After that, another huge

⁷⁷ The curing of the sick is part and parcel of the hagiographic genre. But beyond following a common topos, the author of TD may have been inspired by a similar description in Aa §774. However, in Aa the healing takes place on the Armenian soil, not in Rome. The author of TD raises Gregory's importance in affirming that the saint performed these miracles in Rome to the awe and wonder of all.

⁷⁸ This information comes from the *Life of Sylvester*, possibly relying both on its Armenian and Greek versions. Cfr Chapter 2, pp. 76–79 for further discussion of the issue, as well as the symbolic significance of fighting a dragon and a unicorn, all intended to boost Trdat's legendary standing.

այսորիկ երևեցաւ այլ վիշապ մի մեծ և ահագին ի սահմանս մեր և բազում
 փասս առնէր մարդոյ և անասնոյ: Եւ էր ի նոյն սահմանսն միեղջերու մի
 մեծ և ահագին. նոյնպէս և նա փասս առնէր մերձակայ սահմանացն: Եւ 5
 մարտնչէին ընդ միմեանս հանապազ միեղջերուն և վիշապն, և ոչ ոք իշխէր
 անցանել առ նոքաւք: Չոր լուեալ սիրելոյն իմ ի մանկութենէ Տրդատայ՝
 զինեալ զինքն և ամրացուցեալ նշանաւ խաչին Քրիստոսի և աղաթիւք
 սուրբ Լուսաւորչիս, և ըստ յաջողելոյն Աստուծոյ, եհար և սպան զվիշապն
 և զմիեղջերուն. և կտրեալ զհասարակ եղջեր միեղջերուին՝ պարզեցաւ ինձ 10
 թիւրակէս և անդեղայս թունահալածս: Իսկ ես զհասարակ խաչամասինն
 Քրիստոսի, զոր մայրն իմ բերեալ էր ինձ նշան յԵրուսաղէմէ, հատեալ զայն

3 և] om A_1 4 փասս] f. + u AS_1 4 առնէր] գործէր A առնէր C 4 մարդոյ և անասնոյ]
 ի մարդ և յանասուն y 4 ի] om C 4 սահմանսն] սահմանն bEgK_gM₂mS₁
 f. om F₅ 4 միեղջերու] միեղջու B մի եղջիր E միեղջիրու IK միեղջիրի S₁
 եղջերու T 4 մի] om FF₃F₅ 5 փասս] f. + u S₁ 5 մերձակայ] մերձակայիցն
 B մերձակայս + և սահմանակից էին միմեանց վիշապն և մի եղջերուն F₃ +
 գաւառացն և y 5 սահմանացն] om BF₃ 5 Եւ] om B_gCF₃ 6 մարտնչէին]
 + հանապազ y 6 միմեանս] f. և I [...] N₉ 6 հանապազ] omt և ոչ ոք F₃
 om y 6 միեղջերուն] միեղջերին A_g միեղջերոյն F միեղջերուն I միեղջերուն y
 6 վիշապն] վիշ[...]] իշխէր N₉ 7 առ] om K 7 սիրելոյն] սիրոյն AF₅ սիրելին B_gT
 սիրելուն C սիրելիմ y 7 իմ] իմոյ A_gF₅ om y 7 ի մանկութենէ] մանկութենէ
 om ի_{ant} gM₂N₉ om F₅ 7 ի մանկութենէ Տրդատայ] տրդատ ի մանկութենէ
 bS₁ 7 Տրդատայ] om B տրդատ Ely 8 զինեալ] զինել y 8 զինքն] + խաչին
 քրիստոսի C 8 աղաթիւք] աղոթաւք A₁ աղաթաւք CN₂ 9 Լուսաւորչիս] f. և
 BCEIF₃F₅ 9 ըստ] ընդ AS₁ 9 յաջողելոյն] i. om AA_gB_g աջողելոցն E 9 եհար]
 էհար A₁CFIN₉T 9 և] om F 9 սպան] i. + և A_g i. + է F 9 զվիշապն]
 i. om F₃ 9–10 զվիշապն և զմիեղջերուն] զմիեղջերին և զվիշապն g_gK_gM₂m
 10 զմիեղջերուն] + և առեալ զգլուխս նոցայ բերէր և ելեալ ընդ առաջ նորայ
 մեք [մենք B] ամենեքեան և [om և B] զարմացաք զի իս. եզն բերեալ լծեցաք և
 ուժգին հազիւ մուծաք ի շոռմ քաղաքի D_g եղջերոյն F զմիեղջերին F₃ զմիեղջրին
 y 10 կտրեալ] կտրել C 10 զհասարակ] զհասակ B_gC 10 եղջեր] եղջեր A₁ f.
 + և BFF₃F₅ եղջերն C + մի S₁ om y 10 միեղջերուին] եղջիրուին A եղջերուին
 A₁FF₃y միեղջիրին B om F₅ մի եղջերին gK_gM₂ մի եղջիրին m միեղջերուն N₉
 10 ինձ] omt թիւնայիալածս B ինն E 11 թիւրակէս] f. + u A_g f. q N₂N₉y թրակէս T
 11 անդեղայս] անդ եղև այս FF₃F₅ անգեղէ այս gM₂ անգեղէայս Km անգեղայս S₁
 11 թունահալածս] թիւնահալածս AA_gB_gF₃F₅ 11 զհասարակ] om B զհասարկ
 M₂ 11 խաչամասինն] զխաչամասն D_g խաչափայտի մասն F₅ խաչ մասինն
 g_gK_gM₂m 12 մայրն] f. om F₅ 12 էր] omt յերուսաղէմէ A_g 12 յԵրուսաղէմէ]
 f. այ D_g 12 հատեալ] om B + ի խաչափայտէն Քրիստոսի, զոր Տեառն եղբայրն
 շնորհեաց [շնորհեալ էր S₁] մաւրն իմոյ bS₁

3 + այլ [վիշապ] L^A F₃ 3–4 Եւ էր ի նոյն սահմանս մեր և բազում փասս առնէր
 մարդոյ և անասնոյ ditt and ras C 4 միեղու + 4⁰ ջ w^A B 10 եղջիրին + 6⁰ ու w^A A;
 եղջերուն + 7⁰ ի w^A T

dragon appeared within our borders and caused much harm to people and animals. And within the same borders there was a huge unicorn which also caused damage at the nearby confines. And the dragon and the unicorn were constantly fighting with each other and no one dared to pass by them. Having heard this, my beloved since young age, Trdat, put on his arms and fortified himself with the sign of the cross of Christ as well as with the prayers of the Holy Illuminator, and by divine operation struck and killed the dragon and the unicorn. [Then] he cut and donated half of the horn of the unicorn to me as an anti-poison and antidote against venom.⁷⁹ And I cut half of the relic of the [True] Cross of Christ which my mother had brought to me as a sign from Jerusalem and gave it

⁷⁹ Some versions of the Greek *Physiologus* mention the anti-poisonous characteristics of the unicorn's horn. Cfr Chapter 2, pp. 78–79 for further discussion. This exchange of gifts is quite curious and even scandalous if one considers that Constantine exchanges the unicorn's horn with such an invaluable relic as a piece of the True Cross, which according to one tradition (found, *inter alia*, in MX 1913, 88) was discovered by his mother Helen in Jerusalem. One wonders what the reaction of TD's contemporaries may have been when reading these lines. One thing is sure. The author attempts to provide 'proof' that Armenians had more than one piece of the True Cross, one of which was given to them by no one less than the first Christian Emperor.

336^v ետու Տրդատայ՝ դեղաթափ և | կենաց պատճառ յաւիտենական, յազգաց յազգս ի փառս Աստուծոյ:

14. Պատմեաց մեզ փառաւոր ֆրէրս մեր Տրդատիոս վասն ամենայն անցիցն անցելոց. եթէ որքան ընդ տանջանաւք էարկ գտուրք[ն] Գրիգոր յաղագս ի Քրիստոս հաւատոցն բովանդակ գերկուս ամս չորեք տասան չարչարանաւք, անողորմ և անխնայ հարկանելով զնա: Եւ կամ թէ որպէս գերեքտասան ամ էարկ զնա կերակուր աւծից ի խոր վիրապին, որ ի 5 դղեկին Արտաշատու: Եւ կամ թէ որպէս պատերազմեցաւ պոռնկական պակշոտութեամբ ընդ դստեր քուեր մաւր իմոյ՝ ընդ համասնունդն իմ Հռիփսիմէ ի Վաղարշապատ քաղաքի, ևս և զպարտութիւն, որ յաղթեցաւ ի կուսն զաւրութեամբն Քրիստոսի: Կամ թէ որպէս զանազան տանջանաւք սպան զնա և զընկերս նորա, զսնեալքն սրբութեամբ ի սուրբս սանթէս: 10

13 և] om A 13 յազգաց] i. om A₁BbEFF₅gKM₂mN₂N₉Ty 14 յազգս] i. om E 14 փառս] + Քրիստոսի FF₃F₅ 14 Աստուծոյ] f. + ն + մերոյ F₅ 14.1 Պատմեաց] + և_{ant} F₅ 1 մեզ] + և FF₃ 1 ֆրէրս] ֆրէրս CgmS₁ փրէրս T 1 մեր] om F₃F₅T 1 ամենայն] om F₃ f. + ի K_g 2 անցիցն] f. om A_gBC 2 անցելոց] f. + ն B անցանելոց C 2 եթէ] i. om ABbCEFF₃F₅IS₁y 2 որքան] որչափ A_g 2 ընդ] om CFF₃S₁ 2 գտուրք[ն] f. om N₂ 3 յաղագս] յաղաքս E յաղակս M₂ 3 ի Քրիստոս] om Ի_{ant} f. + ի T 3 բովանդակ] f. + u A om CFF₃F₅ 3 գերկուս] f. om BCFF₃ om y 3 ամս] f. om A_g i. + q y 3 չորեք տասան] om A_g 3 տասան] omt էարկ y տա[...] N₉ 4 անողորմ] f. + ն BN₂ 4 անխնայ] i. + j BbCFgIKM₂mN₉y 5 աւծից] f. + ն AA_gI + թիւնաւորաց F₅ 5 վիրապին] om որ C վիշապն omt և կամ F₅ 6 դղեկին] դեղեկին F₃ դղեակն y 6 կամ] om A_{g2} 6 պատերազմեցաւ] պատերազմաւ F₅ 7 պակշոտութեամբ] պազշոտութեամբ K պաքշոտութեամբ S₁ 7 ընդ] om y 7 քուեր] քուեր CEFgM₂mS₁ om F₃y քվեր F₅KT 7 մաւր] f. + ն S₁ 7 իմոյ] մերոյ ACFF₃F₅ 7 ընդ] և F₅ 7 համասնունդն] f. om EF₃MT 8 Հռիփսիմէ] հռեփսիմէ b հռեփսիմէ E 8 ևս և] և ևս D_gIy om ևս ET 8 զպարտութիւն] ըստ պարտութիւն E զյաղթութիւն նորա y 8 որ] ոյ C 8 յաղթեցաւ] f. + ն BbEI 9 Քրիստոսի] + և BbEFIy 9 Կամ] om S₁ 9 զանազան] om FF₃F₅ 10 սպան] եսպան FK էսպան I 10 զընկերս] f. + ն B զընգերս M₂ զնկերս T 10 զսնեալքն] զսնեալսն F սնեալն F₃F₅ 10 սուրբս] f. ն y 10 սանթէս] սանթենէս AB_gCT սանթանէզ A₁FF₃F₅ սանթէս g սանթէս M₂m

1 + ամենայն L^A A₁ 2 + ընդ L^A N₂

to Trdat as an anti-poison and source of life in all eternity, from nations to nations, for the glory of God.

14. [Then] our glorious *frère*⁸⁰ Trdatios told us about all that had come to pass:⁸¹ how much he caused the Holy Gregory sufferings because of his faith in Christ, cruelly and pitilessly tormenting him for two full years⁸² with fourteen tortures. And how he threw him for thirteen years in a deep pit as food for snakes, near the castle of Artašat;⁸³ how he fought with licentious desire against the daughter of my mother's sister, my co-nurtured [sister] Hrip'simē⁸⁴ in the city of Vaḫaršapat, and how he was defeated by the virgin with the power of Christ; or how he killed with manifold tortures her and her companions, nourished in sanctity by the holy Saint;⁸⁵ and

⁸⁰ The Armenian version uses the Old French loan word which I maintained in the translation. The sources of this section are discussed in detail in Chapter 2, pp. 79–82. Unless otherwise indicated, most of the information in this and the following sections is a standard, synthesised version of Aa (or sources dependent upon it) about the conversion of Trdat and his Kingdom. Some details, however, are different.

⁸¹ Both Aa §875–876 and Vg §183–189 have a similar layout. When Constantine and Trdat meet, each tells the story of his conversion in a succinct form. Other sources dependent on Aa provide the same information with some variations, e.g. Uxtanēs 1876, 106, tells that each King told about his conversion in front of a crowd.

⁸² Neither Aa nor Vg give the length of time that Gregory's tortures lasted. Moreover, he is said to have gone through twelve tortures, while in TD we read fourteen. This could be due to the confusion between the letters p and ḡ indicating two and four respectively. However, many manuscripts do not abbreviate the number and clearly spell it out as 'fourteen'. Moreover, besides two sister mss (mss F₅L), which could have made a deliberate correction to twelve (from ḡ to p), no other mss, even those belonging to the Agat'angelos group, give the number as twelve.

⁸³ Aa §122 (where also the location of the pit near the castle of the city of Artašat is given), 124, 132 say the incarceration in the pit lasted for thirteen years, while in Vg §54, 136 and 183 the length of St. Gregory's incarceration in the pit is said to be fifteen years.

⁸⁴ Aa §181 on the fight between Trdat and Hrip'simē. On the lineage, which makes Hrip'simē a relative of Emperor Constantine, cfr, for example, MX 1865, 323, which says that the 'horn of salvation', 'the Holy and victorious Emperor Constantine' came from Hrip'simē's dynasty. On this fictitious relationship see also Thomson 1997, 284. For further discussion, cfr Chapter 2, p. 80.

⁸⁵ The Armenian text uses an Old French loan word 'saint' (spelled as 'sant'), instead of the usual Armenian *surb*. This may be a reference to St. Gayanē, the abbess of the monastery in Rome whence the virgins fled. I have assumed that 'santēs' is employed in ablative singular (as the case ending suggests) and have translated the phrase accordingly.

Եւ թէ որպէս յետ եաւթն աւուր սպանմանն Հռիփսիմ[ե]ա[յ], եհաս ի վերայ բարկութիւն յԱստուծոյ և այսահարեալ փոխեցաւ ի կերպարանս վայրենի վարագի: Եւ <թէ> որպէս տեսեամբն Խոսրովիդիստոյ հանաւ սուրբն Գրիգոր ի վիրապէն՝ ի ձեռն Աւտայի նախարարի և հաւատարմի արքայի: Եւ թէ որպէս սուրբ Լուսաւորիչն աղաւթիւք էած ի զգայութիւն 15 մարդկան զՏրդատ, և յերկրորդում աւուրն ամփոփեաց զսուրբն Հռիփսիմէ, 337^բ և զԳայիանէ, և զերեսուն և հինգ ընկերս նոցա: Եւ յետ վեց աւուրն բժշկեաց զամենայն հայաստանեայս: Եւ յետ վաթսուն աւուրն ետես աչաւք բացաւք սուրբն Գրիգորիոս զիջումս միաձնին ի չափար պաղատանն

11 Եւ] + կամ CD_gIy 11 թէ] om bT 11 յետ] om γ 11 եաւթն] p F₅
 11 սպանմանն] f. om E 11 Հռիփսիմ[ե]ա[յ]] հռիփսիմէ B հռեփսիմէի bI
 հռեփսիմեայ CN₉ հռեփսիմէի E հռեփսիմեայ F₃ հռիփսիմեանց F₅ հռիփսիմա N₂
 հռիփսիմէի S₁γ 11 եհաս] էհաս CF₅IS₁ 11-12 ի վերայ] + նորա AA_gB_{g2} om CFF₃F₅
 12 բարկութիւն] f. + ն N₉ 12 յԱստուծոյ] i. om ACFF₃IKMm + ի վերայ CFF₃F₅
 12 այսահարեալ] ասահարեալ B 13 վայրենի] om AIF₅ 13 թէ] om A₁N₂N₉
 13 տեսեամբն] f. om γ 13 Խոսրովիդիստոյ] խոսրովիթիստոյ C խոսրովիդիստի
 EI խոսրովիդիթի γ 14 սուրբն] f. om C 14 Գրիգոր] f. + ն F₃ + ի վեր N₂ [...] N₉
 14 ի վիրապէն] om B_{g2} [...] N₉ 14 Աւտայի] նօտարի A օտայի E օտայ gK_gM₂m
 աւտարի I [...] ամփոփեաց N₉ օդայի γ 14-15 նախարարի և հաւատարմի
 արքայի] հաւատարիմ նախարարի արքայի F₅ 14 հաւատարմի] հաւատարիմ
 AA₁B_gCFF₃g 15 սուրբ] om A_{g2}Ey f. + ն BbF₅ 15 սուրբ Լուսաւորիչն] լուսաւորիչն
 սուրբն գրիգորիոս C 15 Լուսաւորիչն] f. om b գրիգոր F₅ 15 աղաւթիւք]
 աղաւթաւք A₁ 15 աղաւթիւք էած] աղօթէած F₃ 15 զգայութիւն] սգաստութիւն
 BM₂my զգաստութիւն bEIK_gS₁ սգայութիւն Cg 16 զՏրդատ] omt 14.18 և յետ զվ.
 աւուրն A_g 16 յերկրորդում] f. + ն B յերկրորդում b i. om ES₁ i. q F₅ 16 աւուրն]
 omt բժշկեաց E 16 ամփոփեաց] անփոփեաց A₁BbF₃F₅I + զմարմին սրբոց
 հռիփսիմեանց omt և հետ վեց աւուրն F₅ 16 Հռիփսիմէ] հռեփսիմէ bI [...] N₉
 17 զերեսուն և հինգ] q լէ. F զլ. և է. F₃ 17 ընկերս] ընգերս B 17 նոցա] [...] N₉
 17 յետ վեց] յերրորդում B յերրորդում bEI երրորդում S₁γ 17 աւուրն] f.
 om F₃F₅ 18 զամենայն] զագգն F₅ 18 հայաստանեայս] հայաստանայս A₁Fy
 f. + ն b հայաստան C հայաստանեաց E հայաստանս F₃ հայաստանեայց F₅
 18 վաթսուն] կզ. A_g 18 աւուրն] f. om A_gγ + վարդապետութեան A_g 18 ետես]
 էտես C 19 բացաւք] իւրովք B_g omt զիջումս F₅ 19 Գրիգորիոս] գրիգոր BbEIy
 19 միաձնին] omt և զսիւնսն B_{g2} f. om F₃γ բանին աստուծոյ F₅ 19 չափար] չափար
 FF₃ om F₅ 19 պաղատանն] պաղան A պաղատն F₃g_gKM₂my ի չափապաղատն
 F₅

12 + ն{ն}ր{ա} [բարկութիւն] L^A A 15 աղաւթ + 5⁰ իւր w^B B 16 յերրորդումս corr
 յերրորդումս 3⁰ p ras B 18 հայաստանեայ + 11⁰ g w^B F₅ 19 պաղատանն + 5⁰ w w^A
 N₂

how seven days⁸⁶ after the execution of Hrip'simē the fury of God befell upon him and he was possessed by demons and took the appearance of a wild boar. [He told us] how thanks to the vision of Xosroviduxt⁸⁷ St. Gregory, taken out of the pit by the loyal *naxarar* Awtay, led Trdat to human sense by prayers. [Then] on the second day⁸⁸ he buried St. Hrip'simē and Gayanē and their thirty-five⁸⁹ companions. After six days⁹⁰ he cured all Armenians and after sixty days St. Gregory saw with open eyes the descent of the Only Begotten on the fence of the royal palace,⁹¹

⁸⁶ Aa § 211 says that Trdat spent six days in deep sadness, then decided to go on a hunt, thus his transformation into a boar would take place on the seventh day after the holy women's death.

⁸⁷ Aa § 215–216 and Aa § 217–220 on the visions of Xosroviduxt and the liberation of Gregory from the pit by Awtay.

⁸⁸ From the context the 'second' day should be counted after Gregory came out of the pit. Aa § 223–224 does not specify the day, but says 'afterwards' Gregory asked about the bodies of the Holy Women and 'wrapped them' in their torn clothes. Their burial happens somewhat later.

⁸⁹ Aa § 209 numbers them thirty seven, including Hrip'simē and Gayanē.

⁹⁰ Aa § 722 and § 726 says that the 'curing' of the people and the partial curing of Trdat happened on the sixty-sixth day, as Gregory's Teaching lasted for sixty-five days. However, the author of TD knows about the tradition (at least since the 10th century) that all Armenians fasted for six days (and this would be said to have been the first *Arājaworac* 'fast as discussed in Chapter 1, pp. 36–39) and then were cured by St. Gregory. TD gives the correct 'date' for the vision of Gregory, since it happens six + sixty = sixty-six days after he came out of the pit. It happened in the middle of the night preceding the 'curing' of the people (as in Aa § 732); thus on the sixty-sixth night after Gregory's liberation from the pit.

⁹¹ The location of the descent in Aa § 736 is the 'royal palace' without specifying the wall/fence.

արքունի, և զսինսն զչորեսին, և զխորանն երկնանման, զձև և զյարիւնուած 20
գումբէթաշէն կաթողիկէին, և զայլ խորհրդական տեսիլսն, զոր ծանոյց նմա
հրէշտակն տեսոն: Նաև զդառնալն իւր ի մարդկային կերպարանսն յետ
ե[ա]լթանաստուն աւուրն, զի յառաջ քան զայս, ոտքն և ձեռքն փոխեալ էին
վասն սպասահարկութեան [սատարաց] սրբոցն:

15. Պատմեաց և վասն մեհենաց քակման յերկրին հայոց և խոր-
տակման բազնացն համաջինջ, և թէ ո՞րպէս դէքն մարմնաւոր տես-
լեամբ հակառակ կային, պատերազմ յարուցանէին պաշտաւնեալքն իւ-
րեանց՝ որպէս ի Տարաւն ի տեղին Գիսանեայ, զորս զամենեսեան
հալածեաց հայրս հանուրց Գրիգորիոս, յաշխարհն Մարաց, որ է ի 5

20 զսինսն] f. om By զսինն EF₅K_gM₂m զսին T 20 զչորեսին] i. om A_gB_gF₃F₅
20 զյարիւնուած] զարիւնուած A₁Bbly զօրինակ E զօրինած F₃ զօրինուած F₅
զշինուած S₁ 21 գումբէթաշէն] գումպէթաշէն A₁EI գումբէթաշէն C զմբէթաշէն
FF₃S₁T զմբէթաշէն F₅g կմբէթաշէն KM₂m զմպէթաշէն y 21 կաթողիկէին]
կաթողիկէին CF₅gT 21 խորհրդական] խորհրդան A խորհուրդական C
21 տեսիլսն] տեսիլն B տեսիլն F₃ 21 ծանոյց] հասկացոյց B_g ծ[...]
N₉ 22 հրէշտակն] f. om AA₁F₅KT 22 տեսոն] + և թէ որպէս ամփոփեաց զսր[ն
gm] Հոփսիմէ և զԳայիանէ և զլէ ընկերս նոցա և ապա բշշկեաց զամենայն
հայաստանեացս [հայաստանայս gM₂] A_g om F₅ [...]լն N₉ 22 զդառնալն]
զդառալն I 22 կերպարանսն] f. om AA₁A_gB_gT կերպարան F₅ [...] N₉ 22 յետ] +
ի_{ant} B 23 ե[ա]լթանաստուն] կ. B_gC կթանաստուն N₂ 23 աւուրն] f. om A_gy 23 ոտքն]
f. om A i. + q b 23 ոտքն և ձեռքն] ձեռքն և ոտքն CFF₃F₅ 23 ձեռքն] i. + q b + միայն
g_gK_gM₂m 23-24 փոխեալ էին վասն սպասահարկութեան [սատարաց] սրբոցն]
միայն բշշկեաց սուրբն Գրիգոր վասն զի զդիսն Հոփսիմէանցն փորելոյ D_g
24 սպասահարկութեան] սպաստ հարկութեան EI սպասայարկութեան F₅ [...] N₉
om y 24 սատարաց] սպասաւորաց Ey սարտաւաց FF₃N₂N₉ շիրիմացն
F₅ սպասաւորացն I 24 սրբոցն] f. om EFF₃F₅y 15.1 Պատմեաց] + մեզ
AT 1 մեհենաց] մեհենեաց A₁CT մեհենեացն bF₃S₁ մեհեաց F₅ f. + ն g մեհենիցն
K_gM₂m 1 մեհենաց քակման] քակման մեհենացն BEly 1 յերկրին] յերկիրն
C 2 բազնացն] բազնեացն AD_gF₅T բազնեացն F₃ 2 համաջինջ] բնաջինջ
A_g 2 թէ] om B 2 դէքն] դնն F₃ 3 հակառակ կային] հակառակէին + և A_gB_g
3 պատերազմ] f. + ն gM₂m 3 պաշտաւնեալքն] պաշտօնէիւք A_g պաշտաւնէիւքն
B_{g2} պաշտաւնեայքն CFF₃ պաշտօնէիւքն F₅ պաշտոնայքն T պաշտօնայօքն y
4 որպէս] om AA₁T որ B 4 տեղին] տեղիսն F₃F₅ 4 Գիսանեայ] զիսանայ A₁BbEIS₁
իզանեայ F₃ զիսանեայ K կիսանայ T զիսիանէ y 4 զամենեսեան] f. + ն AA₁TN₉
5 հալածեաց] om F₅N₉T 5 հայրս հանուրց] ի հայոց BbEIS₁ + սուրբն B_gF₅ հայոց
հանուրց F₅ om y 5 յաշխարհն] + ի_{ant} D_g 5 Մարաց] մայրց F₃ omt 16.9 զիս
երնջիս A₁ 5 ի] om B

20 զիւնսն + 1⁰ u w^A F₃ 24 զդիսն + 3⁰ p with a different hand w^A B 15.2 համայջիջ
+ 7⁰ ն w^A F₃

and all four columns and the heaven-like altar, and the shape and form of the domed cathedral church, and other mysterious visions that the angel of the Lord revealed to him. And how after seventy days⁹² he [Trdat] regained human shape, since before then [only] his feet and hands were transformed in order to [be able to perform] the service for the auxiliaries⁹³ of saints.⁹⁴

15. He also told us about the demolishing of temples in the land of Armenia as well as the utter destruction of pagan altars and how anthropomorphic demons opposed [them] and fought along with their priests as in Tarawn, in the location of Gisanē.⁹⁵ Our father Gregory pursued all of them until the country of Media which is to the South of the Caspian

⁹² All B family mss and C give sixty days here. Aa does not specify how many days after his transformation into a wild boar Trdat comes back to human shape. However, if one puts the numbers together, it should be more than seventy days, since after sixty-six days of Gregory's teaching, everyone was busy building the *martyria* of the Holy Virgins. Moreover, (Aa §767) Trdat goes on a seven-day journey to 'Azat Masis' in order to bring huge stones for the construction. Thus, the author of TD rounded up the number to be seventy, instead of, for example, seventy three.

⁹³ For problems related to the Armenian variants of this lemma cfr Chapter 3, pp. 316. The service in question is the burial of the Saints.

⁹⁴ Aa §765 on the curing of Trdat's hand and feet first, for the construction of the Virgins' *martyria*. This detail is missing in Vg.

⁹⁵ Demons who look like a real army (a cavalry) and who resist the destruction of the temples are mentioned in Aa §774. The location of Gisanē in the region of Tarawn, however, is based on the account of Yovhan Mamikonean, cfr YM 1941, 36, 79, 94–100 and Chapter 2, pp. 80–81 for further discussion. In Aa §780, the demons flee to the 'Northern parts, among the inhabitants of the Caucasus mountains', whereas in TD they escape to the region of Media 'South of the Caspian Sea' which is what Koriwn Vardapet 1981, 88 also reports. I am grateful to Dr. Peter Cowe who suggested the use of the latter source to me.

[հարաւակողմն] Կասբիական ծովուն: Անդ դադարեցան դեքն ամենայն՝
 հալածեալքն ի հայոց: Յիշեցուցանէր մեզ և վասն սրբոյն Նունէի մերոյ, և
 վրաց վարդապետի, թէ ո՞րպէս ի Մծխիթայ քաղաքի բժշկեաց յանբուժական
 ախտէն զՍողոմէ՝ զդուստր սորա, որ էր կին Միհրան[այ]՝ աղախնորդոյն
 Արտաշրայ պարսկի: Եւ թէ ո՞րպէս հրաշ[ի]ւք քարոզեցաւ անունն Քրիս- 10
 337Վ տոսի ի լեառնամէջսն Կովկասու, ի մէջ վայրե[նամիտ բարբարոսացն: Նաև
 զմենամարտիլն իւր ընդ գաւթացոյն Գեթոնեհոնի և ընդ ճոպան[ա]ծիզ
 [ճորացոյն]: Ջայս ամենայն լուեալ մեր՝ ի ձայն արքիմուրեան փառաւորե-
 ցաք զՔրիստոս Աստուած, որ զլոյս փառաց իւրոց փայլեաց յըն[դ]հանուր

6 հարաւակողմն] f. om EF₅ հարաֆակողմն F₃ հարաւոյ կողմն N₂ 6 Կասբիա-
 կան] կասբից F₅ կասպիական T 6 դադարեցան] դատարեցին F₃ դադարեաց
 F₅ 6 դեքն] + հայոց հալածեալքն F₅ f. om S₁ 6 դեքն ամենայն] ամենայն
 դեքն B₂g₈K₈M₂m 6 ամենայն] om FF₃F₅ 7 հալածեալքն] f. om BEg₈IM₂my
 հալածեալ K 7 սրբոյն] om A₈F₅ 7 Նունէի] նունեայ + և մանեայ A₈ f. + և BbEI
 նունէի սրբոյ F₅ նոյնէի T 7 մերոյ] om A₈ մօր մերոյ F₃F₅ 7 և] om A₈CD₈FF₃F₅
 8 վարդապետի] f. + և F₃ 8 Մծխիթայ] մցխիթայ BbF₅S₁ մծխթայ Igm մցխիթ y
 8 քաղաքի] f. և F₃F₅ f. om y 8 յանբուժական] հանբուժական A յանբժշկական
 A₈ ի բուժական B i. om S₁ 9 ախտէն] յաղթէն S₁ 9 զՍողոմէ] զսողոմոնէ BE
 զսողոմվոնէ I զսողոմվէ K₈M₂m 9 զդուստր] f. + և E i. om I 9 սորա] i. և F₅ որպէս
 E 9 էր] է g 9 էր կին] յերկրին F₅ 9 Միհրան[այ]] միրանայ Bb միրանա CFF₃
 մեհրանայ m միհրանս N₂ մերանայ S₁ 9 աղախնորդոյն] աղախնոյն որդոյն E
 խորհրդակցի F₅ 10 Արտաշրայ] արտաշիրայ BEI արտիշարայ b արտաշիրի
 y 10 պարսկի] պարսիկ F₃ 10 որպէս] որպիսի CFF₃F₅ 10 հրաշ[ի]ւք] հրաշեալք A հրաշալք N₂N₉ 10 քարոզեցաւ] քարոզաւ bS₁ 10 անունն] f. om
 Cy 11 լեառնամէջսն] լեառնամէջն B₈F₅ լեռնամէջն CM₂m f. om g լեռնամէջն T
 11 Կովկասու] կովկասայ BbES₁ կովկասայ I 11 վայրենամիտ] վարենամիտ
 B վարենամտի I 11 բարբարոսացն] բարբառոսացն EF₃F₅T f. om om t զայս
 ամենայն y 12 զմենամարտիլն] զմենամարտելն CK զմետնայմարտիլն
 F₃ f. om m զմիայնամարտիլն T 12 իւր] om F₅K 12 գաւթացոյն] գաւթացոյն
 B գոթացոյն CK գոթացոյն E գաւդացոյն F գոթացոյն F₅ գաւթացոյն gM₂m գոթացոյն M գոդացոյն T 12 Գեթոնեհոնի] գեդոնեհոնի
 BbEF գեդոնեհոնի C գեդոնեհոնի I գետոնեհոնի T 12 և] om A₈ 12 ճոպան[ա]ծիզ] ճաւանածիզ A ճոպանածիզ F₃T ճապանածիզ F₅ ճոպանա ձնիզ I ճոպանածիզ
 N₂N₉ 13 ճորացոյն] ճճորացոյն ACN₂N₉T ճորացոյն BbEIom ճաւրացոյն F
 ճիւրայացոյն F₃ ճորացոյն F₅ 13 Ջայս] i. om F₃ 13 մեր] om F₃F₅ 13 ի
 ձայն արքիմուրեան] om B₈ 13-14 փառաւորեցաք] փառաւորեցայք KN₉
 14 Աստուած] + մեր IT 14 որ] + զոր T 14 զլոյս] զլուս BC om T 14 փառաց]
 փառաւորաց A f. + և bS₁ 14 իւրոց] om B₂ իւր y 14 փայլեաց] ծագեաց
 B₈F₅ 14 յըն[դ]հանուր] յընթահանուր ABbKM₂m ընդհանուր F₃ ընթահանուր F₅
 յընթանուր gN₂N₉Ty զընդհանուր S₁

8 բշկեաց + 1⁰ ժ w^A F₃ 10 + հրաշալք m^R N₉

Sea. There, all the demons, chased by Armenians, came to a halt. He also reminded us about our St. Nunē,⁹⁶ the teacher of the Georgians, and how in the city of Mcxet'a she healed from an incurable disease Sołomē, his [Trdat's] daughter, who was the wife of Mihran—the son of the slave-concubine of Artašir the Persian; and how with miracles she preached the name of Christ in the mountains of Caucasus amid fierce barbarians. [He told] also about his fight with Get'rehon the Goth, the cord-throwing [warrior] from Čoray.⁹⁷ When we heard all this, with a voice of blessing, we glorified Christ God since the light of his glory shone in all parts [of

⁹⁶ The account of Nunē, her healing of the Georgian queen, and the conversion of Georgia is based on MX 1913, 2.85, but information on Mihran's Persian lineage is found in the Armenian version of the *Kartlis Cxovreba* or *Georgian Chronicles*. See Chapter 2, pp. 81–82 for further discussion.

⁹⁷ The transition from the story of Nunē to Trdat's fight with Get'rehon is abrupt. Perhaps what ties it to Nunē is the geographical location of her evangelical activities, i.e. 'the mountains of Caucasus amid the fierce Barbarians' and the origin of the Barbarian Get'rehon from the 'Gates of Caucasus' or Čoray Pahak. Trdat's fight with a Barbarian northern king is mentioned in MX 1913, 2.85 and Uxtanēs 1871,80–82 who depends on MX. These two authors do not specify the name of the king, while YM 1941, 129–136 does. Cfr Chapter 2, p. 81 for further discussion.

կողմանս հիւս[ի]սոյ, յարնելս և յարնմութս, Երոպիական աշխարհիս, 15
Յաբթեանս բաժնիս:

16. Սոյնպէս և մեք պատմեցաք Տրդատայ՝ փեսայեղբարս իմում, զպատե-
րագմիլն իմ յունական զարաւքս ընդ խուժադոժ ազգացն զաւթացոց,
և զպարտութիւն իմ յայնկոյս Դանուբայ՝ զետոյն հզարի, և զերևութն
ինձ յերկնից աստեղանշան խաչին, և զվերագիրն լուսեղէն, եթէ. «Այսու
յաղթեսցես», զորոյ զարինական ետու ղնել ի դրաւշային իմոյ և նկարել ի 5
վառս սանջախացն և ոմբացն, նաև ի նշանս պատերազմական զինուցն և
ի կուրտակս վեղենդի արացն, որովք զարացեալ զարացն իմոց, հարին

15 հիւս[ի]սոյ] հիւսուսոյ Bm հիւսըսոյ bE հիւսուսոյ CFIM₂N₂ հիւսոյ g հիւսիսի
y 15 յարնելս] յարնեալս C i. om S 15 և] ի C om K_g 15 յարնմութս]
i. om S₁ 15 Երոպիական] կրոպական E և ըսպիական S₁ կրոպեական y
15 աշխարհիս] f. և F₅ 16 Յաբթեանս] յաբթեան B յաբթեանս F յաբթեանն
F₅ f. om g_gK_gM₂m յաբթեան M₂ արթեանս T 16 բաժնիս] բաժին CF₅ բաժինս
F₃ 16.1 Սոյնպէս] i. և A_gEF₃F₅ i. om y 1 մեք] մենք B 1 Տրդատայ] om F₅
տրդատեայ N₉ 1 իմում] մերում CFF₃F₅ + տրդատայ F₅ 1-2 զպատերագմիլն]
զպատերագմելն Ky 2 իմ] իմում BS₁ մեր EIy 2 յունական] յունակ T
2 զարաւքս] f. և FF₃F₅ 2 ազգացն] ազգն FF₃F₅ i. + j y 2 զաւթացոց] զաւթացոց B
զոդթացոց C գոթացոց EmS₁ գոթացոց Fy գութացոց F₃ գոթացոց F₅ զաւթացոցն
I գոդացոց T 3 զպարտութիւն իմ] զմիւս պատերազմն F₅ 3 յայնկոյս] +
ի_{ant} AB_{g2}F₃IN₂N₉T ի կոյս C յանկոյս F₅ f. + և IF₃T 3 Դանուբայ] f. p AB_gCFF₃N₂T
դանուբայ F₅M₂m [...] N₉ 3 հզարի] մեծի F₅ 4 ինձ] om AF₅T իմ A_g 4 յերկնից]
+ ի_{ant} AA₁BbCEFF₃g_gIKM₂mN₂N₉Ty i. om F₅S₁ 4 աստեղանշան] աստեղանման
AT աստղանշան A_gbF₃ աստղանման F₅ 4 զվերագիրն] զվերադիրն FF₃
զվերնագիրն F₅g_gK_gM₂m [...] N₉ 4 եթէ] թէ B_{g2} էթէ Cg և թէ T 4 Այսու] i. +
j S₁T 5 յաղթեսցես] յախթեսցես T [...] N₉ 5 զորոյ] որ BbEIy զարոյ C զոր
S₁ 5 զարինական] i. om S₁ 5 դրաւշային] դրաւշին BbE դրոշին CI դրաւշանին F
դրոշակին F₃T դրոշակին F₅ դրոշմին S₁y [...] N₉ 5 և] om B_{g2} 5 նկարել] նկարեալ
B_{g2} նկարիլ m [...] N₉ 6 վառս] i. փ K_g 6 սանջախացն] սանձախացն ABbEIFF₃S₁T
f. om A_g շանձադացն F₅ սանջախացն y 6 ոմբացն] i. + j AC ըռմպացն BbT
i. + p omt նշանս F₅ ըռմպաց gKM₂m ըռմպաց S₁ ըռնպացն y 6 նշանս] f. om
B_g 6 պատերազմական] f. + u F₃ [...] N₉ 6 զինուցն] f. om A_g 7 կուրտակս]
կորակս F₃F₅ om ի_{ant} F₅ կուրդակս gM₂m կորդակս K_g կորտակս T 7 վեղենդի]
վեղենդի F [...] N₉ վաղենտի y 7 վեղենդի արացն] վեղէն դահացն g_gK_gM₂m
7 արացն] արանցն AbCF₅S₁ արեանցն B արանց EF₃Iy f. om F 7 որովք] f. om
A_g 7 զարացեալ] om C f. + p F₃T 7 զարացն] f. om E

4 [այսու] + նշանաւ m^L K, + նշանաւ with a different hand m^R E; յայու + 3⁰ u w^A
T 5 յաղթեսցես 6⁰ u corr u I 5 դրաւշին + w^A 5⁰ այ m ; նկարել + w^A 5⁰ u E
7 արեանցն 3⁰ և ras B

the world], in the North, in the East, and in the West—in the land of Europe, the heritage of Japheth.

16. In the same manner we told Trdat, my⁹⁸ most intimate brother, how I waged war with my Greek army against the barbarian nations of the Goths and my defeat on the other side of the mighty river Danube, and about the apparition from the heavens of a star-signed Cross and a luminous epigraph: ‘You will win with this.’⁹⁹ I gave this image to put on my flag and to paint on the signs of banners and slings, as well as on the emblems of military gear and on the helms of officials.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Even though the subject of the clause is in plural (we), the pronoun ‘my’ is in singular in Armenian. I have maintained this in English.

⁹⁹ While many sources talk about Constantine’s vision of the Cross (usually in connection with the Battle of the Milvian Bridge), the author of TD here is indebted to a text known as the *Invention of the Cross*, cfr Nestlé 1895, 319–345 for the Greek text and Sanspeur 1974, 307–302 for the Armenian version. Only here is it noted that the vision took place on the ‘banks of the Danube.’ For further verbal parallels between TD and this *Vision of Constantine*, cfr Chapter 2, pp. 83–85.

¹⁰⁰ The Armenian version has an unidentified hapax here, possibly referring to *silentiarioi*. Cfr Chapter 3, p. 317 for discussion. I translated it more freely as ‘officials’.

զհոյլսն հեթանոսական հիւսիսաբնականցն, և զդառնալն իմ յաղթութեամբ
 ի Հռոմ: Բայց ի ճնշելն զիս երնջիս իմոյ, ստեցի ճշմարտութեան և դարձայ
 ի թշուառութիւն իմ, զի հարաւ ի սիրտ իմ սուրն փափուկ, որ սպանանէ 10
 և ոչ տայ զգալ: Դիմադարձ եղէ քրիստոնէական հաւատոյս, մոլեկան
 338^ր պատերազմ յարուցի, զի զգաւրս իմ կոտորեցի, որք հաւատացելալք
 էին ի Քրիստոս: Ջոր ոչ արար անտես տէր, այլ էարկ զանձամբ իմով
 զեղափանդական բորոտութիւն, զոր ոչ կարացին բուժել ճարտարքն ճեմա-
 րանին, սովեստէսն սոկրատեան (և գովեալ գումարքն գաղիոսեան), մինչև 15
 յայց ել մեզ արեգակն ի բարձանց և լուսաւորեալ բժշկեաց զմեզ սուրբս
 Սեդրեստրոս և հաստատեաց զմեզ ի հաւատս ճշմարիտս:

8 զհոյլսն] f. om K_g զհուլսն T 8 հեթանոսական] om F₅ 8 հեթանոսական հիւսի-
 սաբնականցն] հեթանոսականաց հիւսիսական գնդին γ 8 հիւսիսաբնականցն]
 հիւսուսաբնականցն Bb հիւսուսաբնականցն CFM₂mN₂ հիւսիւսաբնականցն E
 հիւսիւսաբնականցն K 8 զդառնալն] զդառնեալն B 8 իմ] om C 8 յաղթութեամբ]
 ի հաղթութենք F₃ 9 Հռոմ] հռովմ C հռոմ F₃g 9 ճնշելն] ճնշել B ճշնելս S₁
 9 երնջիս] երջիս F₃ երնջոյս gK_gM₂m էրինջիս I 10 իմ] եմ A₁ 10 հարաւ] f. ն B_g
 10 սիրտ] f. + u A₁bF₃I 10 սպանանէ] սպանէ KM₂m 11 ոչ] om F₃ 11 տայ զգալ]
 տաս գալ E 11 զգալ] i. u bFF₅gIM₂mN₂N₉ 11 քրիստոնէական] քրիստոսական
 KM₂m 11 հաւատոյս] հաւատոցս g 12 յարուցի] յարուց C 12 զի] և AA_gF₅γ
 12 զգաւրս] i. om BEIK_gM₂m հզօրս F₃ i. om f. om T 12 կոտորեցի] կոտերեցի
 B 12 որք] f. om A_gEγ 12 հաւատացեալք] f. om A_gF₅S₁ 13 Քրիստոս] f. + ի
 om ի_{ant} EFIγ 13 Ջոր] բայց A_g f. + u C 13 ոչ] որ C 13 արար անտես] անտես
 արար g 13 տէր] տէրն անտես F₃ f. + ն F₅N₂ 13 էարկ] i. om γ 13 իմով] իւրով
 F₅ 14 զեղափանդական] om F₅ 14 բորոտութիւն] f. + ն FI om S₁ 14 բուժել]
 բժշկել B_gA_gF₅ + բուժշկել F₃ 14 ճարտարքն] f. om AA_gC 14-15 ճեմարանին]
 ճեմարանիս + իմոյ D_g 15 սովեստէսն] սովեստէս ABbI սոքեստէս A₁
 սովեստէսն C սովեստէսն E սովեստոսն F₅ սովես սէ[ե M₂]սն gKM₂ սովես
 սէսնոս m սովեստէսն S₁ սովեստէսն γ 15 սոկրատեան] սոսկրատեան E
 ոսկրատեան gKM₂m սոկրատան I սոքկրատեան T սոկրատէն γ 15 և գովեալ
 գումարքն գաղիոսեան] om F₃F₅N₂N₉ 15 գումարքն] f. om γ 15 գաղիոսեան]
 գալիոսեան B_g2F պաղիանոսեան gKM₂m գալիոսէն γ 16 ել] + ի_{ant} CBb i. om ES₁γ
 16 արեգակն] արեգական F₃ 16 լուսաւորեալ] լուսաւորել N₂N₉ 16 զմեզ] om S₁
 16 սուրբս] ի ձեռն սրբոյն F₅ 17 Սեդրեստրոս] սեդրեստրոսի F₅ սեդրեստրիոս
 I սեդրեստրոս S₁ 17 հաստատեաց] հայաստանեաց m 17 զմեզ] om A_g
 17 ճշմարիտս] f. om BEI omt 17.8 յիշատակն γ

9 ճշմարտութիւն իմ corr թշուառութիւն իմ I; թշութիւն + 2⁰ ուստ w^A A₁;
 ճշմարտութեան + 5⁰ տ w^A T 10 հարեան 4⁰ ե ras B; սիրտս 5⁰ u ras B 11 զգեալ 3⁰ q
 corr u, 3⁰ ե ras B 12 հաւատացեալ + 10⁰ p w^A F₃ 13 + արար I^A A 15 սոքրատեան
 + 3⁰ կ w^A T 17 հաւատ [ճշմարիտս] + 5⁰ u w^A F₃; սեդրեստրիոս 9⁰ ի ras I

My army became empowered by it and crushed the multitude of pagan northerners, and I returned to Rome with victory. But as my wife¹⁰¹ pressured me, I betrayed the truth and turned [back] to my misery, since my heart was pierced by a soft sword which kills but does not let you feel it.¹⁰² I turned against the Christian faith, launched a fierce war and killed my forces which were believers of Christ. This was not unnoticed by the Lord who struck me with the elephantine leprosy, which neither the skillful [doctors] of the academies, nor Socratic philosophers nor the praiseworthy multitude of Galenic [doctors]¹⁰³ could cure, until the Sun from on high visited us and, having illuminated us, St. Sylvester healed us and confirmed us in the true faith.

¹⁰¹ The Armenian word used in this location—*երեցիս*—is usually applied to indicate a female ox but is found also in the sense of ‘wife, woman’ in the Armenian translation of the Bible. Cfr NBH.

¹⁰² MX 1913, 2.83 mentions these details, e.g. Constantine’s conversion and apostasy under the influence of his wife. However, TD has closer verbal parallels with the Armenian version of the *Vita Silvestri*, VS [in SSEH], 720–722. For further discussion, cfr Chapter 2, pp. 86–88. His ‘elephantine leprosy’ and baptism by Sylvester are also described in these sources.

¹⁰³ The Armenian text has a garbled lemma here, e.g. *գաղիսական/պաղիսական* in most mss, but two sister mss F₁F₄ (not included in the apparatus, since their text is too corrupted) also attest to *գաղիսական*. While I have not corrected the Armenian text, I have chosen this translation based on the context. The passage wishes to convey that traditional (presumably Galenic) medicine or wise philosophers could not cure Constantine, but this was achieved only through baptism by Sylvester. I express my gratitude to Dr. Sergio La Porta who had suggested this reading as an emendation even before I had access to mss F₁F₄.

17. Արդ, յայսմհետև հնազանդիմք հաւրս մերոյ հոգևորի և դնեմք զթագ թագաւորութեանս մերոյ ընդ ոսիւք հայրապետացս սրբոց: Եւ մեք կամք ի ներքոյ ձեռին սոցա կամակատար ծառայ Աստուծոյ և Աստուածաբեալ սրբոցս: Զի հաւատամ ճշմարտութեամբ, եթե եաւթն սիւնք են յաշխարհիս ի մերում ժամանակիս՝ սուրբս Սեղբեստրոս յարևմուտս, և սուրբս Գրիգորիոս 5 յարևելս, և սուրբն Անտոն ի հարաւ, և սուրբն Նիկողայոս ի հիւսիս, սուրբն Մակար Երուսաղէմայ, և սուրբն Յակոբ Մծբնայ, և սուրբն Եփրեմ յՈւռհայ: Յիշատակ սոցա արհնութեամբ, և աղաւթք սոցա և ամենայն սրբոց ի վերայ ամենայն աշխարհի և ի պայագատ պաղատանս մերոյ:

17.1 յայսմհետև] + h_{ant} BbS₁ 1 հնազանդիմք] հնազանդեմք AEF₃gKM₂ 1 մերոյ] omt ընդ ոսիւք E 2 թագաւորութեանս] թագաւորականս BbS₁ 2 ընդ] առ F₅ 2 հայրապետացս] + մերոց CFF₅ 2 սրբոց] om C 2 մեք] մենք B 2 կամք] om T 3 ի ներքոյ] om E 3 ձեռին] ոսից I ձեռաց S₁ 3 սոցա] + և F₃ 3 կամակատար] կամատար A₁F կամակար B_{g2} 3 ծառայ] f. + p A₁T 4 հաւատամ] f. + p A₁bF₅S₁ f. u I 4 եթե] թէ A_g 4 եաւթն] չորք A₁T om E 4 սիւնք] f. om T 4 են] + է. E 4 յաշխարհիս] f. om A_g + h_{ant} Bb i. om f. om F₅ 5 մերում] om h_{ant} bS₁ f. + u M₂m 5 ժամանակիս] f. om AA₁A_gBbFIS₁ + ա. E 5 սուրբս] f. և CF₅K_gM₂mN₂ 5 Սեղբեստրոս] սեղբեստրոս S₁ 5 յարևմուտս] + h_{ant} i. om S₁ 5 և] om CF₅N₂N₉ p. E 5 սուրբս] f. և CD_gEF₅ om I 5 Գրիգորիոս] գրիգոր ACFF₅ + լուսաւորիչն հայաստանեաց ի b 6 յարևելս] ի արևելս + հայաստանեաց S₁ 6 և] om CF₅ q. E 6 սուրբն] omt նիկողայոս EF₃ 6 Անտոն] անդոն ACK անտոնս N₂N₉ 6 և] om CF₅ 6 սուրբն] f. om AA₁CEKN₉T omt յակոբ A₁T 6 Նիկողայոս] + զմիւռնա հայրապետն b նիկաւլայոս F նիկոլայոս F₃ նիկոլայոս K + զմիւռնո հայրապետն S₁ 6 հիւսիս] + և AA_gD_gI հիւսիւս BN₂ հիւսւս CF հիւսիւս + դ. E հիւսւսիս ց հիւսսի K հիւսսի M₂m 7 Երուսաղէմայ] յերուսաղէմ AB_{g2} յերուսաղէմի F₅ 7 և] է. E om F₅ 7 Յակոբ] յակովբ g յակոբոս T 7 Մծբնայ] ի մծբին AA₁B_{g2} omt յիշատակ սոցա A₁T ի մծբինա I 7 և] q. E om F₅ 7 Եփրեմ] եբրեմ C 7 յՈւռհայ] յուրհայ AA₁BF₅ + h_{ant} D_g + է. սբն. յոհան ի աստրիս E om F₃ i. om S₁ 8 Յիշատակ սոցա] որոյ յիշատակ սոցա b որոց յիշատակն F₅ 8 սոցա] i. և T 8 արհնութեամբ] + եղիցի bF₃F₅S₁ արհնութիւն I 8 աղաւթք] աղօթիւք EF₃F₅KM₂mS₁ 8 սոցա] + բարեխօսութեամբ omt և ի պայագատ F₃ i. և T 8 սրբոց] f. + և + քրիստոս աստուած omt ամենայն F₅ 9 ամենայն] om bS₁ 9 աշխարհի] + ևս A_g f. + u + եղիցի bS₁ 9 ի] + վերա F₅ 9 պայագատ] պահագատ B_g 9 պաղատանս] պաղատս A₁A_gD_g 9 մերոյ] մեր A₁F₅g_gK_gM₂m մեր + ամեն D_g + ողորմեսցի ամեն F₅

9 պայագատանս 3^0 j corr h w^A A; անս + i. պաղատ corr պաղատանս A

17. Thus, from now on we obey our spiritual father and place the crown of our kingdom at the feet of the Holy Patriarchs. And under their guidance we are a docile servant of God and God-made saints. Since I truly believe that there are seven pillars in the world in our times: St. Sylvester in the West, St. Gregory in the East, St. Antony in the South, St. Nicholas in the North, St. Macarius in Jerusalem, St. James in Nisibis and St. Ephrem in Uṛha.¹⁰⁴ May their memory [remain] with blessings and may their prayers and those of all saints be in the whole world and for the successor¹⁰⁵ in our palace.

¹⁰⁴ The enumeration of saints is very similar to a passage in the Armenian *Martyrdom of St. James (Arm)* 1813. On the significance of number seven and its ecclesiological implications, cfr Chapter 2, pp. 100–105.

¹⁰⁵ The Armenian is problematic. It uses *payazat* in acc. case (lit. *in our successor*) not appropriate in the context. I have translated the phrase according to the overall sense.

18. Արդ, եկեղեցի և եկեղեցականք, և վանք և վանականք, ամենայն զոյիւք իւրեանց ազատ և անհարկ լիցին յամենայն դիմոսական հարկաց արքունի: Նաև որք ունին զնշան կուսութեան և պարկեշտութեան, արք և 338^v կանայք, չուխազգեստք և պարեգաւտեահանդերձք, ամենեւթեան ազատք լիցին և յարքունուստ զգեցցին և կերակրեսցին: Իսկ որք անհնազանդին 5 հրամանաց մերոց և ընդ հարկաւ արկանեն զեկեղեցի կամ զքահանայ, զկրաւնաւոր կամ զհաւատաւոր, հարեալ, հալածեալ լիցին յերեսացն Աստուծոյ, և որոշեալք ի հաղորդութենէ սուրբ հաւատոյս, և պատիժ պատուհասի կրեսցեն ի մերմէ թագաւորութենէս և յամենայն աթոռա- կալաց մերոց: Իսկ համարէն մարդիկ սեփիական ազգացս դադմատացոց 10

18.1 եկեղեցի] om CF₅ f. + p F₃y 1 և] om CF₅ 1 եկեղեցականք] omt ամենայն A_{g2} f. + u I 1 և] om bCF₅S₁ 1 վանք] om F₅ 2 լիցին] լինիցին E 2 յամենայն] i. om KS₁ 2 դիմոսական] դիոսական KM₂ 2 հարկաց] հարաց F₃ յարկացն F₅ 3 արքունի] արքունեայ B i. + j E 3 զնշան] i. om f. + u F₅ 3 և պարկեշտութեան] om B_gF₅ 3 արք] որք F₃ 4 չուխազգեստք] չուխասզեստք BIN₂N₉y չուխա ազգեստք C f. om E չուխայազգեստք F չուխայզգեստք F₃ չուխայասզեստք gM₂m չուխասզեստս I չուխա սզգեստք S₁ չոխազգեստք T 4 պարեգաւտեահանդերձք] պարեգաւտահանդերձք AA₁FF₃F₅N₉T պարեգաւտ B պարեգաւտահանդերձք b պարեգաւտահանդերձք CgKM₂ պարեգոտս հանդերձք E պարգաւտահանդերձք I պարեգոտ հանդերձիւք S₁ պարեգոտէ հանդերձք y 4 ամենեքեան] ամենեքին A 4 ազատք] f. om Ag₈K_gM₂mS₁ 5 լիցին] լինիցին ES₁ 5 յարքունուստ] i. om F₅ 5 յարքունուստ զգեցցին և կերակրեսցին] կերակրեսցին յարքունուստ և B_g + սզեսցին B + զգեցցին bES₁y + զգեցցեն I 5 զգեցցին] զգեսցին C սզեցցին gM₂mN₂ սզեսցին N₉ 5 անհնազանդին] անհնազանդեսցին A_g անհնազանդ[+p E] լիցին BEy անհնազանդ լինին bI անհնազդեն F₅ անհնազանդ լինիցին S₁ 6 հրամանաց] հրամաց B 6 մերոց] իմոց B_{g2} 6 արկանեն] հարկանէն I արասցեն y 6 կամ] և B 6 զքահանայ] + կամ A_g + և կամ F₃ 7 զկրաւնաւոր] + և E զկրաւոր I 7 կամ] և AT₁ om F₂F₃ 7 զհաւատաւոր] f. + u F₄ հաւատվոր I զհաւատայոր T 7 հարեալ] + և AB_gT 7 հալածեալ լիցին] հալածեսցեն և որոշեալ լիցին F₅ 7 լիցին] լիցի F₃ լցին T 7 յերեսացն] i. om S₁ 8 որոշեալք] f. om FF₃ բաժանեալք F₅ 8 հաւատոյս] omt 19.12-13 և արդ հաւաքելով F₅ հաւատոցս S₁ 8 պատիժ] + ի_{ant} E f. + u F 9 ի մերմէ] մերում D_gEy ձերում I 9 յամենայն] i. om S₁ om y 9-10 աթոռակալաց] i. + j Ey 10 համարին] համօրէ F₃ համարին S₁ 10 մարդիկ] f. + p ABS₁ 10 սեփիական] սեփական A₁BIK_g 10 ազգացս] f. om A_gy 10 դադմատացոց] դադմատացոց AA₁CEF₃N₂ դադմատացոցս A_g դադմատացոցս BbS₁

2 և անհարկ + L^A A; դիմոսական + 4⁰ u w^A B; դիոսական + 2⁰ մ w^A m 4 չուխազգեստք 6⁰ q corr u w^A A₁ 5 սզեսցին 1⁰ and 4⁰ u corr g with a different hand B 7 զկրաւոր corr զկրաւնաւոր (?) I 7 էալ + հալած m^L K 10 մեր + 3⁰ ոց L^B b 10 համարիւրէ + 7⁰ ն w^A M₂; ազգաց + 5⁰ u w^A A

18. Thus, may the Church and clerics, monasteries and monks, with all their belongings, be free and exempt from all royal taxes. And those who bear the sign of virginity and humility, men and women, those who wear a woollen monastic habit and those who wear a tunic, may they all be free and clothed and fed from royal [coffers]. And those who disobey our orders and exert a tax from a church or a priest, a religious [person] or a monk, shall be castigated and chased down from the face of God, excommunicated from the holy faith and penalised with great punishments by our royal [authorities] and all [successive] holders of our chair. On the other hand, all people of our own nations of Dalmatians

և հայոց ամեննին անգլխահարկ լիցին, բայց յամենայն վաստակոց իւրեանց հնգակք տացեն ի դրունս արքունի, և այլ դիմոս ի դրունս նոցա մի՝ երթիցէ: Իսկ այլ ազգք և լեզուք, զորս մեծաւ պատերազմաւ հնազանդեցուցաք մեք և հայք, նոքա պարտին մեզ զգինս զլիտց իւրեանց, բաց ի հնգակէն: Եւ տան մեզ ոսկի և արծաթ ըստ կարի ի տարին երեք անգամ. գարունն ի գլխէ, և 15 ամառն յանասնէ, և աշունն յարդեանց մտէ: Իսկ աղքատքն և աւտարքն ընդ այսո[ւ]իկ մի՝ յիշեցին: Բայց վաճառականքն, որք շրջին անահ և շահին ի մերում աշխարհիս և յամենայն իշխանութեան մերում, և ոսկեհանք, և արծաթահանք բաժինս հանցեն մեզ:

339^r 19. Իսկ ի հանգչել հրամանաց հզարիս մերոյ, ես՝ ինքնագլուխս պո[տ]այ պապայս Հռոմայ Սեղբեստրոս, և ամենայն աշխարհի, յորժամ տեսի

11 և հայոց] om A_g 11 ամեննին] ամեննին BC 11 անգլխահարկ] զլխահարկ E անգլուխ հարկ F_3 f. p K 11 յամենայն] ամեն E 11 իւրեանց] իւրոց E 12 հնգակք] հնկակք AN_2 հնկեակք F_3 հնգեակ KM_2m հնգեակս T 12 հնգակք տացեն ի դրունս արքունի] ի հնգէն զմինն տան ի տունս արքունի BbI ի հընկէն զմինն տան ի տունս արքունի[ս S_1] ES_1 հնգէն զմինն տացեն ի տունս արքունի γ 12 դրունս] տունս C 12 արքունի] om AF 12 ի դրունս նոցա մի՝ երթիցէ] մի՝ երթիցէ ի դրունս նոցա A_g 12 դրունս] f. om $A_1N_2N_9T$ 12 երթիցէ] երթացէ B երթայցէ CEI 13 ազգք] f. om AB γ om E 13 զորս] f. om AB 14 մեզ] + տալ D_gI 14 զգինս] f. om T 14 բաց] բայց ABbEIKS $_1$ Ty 14 հնգակէն] հնկակէն $AF F_3N_2$ հնգեկէն BbgIM $_2$ my հնկէն E հնգէն K հնկէն S_1 14 տան] տացեն γ 15 կարի] կարգի C 15 ի] om A_gC 15 գլխէ] f. + ն I 15 և] om B_gF_3 16 ամառն] i. + j E f. + ն gM_2 16 յանասնէ] i. om ES_1 16 և] om B_g 16 յարդեանց] + p_{ant} C յանդեաց F i. om S_1 յարդանց T 16 աղքատքն] f. om AB $_g$ CT աղքատ A_1 16 աւտարքն] f. om B_g 17 այսո[ւ]իկ] այնոսիկ AIS $_1$ i. + j bC այսոքիկ N_2 17 յիշեցին] իշխեցին B յիշեցին C 17 վաճառականքն] f. om AA $_g$ B $_g$ 17 որք] f. om AA $_g$ BbCEy 17 անահ] om b S_1 f. + p T 17 և] om C 18 մերում] om B մեր IK $_g$ 18 մերում աշխարհիս] յաշխարհիս մերում b յաշխարհես մերում S_1 18 աշխարհիս] i. + j D_g 18 և] om A_g 18 յամենայն] om C i. om ES_1T 18 իշխանութեան] f. + u B_gF_3 իշխանութին g 18 ոսկեհանք] ոսկեհանք A_1EF 18–19 և արծաթահանք] om F f. q T 19 բաժինս] f. om CT 19 հանցեն] արացեն S_1 տայցեն γ 19.1 հանգչել] հանկչել AA $_1$ om p_{ant} C om F f. + ն F_3 1 հրամանաց] f. + u S_1 1 հզարիս] f. ն E 1 հզարիս մերոյ] մերոց հզարիս F_3S_1 1 մերոյ] մեր γ 1 ես] և A_gD_gE և ես Iy 1–2 պոտայ պապայս] պոտապապոյս K_g պոտապապայս M_2mN_2T 1 պոտայ] պոռոտայ A om A_1F ֆրոտյ BbI f. om CF $_3$ g ֆրանգ E ֆրոտոյս S_1 ֆրոտոյ γ 2 պապայս] պապս AA $_1$ Fy պապաս E պապոյս S_1 2 Հռոմայ] f. + u A հռովմայ BCKM $_2$ m N_2 + և ամենայն աշխարհի Fy հռոովմայ g om T 2 Սեղբեստրոս] սեղբեստրոս Fy սեղբեստոս M 2 և ամենայն աշխարհի] om Fy 2 աշխարհի] f. + u B_g 2 տեսի] + ես D_g

1 հանչել + 3^0 q w^A g 1 + ֆրոտոյ m^L A

and Armenians, shall be fully free of head-taxes, but give to the royal court one fifth of all their earnings. And no other tax-collector shall approach them. But other nations and languages, whom we and the Armenians subjugated with a great war, shall give us a head-tax besides the one-fifth tax. And they shall give us gold and silver according to their capacity three times a year: in the spring for the head-[tax], in the summer from the income of their animals and in the autumn from those of the fields. However, the poor and the strangers shall not be counted [for the payment of these taxes] but merchants, who circulate without fear and earn profits in our domain, as well as gold and silver miners, shall give us a part [of their earnings].¹⁰⁶

19. After¹⁰⁷ our mighty [Emperor] finished his orders, I, the autocephalous *Proto-Pope*¹⁰⁸ of Rome and of the whole world, Sylvester, when

¹⁰⁶ This description probably reflects the real taxation policy in Armenian Cilicia. The Armenian Church was an important land owner both in Greater Armenia and in Cilicia. Sources speak about various donations made by kings and princes to churches and monasteries. Since many of these were headed by representatives of important feudal families, such donations were not only a means of not alienating real estate from one family but also putting it in a privileged position. Churches and monasteries, indeed, were not taxed. Cfr Bořnazyán 1973, 205–216; Langlois 1863, 65. Moreover, what TD says about the one-fifth tax and the head-tax (not withheld from Christians but from non-Christians) is confirmed also by the *Lawbook* of Mxit'ar Goš, MG 1975, 31–32. The head-tax was introduced under the influence of the Muslim system of taxation and it was, indeed, collected only on the Muslim subjects of the Armenian King. Langlois 1863, 37. TD mentions that merchants 'who circulate freely' should pay taxes. This may be an indication that TD was written before the stipulation of the first treaties with the Genoese and the Venetians in 1201. Cfr Sopracasa 2001, since after these agreements the Genoese and then the Venetian merchants were granted tax privileges, for the first time under King Levon I. However, TD refers to merchants in general without specifying their provenance. Its statements may reflect the reality before these privileges were introduced. Cfr also Langlois 1863, 105–112.

¹⁰⁷ Here the narration is always in the first person but the narrator is Sylvester.

¹⁰⁸ I have maintained the Greek transcription of *Proto* found in the Armenian text (as *přtay*).

[q]զարդու զաւակս իմ Կոստանդիանոս կայսրս, որ յամենայն զարութենէ իւրմէ զաւրացոյց և պատուեաց զպսակաւորն Հայոց Մեծաց զՏրդատէս և փառաւորեաց զազգն հայոց և զաշխարհն, սմին նման և նոյն հանգունակ 5 ըստ այսմս արարի, և ես յաւժարեցայ ի պատուել զմեծ խոստովանողս Քրիստոսի՝ զգահակիցս իմ զԳրիգորիոս: Կամակցութեամբ կայսերս մեծի, հրաման հանի ի հնազանդեալքս իմ՝ ի մերձակայ ազգս և յաշխարհս իտալացւոց (և ալամանացւոց և սպանիացւոց) իշխանութեանս, և ժողովեցի զամենայն արքեպիսկոպոսունս և զամենայն ուխտս եկեղեցւոյ ի դուռն 10 դոնաբացացս արքայութեան, ի պատուեալ պաշտգամս սրբոցս Պետրոսի

3 [q]զարդու] i. om BCEF₃T i. ը N₂ 3 զաւակս] f. ն y 3 Կոստանդիանոս] i. + q AD_gy կոստանդիանոս E կոստանդիս K 3 կայսրս] f. om AA_gCD_gEFF₃I i. + q S₁ f. ն y 3 յամենայն] f. + ի BbEIS₁ i. om ES₁ i. q F₃ 3-4 զարութենէ իւրմէ] om B_{g2} 4 իւրմէ] om y 4 և պատուեաց] և պատուաց B om A_g 4 զպսակաւորն] զպսակակալն y 4 Մեծաց] om B_g 4 զՏրդատէս] զՏրդատ BC + թագաւորն D_g 5 զազգն] f. u F₃ 5 հայոց] + զՏրդատէս C 5 զաշխարհն] f. u EI 5 նման] om B_g 5 հանգունակ] omt արարի B գունակ E հանկունակ I 6 այսմս] f. om bEIS₁y 6 այսմս արարի] այսմ սարարի A այսմ սարասի A₁CFK_gM₂mN₂N₉ այսմս արասի gF₃T 6 ես] + յաւժարութեամբ bS₁ 6 յաւժարեցայ] յաւժարութեամբ B + և ես bEIS₁ om y 6 պատուել] om ի_{ant} BC 6 խոստովանողս] f. ն BF₃S₁T 7 կայսերս] կա սերս A₁ f. om E 8 հրաման հանի] հրամանահանի I 8 հնազանդեալքս] հնազանդեալսն F₃ 8 իմ] + և D_gEI 8 մերձակայ] om ի_{ant} S₁ 8 ազգս] i. + j bF₃ 8 յաշխարհս] + ի_{ant} AF₃ i. om K_g 9 իտալացւոց] յիտալացոց E իտալացւոց gKM₂m 9 և] om A₁CF₃gKM₂mN₂N₉T 9 ալամանացւոց] ամալնացոց A om A₁A_gF₃N₂N₉T ալամանացոց BS₁ ալամնաց C ալամացոց E ալամնացոց F ալամացւոց I 9 սպանիացւոց] սպանիացոց AF om A₁A_gF₃N₂N₉T i. + ի B սպանիացոց E + ի_{ant} y 9 իշխանութեանս] իշխանութիւնս A_gbCN₂N₉Ty 9 և] om T 10 ուխտս] f. om Fg_gK_gM₂mTy 10 եկեղեցւոյ] f. + u A f. + ն C [...] N₉ 10 դուռն] դրունս D_g f. u I f. + u y 11 դոնաբացացս] + դրանն bEIS₁y դոնաբացս E դոնաբացս F₃ դոնաբացայս g դոնաբացեացս T f. om y 11 դոնաբացացս արքայութեան] Պետրոսի և Պաւլոսի B + երկնից bS₁ 11 պատուեալ] պատուել AB_gFT 11 պաշտգամս] զպատգամ A₁y պատշգամ A_g om B զպատգամ bCES₁ զպաշտգամս F 11 սրբոցս] զսուրբս + աստուծոյ omt և հաւաքելով B + աստուծոյ bS₁ 11-12 Պետրոսի պոետորի] պոետորի պետրոսի E

5 փառաւորաց + 7⁰ ե with a different hand w^A B 11 ditt արք ras b

I saw how my dear son Emperor Constantine strengthened and honoured the crowned king of Great Armenia Trdatēs, and glorified the nation and the country of Armenians with all his might, I also acted like this and in the same way. I also wished to honour the great confessor of Christ and my co-ruler Gregory. With the concordance of the great Emperor, I proclaimed an order to those subject to me, to the nearby nations and countries under the rule of the Italians and the Alamans and the Spaniards,¹⁰⁹ and I assembled all archbishops and the whole covenant of the Church to the open doors of the Kingdom, to the venerated *niche*¹¹⁰ of saints Peter, the *pretor*,

¹⁰⁹ Considering that TD was written around the time of the coronation of Levon II as King Levon I by the Holy Roman Emperor, the mention of the land of the Alamans here is not surprising. The land of 'Italy' is also clear. There is another source which mentions Italy and Spain together as papal territories, i.e. a letter of Catholicos Grigor Apirat to Pope Innocent III, in the year 1202. Haluščynskyj 1946, 566. Here we read: 'Verum gravissimus in Christo, quia audivimus a vobis legem nostram prope Romanam esse admotam, quae est totius mundi catholica Ecclesia, et sedet in capite *Italiae et Hispaniae* ...'.

¹¹⁰ The Armenian text has two competing variants here պաւնշքաւ (a niche, small upper construction, but also *bema*) and պաւնքաւ (order, instruction). For a discussion Cfr Chapter 3, pp. 318–320. I have selected the variant պաւնշքաւ for reasons outlined in Chapter 3, and translated it as a *niche* here.

պոետորի և Պաւղոսի գլխափոխանիս Քրիստոսի, հաւաքելով առ մեզ զբազմութիւն սրբութեանցս, որք կան ի մերում աշխարհիս ի Հերակլեան արձանէն մինչ յարձանն Մելիտեան, և ի Սեպտէ կղզոյն, որ հայի հանդէպ Ատլաս լերինն, մինչև ի Սիկիլիայ կղզին, յորում կայ հրակատարն 15

12 պոետորի] պոիտորի Agm պոտորի bS₁ պեոետորի C գլխափոխանիս Քրիստոսի T պոտոտորի γ 12 Պաւղոսի] պողոսի E 12 գլխափոխանիս] f. om bEIS₁ γ պոետորի T 12 Քրիստոսի] om A₁ + և BbS₁ 13 զբազմութիւն] i. om F₅ 13 սրբութեանցս] սրբութեանս B_{g2}F₅ 13 որք] f. om BCF₅ 13 Հերակլեան] հերակլան B 13-14 Հերակլեան արձանէն] յարձանէն հերակրեայ om ի_{ant} F₅ 14 արձանէն] արձանեան N₂N₉ 14 մինչ] f. + և AbCEF₃F₅Iγ 14 յարձանն] յարժան B i. om ES₁ + ի_{ant} F₅ 14 Մելիտեան] հերակլեան A₁ + ի_{ant} A_gB մելիտենեայ F₅ մելիտեան T մելիտէն γ 14 Սեպտէ] սպետէ B_g սեպտի om ի_{ant} F₅ սպետ S₁ սէպտէ T 14 կղզոյն] omt որում կար C 15 Ատլաս] այալաս B_{g2} պատլաս FF₅ տալաս γ 15 լերինն] լերինէ I 15 մինչև] f. om A₁FN₂ 15 ի Սիկիլիայ] իսկիլիայ A ի սկիլիայ B f. om E ի սիկլայ F₅ իսկելայ K իսկիլայ M₂m իսկիլիա γ 15 յորում] i. om AEF 15 կայ] կայր ACF 15 հրակատարն] հայրակատարն E

12 + պոետորի L^A F 15 հրակա արն + 5⁰ տ w^A A

and Paul, the successor of Christ.¹¹¹ I assembled a multitude of holy men¹¹² who are in our lands from the Pillar of Hercules¹¹³ till the Pillar of Malta,¹¹⁴ and from the island of Septem¹¹⁵ which stands facing Mount Atlas until the Island of Sicily, where the fire-pick

¹¹¹ I have not been able to identify the sources of these unusual appellations. It is Peter who is habitually considered the successor of Christ and it would be more befitting to call Paul a *praetor* in the Roman sense, i.e. the interpreter of the Law (of Christ). Yet, this reading is attested in all mss and no emendations can be suggested either in the Armenian text or for the translation.

¹¹² The Armenian word is an abstract noun, lit. the 'multitudes of holiness' which I have translated into English in its non-abstract meaning. The phenomenon of replacing non-abstract nouns with their abstract equivalents is something commonly found in Armenian mss, even as variant *lectiones*. Cfr Stone 1993, 21–22.

¹¹³ In the description of Lybia the *Ašxarhac'oyc'* nominates the 'Strait of Hercules'. Anania Širakac'i 2004 (1881), 18 and the Long Recension (ms V1245), 25, where the Strait of Hercules is identified with Septem, whence the 'Grecian Sea' (i.e. the Mediterranean) originates. When describing the 'Ocean', a Great Atlas and a Lesser Atlas are mentioned near the strait of Septem, and various rivers that flow between them are nominated. Cfr Anania Širakac'i 2004 (1881), 10 and in the Long Recension (ms V1245), 11. Further in the text, both recensions (1881, p. 18 and V1245, p. 25) enumerate five mountains in Lybia, including the Lesser Atlas which is said to be 'very famous'. However, the author of TD could have known about the Pillar of Hercules independently of the *Ašxarhac'oyc'* as the westernmost edge of the Mediterranean Sea. This is actually what he is trying to convey in the text, i.e. from the westernmost edges of the Mediterranean up to the islands of Malta and Sicily. It is interesting that these are not the easternmost islands of the Mediterranean (he did not mention, for example, Cyprus). The author may have wished to emphasise his (or his commissioner's) understanding of how far East in the Mediterranean the Pope's jurisdiction should reach. Or, since he was writing a forgery and attempting to re-create a fourth century situation, he was careful not to 'betray' a situation typical for his own times, i.e. that the Catholic church hierarchy existed much further East due to the Crusader conquests.

¹¹⁴ I have not been able to identify the Pillar (or Column) of Malta to which the author refers.

¹¹⁵ As was said in note 113, Septem is mentioned in the *Ašxarhac'oyc'* as the westernmost edge of the 'Grecian Sea'. It is specified that the Grecian Sea starts there. In the *Ašxarhac'oyc'*, however, Septem is not an 'island'. It is first referred to generically as a 'location' (i.e. *teti*), but then clarified to be a strait. Anania Širakac'i 2004 (1881), 10–11 and the Long Recension Ibid, (ms V1245) 11.

Բառկանիայ: Սոքաւք ամենեքումքք և հզար աջով սուրբ առաքելոցս և նշանաւ խաչիս Քրիստոսի՝ ձեռնադրեցաք զկաթողիկոսն հայոց զսուրբն 339^v Գրիգոր՝ պապ և պատրիարզ և հայրապետ, հրամանահան | տիեզերական ժողովս, համապատիւ մեր հզար աթոռոյս և Երուսաղեմացոյն և Անտիոքացոյն և Աղէքսանդրացոյն, և արհնեցաք զսա ահաւոր անուամբ 20 սուրբ երրորդութեան՝ ղնելով ի վերայ արժանաւոր զլիտ սորա զաջ սրբոյս Պետրոսի՝ վարշամակաւս Քրիստոսի: Եւ արարաք զսայ պատրիարզ Հայոց Մեծաց, [զի ինքնս] և ամենայն աթոռաժառանգ սորա

16 Բառկանիայ] բռկանիայ BbEIS_{1y} բառկանեա F₅ 16 Սոքաւք] սոքա EI 16 ամենեքումքք] ամենեքումք AA₁BCFM_{2m}T ditt F₅ 16 աջով] f. + ն B f. + p S₁ 16 առաքելոցս] f. ն F₃ առաքելովքս S₁ 17 նշանաւ] + սուրբ B_g 17 խաչիս] խաչիւս B_{g2} 17 Քրիստոսի] om B_g 17 զկաթողիկոսն] i. om f. om A_g զկաթողիկոսն CFF₅ f. om EF_{3y} կաթողիկոս g զկաթողիկոսս I 17 զկաթողիկոսն հայոց] հայոց զկաթողիկոսս D_g 17 զսուրբն] f. om A₁FN₂T om B f. u bEIS_{1y} 18 Գրիգոր] om B 18 պապ] om A₁K_g 18 և] om K_g 18 պատրիարզ] f. p BF₅N₂T 18 հայրապետ] om D_g + և y 18 հրամանահան] հրամանաւ FF₅ f. + ի F₃ 18–19 տիեզերական ժողովս] տիեզերաժողով A_g + և հայրապետ b + հայրապետ S₁ 19 ժողովս] ժողովոյս AB_gFF₃F₅ ժողովս A₁ 19 աթոռոյս] աթողոցս F₃ աթոռոցս K_gM_{2m} 19 և] om A_gCy 19 Երուսաղեմացոյն] երուսաղեմացոյն AEIN₂ երուսաղեմին A_g երուսաղեմացոյն Bb երուսաղեմացոյն F₃ երուսաղեմայ F₅ յերուսաղեմացոյն S₁ յերուսաղեմացոյն T 20 Անտիոքացոյն] անտիոքացոյն A անտիոքացոյն A₁bS₁ անտիոքացոյն BTy անտիոքայն C անտիոքացոյն EIN₂ անտիոքացոյն F անտիոքացոյն F₃ անտիոքայ F₅ անտիոքին gK_g անտոքին M_{2m} 20 Աղէքսանդրացոյն] աղէքսանդրացոյն A աղէկսանդրացոյն A₁bS₁ աղէկսանդրացոյն BIN₉ աղէքսանդրացոյն Cy աղէկսանդրացոյն EN₂ om l_{ant} om F աղէքսանդրացոյն F₃ աղէքսանդրու F₅ աղէքսանդրին g_gK_gM_{2m} աղէկսանդրացոյն T 20 արհնեցաք] արհնեցաք KN₉T 20 ահաւոր] om FF₅ 21 սուրբ] ամենասուրբ F₅ 21 երրորդութեան] f. + ն N₉ 21 ղնելով] ղնել A_g 21 սորա] om C սորոյ I 22 սրբոյս] f. ն ABbCEF₅IS₁Ty սուրբ A_g [...] 19.23 պատրիարզ F + առաքելոյս g + առաքելոցս KM₂ 22 վարշամակաւս] վարշամակաւքս B_g f. ն F₅ 22 արարաք] արազ C արաք T 23 պատրիարզ] f. p EF₅N₂T + և հայրապետ հրամանահան F₃ 23 [զի ինքնս] զինքն C զի նքնս N₂ 23 ինքնս] ինքս AA₁A_gBbEFF₃IS₁Ty f. om F₅ 23 աթոռաժառանգ] f. + p ABbF_gIKM_{2m}y 23 սորա] + ինքնակալ և bS₁

16 ամենեքումք + 9⁰ p w^A N₉ 18 հայրապե + 7⁰ տ w^B M₂ 19 + ե[րուսաղ]եմ, անտիոք, աղէկս[անդրիայ] m^{UR} K; + ե[րուսաղ]եմ, աղէքսանդրիա, Եփեսոս-
Կոնստանտինի[ն]ն[ուպոլիս], Էջմիածին, Կիպրոս, Հռոմ m^{BR} KM₂; a small church-
shaped drawing m^{BR} M₂ 20 աղէքսանդրացոյն + 8⁰ p w^A A 21 արժաւոր + 3⁰ ան w^A
T 22 սրբոյ + ն 5⁰ w^A B 23 աթոռայառանգ + 6⁰ d w^A F₃

of Vulcanus is,¹¹⁶ with all of them and with the mighty right-hands of the Apostles¹¹⁷ and the sign of Christ's cross, we ordained the Catholicos of the Armenians, Holy Gregory, as Pope, Patriarch and *Hayrapet*,¹¹⁸ commandant at universal councils, equal in dignity to our mighty See and those of Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria.¹¹⁹ And we blessed him with the awesome name of the Holy Trinity, putting on his worthy head the right hand of St. Peter with the *sudarium* of Christ.¹²⁰ And we made him the Patriarch of Great Armenia, so that he and all the successors on his chair

¹¹⁶ In the description of the Island of Sicily, the *Ašxarhaç'oyc'* enumerates its mountains. In the printed edition Anania Širakac'i 2004 (1881) and ms V1245 of the Long Recension, the mount Boynos of Sicily is told to have 'its pick always ablaze with fire'. However, Hewsen 1992, 91–92 note 60 reveals that in numerous mss of the Short Recension the variant Bořkanos (similar to what is found in TD) or its variations Urkanos, Bařkanos, Bařknos are found, which are corruptions of Latin Vulcanus. He explains that from the description of the mountain it could only refer to Mt. Etna. The same applies to TD and I have translated Mt. Bařkaneay as Mt. Vulcanus.

¹¹⁷ There is a grammatical problem in the Armenian. While the 'right hand' is in singular, the 'Apostles' is in gen. pl. with no competing variants. Thus, I have translated the expression as the 'right hands of the Apostles'. I assume that Sylvester is referring to the relics 'of the arms' of Apostles Peter and Paul, of which he will give a piece to Gregory (further in the text). Several lines below, however, it is specified that the Pope used (only) the right hand of Apostle Peter during the ordination ceremony. It is significant that in the midst of the rite of ordination, at the most crucial moment of this Liturgy, Sylvester does not place his own hand on Gregory's head but that of the Apostle Peter. This would diminish the significance of a 'dependant' relationship between Gregory and the Pope who ordains him as Catholicos. For further reflections on this issue, cfr Chapter 2, pp. 95–96.

¹¹⁸ The text leaves the impression that Gregory was already a catholicos and was ordained by Sylvester as Pope and Patriarch, *hayrapet* being the Armenian translation of the Greek *patriarch*.

¹¹⁹ This is the most important indication of TD's author's ecclesiology. While he admits that Sylvester ordains Gregory, he not only attenuates the significance of this ordination, but also declares in the words of Sylvester, that Gregory was equal not only to the Pope but also to the other Eastern Patriarchs. Towards the end of the text it will be emphasised that Gregory, in fact, was to be of higher dignity than the holders of the Sees of Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria. For efforts in Cilician Armenia to supplant the Patriarch of Antioch or be considered of higher dignity, cfr Chapter 1, pp. 34–35 and Chapter 2, pp. 96–100. The ordination of Gregory by Sylvester was mentioned also in a letter of Catholicos Grigor Tlay to Northern Bishops from 1178, NS 1871, 322. But while Grigor Tlay also mentions that the Illuminator first went to Caesarea, then to Rome, TD is silent on the traditional account of Gregory's ordination in Caesarea by Bishop Leontius found in Aa §805. SA also talks about the ordination of a Gregory (not the Illuminator but his offspring) by a Roman Pontiff, SA 1976, 56.

¹²⁰ On the *sudarium* of Christ cfr Chapter 2, p. 96.

ինքնագլուխք եղիցին՝ յիրեանց եպիսկոպոսացն առնելով ձեռնադրութիւն, առաջարկութեամբ յիրեանց թագաւորին: Եւ հայոց հայրապետն ձեռնա- 25
դրեսցէ կաթողիկոս Վրաց աշխարհին, որք մերոյն Նունէի աշակեր-
տեցան: Եւ ուր և լինիցին հայ ազգք սփռեալք յընդհանուր աշխարհս
ի մէջ այլալեզու քրիստոնէից, իշխանութիւն ունի հայոց պատրիարզն
ձեռնադրել նոցա կաթողիկոս: Եւս և աշխարհն Աղուանից եղիցին
ընդ հնազանդութեամբ հայոց հայրապետին, և առաջարկութեամբ աղու- 30
անից թագաւորին հայրապետն հայոց ձեռնադրեսցէ կաթողիկոս

24 ինքնագլուխք] f. om $AA_g B_g F_5 N_9 T$ 24 եղիցին] omt առնելով C եկեղեցեաց
+ քրիստոնէիցն եղիցի և F_3 24 յիրեանց] i. om B + ρ_{ant} BbEI 24 առնելով
առնուլ B_g 24 ձեռնադրութիւն] + հրամանաւ և bS₁ omt և հայոց հայրապետն
C 25 առաջարկութեամբ] հրամանաւ B i. + j F_3 25 յիրեանց] + հայրապետին
և F_5 25 յիրեանց թագաւորին] թագաւորին յիրեանց A_g 25 Եւ] իսկ F_5
25 հայոց հայրապետն] հայրապետն հայոց F_5 25-26 ձեռնադրեսցէ] ձեռնադրէ
 $A_1 A_g N_2 N_9 T$ ձեռնադրի F_3 26 կաթողիկոս] կաթողիկոս $A_1 BCFF_5 IM_2$ f. վ
m 26 որք] f. om $A_g F_3$ 26 մերոյն] f. om BF_3 մերուն CgN_2 26 Նունէի]
նունեայ + և մանեայ A_g նուննէի N_9 26-27 աշակերտեցան] աշակերտացն
 F_3 27 և] om $EFK_g M_2 m$ 27 լինիցին] լիցին $A_1 A_g CFF_3 F_5$ om T 27 հայ
ազգք] f. om $BCyT$ f. u E + ρ_{ant} $gM_2 m$ 27 սփռեալք] f. om $FF_3 F_5 K_g M_2 my$
սպռեալք T 27 յընդհանուր] + ρ_{ant} $AA_1 CF_3 N_2 N_9$ յընթիւնուր $ABEGM_2 m N_2 y$
յընթիւնուր $A_1 CIKT$ i. om b F_5 27 աշխարհս] f. om $AA_1 Ty$ աշխարհաց A_g f. p
 $F_3 N_2 N_9$ 28 ի մէջ] om A_g 28 այլալեզու] այլալալ լեզուաւ A_g այլ այլեզու E
28 քրիստոնէից] om A_g 28 ունի] om F_3 28 հայոց պատրիարզն] պատրիարքն
հայոց F_5 28 պատրիարզն] պատրիարքն T 29 ձեռնադրել] ձեռնատրել
T 29 կաթողիկոս] եպիսկոպոս $AF_5 T$ եպիսկոպոս A_1 կաթողիկոս $BCgM_2$
եպիսկոպոս. կաթողիկոսս bS₁ կաթողիկոսս F կաթողիկոսս I 29 Եւս]
om ES_1 29 և] om Bb առավել F_3 29 աշխարհին] i. + j Bb + ρ_{ant}
BbS₁ i. + q F_5 29 Աղուանից] աղաւնից $A_1 C$ աղաւնից bKm աղվանից
T 29 եղիցին] f. om BbCS₁ 30 ընդ հնազանդութեամբ] հնազանդութիւն
BbS₁ ի հնազանդութիւն Ely 30 հնազանդութեամբ] հնազանդութեան F_3
30 հայոց հայրապետին] հայրապետին հայոց Ely 30 հայրապետին] f. om
C 30 առաջարկութեամբ] հրամանաւ BbS₁ i. + j I առաջնորդութեամբ K_g
առարկութեամբ y 30-31 աղուանից] աղաւնից BbKm աղաւնից C աղվանից
T 31 հայրապետն հայոց] հայոց հայրապետն A_g 31 ձեռնադրեսցէ] ձեռնադրէ
 $F_3 N_2 N_9$ 31 կաթողիկոս] կաթողիկոս BI 31-32 կաթողիկոս նոցա] նոցա
կաթողիկոսս $A_g bCFS_1$ նոցա կաթողիկոս F_5

24 առնիցեն corr առնելով $m^R T$ 26 ունէի + i. ն $w^A I$ 27 ազգ + $3^0 p$ $w^A A$ 31 հայո
+ $3^0 n$ $w^A F_5$

be autocephalous, taking their ordination from their own bishops with the proposition of their king. And the Armenian Patriarch shall ordain the Catholicos for the country of the Georgians who were disciples of our Nunē. And wherever there are Armenians spread around the whole world, among Christians of other languages, the Armenian Patriarch has the right to ordain a Catholicos¹²¹ for them. Also the country of [Caucasian] Albania shall be subject to the Armenian Patriarch and with the proposal of the Albanian King shall the Armenian Patriarch ordain a Catholicos for them.

¹²¹ From the first glance it may sound strange that the Armenian Catholicos, who should be the only one with that title, is responsible for ordaining other *catholicoi*. However, the author of TD may have wished to propose a way of normalising a situation existing since the eleventh century when there were often more than one Armenian catholicos, each striving to affirm his legitimacy against the others. The author of the text may have wished to accept this *de facto* situation and at the same time to integrate it into a specific hierarchy, according to which only one legitimate heir of St. Gregory had the authority to consecrate the other catholicoi. Some mss propose the variant *episkoposs* (bishops) in this location. However, there is not enough basis to assume that the reading 'bishops' goes back to the archetypus and is not a deliberate correction. The variant 'catholicos' is found in mss of diverse branches and there is no reason to suppose that they are all corrupted. For further reflections and comparison of mss evidence, cfr Chapter 3, pp. 271–272. I have not made an emendation to the base text here.

նոցա: Եւ պատրիարգարանքն երեքին՝ Երուսաղէմ[ի] և Անտիոք[այ] և Աղէքսանդրիայ, յորժամ պատրիարգ ձեռնադրեն, կամաւք և ընտրութեամբ հայոց հայրապետին լինիցի: Եւ որ ոք նոր նստցի յաթոռ պատրիարգութեան, զդաւանութիւն | հաւատոյն իւրոյ, զոր պարտ էր մեզ ծանուցանել, 35 զայն հայոց հայրապետին ծանուցել՝, զի զնա կարգեցաք մեզ զլիափոխան և հրամանահան ի վերայ ամենայն ասիական միջնաշխարհիդ, և յելս արևու մինչև ի դրունս դրախտին, որում և վկայեաց հոգին սուրբ սրբութեան և արժանաւորութեան սրբոյն Գրիգորի:

32 պատրիարգարանքն] f. om A_gI պատրիարգարանն E պատրիարքարանքն F₅ պատրիարքարանք S₁ պատրիարգն T 32 երեքին] երեք C f. + p y 32 Երուսաղէմ[ի]] f. այ A_g f. + ն Bb երուսաղէմ CFEIN₂N₉ i. + j f. + ն S₁ 32 Անտիոք[այ]] f. om A₁y անտիոքին BbS₁ անտիոք CFF₅ անտիոք F₃N₂N₉ անտիոքայ T 33 Աղէքսանդրիայ] աղէքսանդրով A₁ աղէկսանդրին BbS₁ աղէքսանդրիայ Cgy աղէքսանդրեայ F₅ աղէկսանդր I աղէկսանդրիա N₂ աղէկսանդրիայ T 33 պատրիարգ] f. p EF₅S₁ f. + ն I [...] N₉ 33 կամաւք] f. om AT 33 ընտրութեամբ] ընդրութեամբ ABF_{5g}KM₂m 34 լինիցի] լիցի B_gK_gM₂m եղիցին F₅ լիցին g 34 որ ոք ը] որք CEF₅ 34 նստցի] նստի B_g նստցին C նստին E նստուցանին F₅ 34 յաթոռ] + ի_{ant} N₉ 34-35 պատրիարգութեան] պատրիարքութեան F₅S₁ 35 հաւատոյն] f. om F₅ 35 պարտ էր] պարտեր CN₉ 36 ծանուցել] ծանուցանել y 37 հրամանահան] հրամանահան C հրաման հանել y 37 ամենայն] om g 37 ասիական միջնաշխարհիդ] ասիական միջնորդ աշխարհիդ C 37 միջնաշխարհիդ] f. ut omt որում և վկայեաց B մէջնաշխարհիդ E f. ut I մէջ աշխարհիդ K միջն[...] N₉ 37 յելս] յելից AA₁T յելիցն A_g + ի_{ant} B_gF₃N₂N₉ 37 արևու] i. + j F₃ 38 դրունս] դուռն F₅ [...] N₉ 38 և] om F₅ 39 արժանաւորութեան] [...] 20.1 սուրբ F արժանաւորութեամբ F₃

32-33 + Ե[րուսաղէ]մ, Անտիոք, Աղէքս[անդրիայ] m^L M₂ 34 լիցի + 2⁰ ին corr լինիցի w^A AA₁; + նոր [նստցի] L^A A

And the three Patriarchates of Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria, whenever [they] ordain a Patriarch [they] shall do so according to the will and the choice of the Armenian Patriarch. And whomever is to be newly enthroned on [one of these] Patriarchal chairs, [he] shall present the confession of his faith, which he should have displayed to me, to the Armenian Patriarch, since we appointed him as our representative in all the lands of Interior Asia, and from where the sun rises until the gates of paradise, where the Holy Spirit bore witness to the holiness and worthiness of St. Gregory.

20. Զի մինչ դեռ կայաք ի խորանին սուրբ և զնուիրական աղաթսն կատարեաք, ահայ յանկարծակի լոյս անճառելի և անընդել ի մարդկանէ էջ յերկնից ի վերայ սրբոյ սեղանոյն և աղեղնանման աւղաւք եաթն կրկին կամար կապեցաւ ի վերայ սրբոյն Գրիգորի, և հիահրաշ փայլմամբ ճառագայթափայլեաց լոյս երեսաց նորա, որպէս զդէմսն Քրիստոսի ի 5 Թափովր: Իսկ մեք ամենեքեան ափշեալք՝ ոչ իշխեաք հայել ի նա, մինչև կատարեաց զսուրբ պատարագն, և ի փոքր մի փարատել շամանդաղ ամպոյն, ապայ իշխեցաք մատիլ և տալ նմա համբոյր ի սէր սրբութեան ըստ արինացս քրիստոնէից: Ըստ որում, խոնարհեալ Աստուածակարգ կայսրս սուրբ, սպասաւորեալս ի սէրովբէից, եկն ահիւ մեծաւ առաջի 10 սուրբ լուսաւորչին և ի ծունկս իջեալ՝ համբուրեաց զբարձս նորա ըստ արինի աւֆրանթի: Եւ ապա համարձակեալ՝ համբուրեաց զաջն և զխաչն

20.1 կայաք] կայեաք B կայաք F₃ 1 խորանին] f. om C խորանն E 1 զնուիրական] + սուրբ I 1 աղաթսն] f. om A աղաթսն B_g աղթոսն T 2 կատարեաք] մատուցանեաք γ 2 յանկարծակի] f. om C յանգարծակի g 2 յանկարծակի լոյս] յանկարծալոյս K 2 լոյս] ի լոյս T 2 անճառելի] անճելի F₃ 2 անընդել] անընկելի m 2 ի մարդկանէ] om h_{ant} m ի մարդկեղէն բութենէս γ 3 յերկնից] + h_{ant} BF₃ i. om S₁ 3 սրբոյ] f. + ն gg 3 սեղանոյն] f. u D_gE 3 աղեղնանման] աղեղանման ABb 3 աւղաւք] օղեօք F₃ օղիւք F₅ ազոք K f. + ն S₁ 4 կամար] կամարայ I 4 սրբոյն] f. om AB f. u T 4 Գրիգորի] + և սեղանոյս BbS₁ 4 հիահրաշ] արփիահրաշ B_g արփահրաշ I + h_{ant} T 5 լոյս] f. + ն F₃ 5 երեսաց] ի յերեսաց F₃ 5 նորա] սրբոյն Գրիգորի D_g 5 զդէմսն] f. om AT 6 Թափովր] թափօր AbF₅mS₁ թաբովր A₁ թափաւր BT թաբօր EF₃K_gM₂γ թաբաւր FgN₂ թափաւր I 6 մեք] [...] B om FF₅ 6 ամենեքեան] [...] B ամենիքեան C 6 ափշեալք] ապշեալք AA₁F₅ f. om A_g i. + j T + և γ 6 իշխեաք] յիշխեալք F₃ իշխելին F₅ 6 հայել] հայիլ BF₅ 6 մինչև] f. om K 7 կատարեաց] կատարեց C 7 զսուրբ] [...] B 7 փոքր] om h_{ant} AB_gFF₃KT 7 փարատել] + h_{ant} A փարատեալ AFF₅γ փարատեալն F₃ 7 շամանդաղ] f. + ն F₃ 8 ամպոյն] ամբոյն F₃ 8 իշխեցաք] [...] B i. + j F₃T 8 մատիլ] մօտել F₃ 8 նմա] om A 8 ի] և K 8 սէր] om F₅ 9 արինացս] f. om F₃T 9 քրիստոնէից] [...] էից B f. + u γ 9 որում] + և bS₁ 9 Աստուածակարգ] աստուածակարգեալ A_g աստուածարեալ C 10 կայսրս] f. om Ay f. ն F₅ 10 սուրբ] om C 10 սպասաւորեալս] f. om A_gFT սպասեալն F₅ 10 սէրովբէից] սերովբէից AA₁EIKM₂my սէրոբէից BF սերոբէից bC սիրովբէից F₃ սրոբէից F₅T 10 եկն] երկն F₅ 10 առաջի] i. + j S₁ 11 լուսաւորչին] f. u bEIS₁γ om և C 11 ծունկս] f. om K_g ծունգս N₂ 11 համբուրեաց] համբուրեալ B omt զաջն F₅ 11 զբարձս] f. p E 11 նորա] i. u B_g + իբրև ի նոյն ինքն ի Քրիստոս միանալով γ 12 արինի] արինաւ Cy f. om E 12 աւֆրանթի] օփրանթի AF₃ աւֆրանդի B_{g2} ֆանթի C օփրանթի F օֆրանթի gK_gM₂m օֆրանտի T ֆրանտի γ 12 համարձակեալ] համարձագեալ F₃ 12 զաջն] f. u BbEIS₁ 12 զխաչն] f. om I

6–9 several words are illegible because of a stain B 7 շամանդաղ + 8⁰ ն w^A F₃ 12 օփրնթի + 3⁰ ա w^A F₃

20. Because while we were still at the Holy altar and performing the eucharistic prayers, suddenly an indescribable light, unseen by humans, descended from the heavens to the Holy table and with bow-like [appearance of] air formed seven double-arches above St. Gregory and the light on his face shone with marvellously gleaming rays as the face of Christ on Mt. Tabor.¹²² And we all were astounded and did not dare to look at him until the Holy Eucharist ended. Then, as the fog of the cloud dispersed a little, we dared to approach him and give him the kiss of love of Holiness, according to Christian law. And the God-ordained saintly Emperor, whom the seraphs themselves serve, came bowing with great awe to the Holy Illuminator and, kneeling down, kissed his cushion according to the custom of an *offrand*.¹²³ Then, taking courage he kissed his right hand, the

¹²² The author could be inspired both by a similar passage in the *Life of Nersēs* or the Transfiguration of Christ, traditionally told to have taken place on Mt. Tabor. For further reflections and sources, cfr Chapter 2, pp. 105–106.

¹²³ The Armenian text uses this Old French loan word which I have preserved in the translation.

340^v և ապա | զդէմսն՝ իբրև ի նոյն ինքն ի Քրիստոս միանալով համբուրի շրթանցն: Ապայ ասէ կայսրն սեբաստոս. «Ո՛վ երանելիդ ի հարս, սուրբ հայրապետ, որ անքուն և անհանգիստ կալովդ քո նմանիս զուարթոնց 15 երկնից և անկերակուր կալովդ՝ գերիվերոյ գտանիս ամենայն գիտական վարդապետաց: Արդ, աղաչեմք զքեզ սիւնդ անասանելի ամենայն աշխարհի, ուսո՛յ մեզ զհաւատոյս մեր զդաւանութիւն և աղաթեա՛յ վասն ամենայն աշխարհի, ևս առաւել վասն մերոյ թագաւորութեանս, զի խաղաղութեամբ և հանդարտութեամբ վարեցուք զտիեզերական իշխանութիւնս 20 և այսու կենաքս՝ վերին կենացն և երկնից արքայութեան արժանաւորեցուք»: Նմին նման և Տրդատ կայսերակերպ, և ամենայն թագաւորքն, և իշխանքն, և եկեղեցականք, և արքունականք, հայք և հռոմայեցիք, անկանէին առ ոտս սրբոյն Գրիգորի և խնդրէին թողութիւն մեղաց իւրեանց և զաւգնութիւն ի պատերազմի: 25

13 ապա] om F₅ 13 ի] om F₅ 13 ի նոյն ինքն] om γ 13 ինքն] om A 13 ի] om F₅ 13 միանալով] մերձանալով γ 14 շրթանցն] f. om AA_gF₅I 14 Ապայ] և ապա A₁bK 14 կայսրն] f. om FF₃N₂N₉ 14 սեբաստոս] կոստանդիանոս AA₁T կոստանդիանոս և սեղբեստրոս A_g + և սեղբեստրոս B_{g2} կայսրն հանդերձ սեղբեստրոսիւ F₅ + և սեղբեստրոսն I + և էս, սեղբեստրոս γ 14 հարս] հայրս BbCEFF₃F₅IS₁γ + սուրբ հայրապետաց F₃ 15 որ] + և B_g 15 կալովդ] f. om A_g 15 նմանիս] նմանէս A_gbS₁ 15 զուարթոնց] զուարդնոց C f. om I 16 երկնից] երկնից B 16 կալովդ] + քո A_gF₅ 16 գիտական] գիտնական AA_gCFF₃F₅T իմաստուն B_{g2} 16–17 գիտական վարդապետաց] հրեշտակաց γ 17 վարդապետաց] f. + ն C 17 Արդ] om A₁E 17 աղաչեմք] f. om EF₃IKy [...] աշխարհի omt ևս առավել F 17 զքեզ] om F₅ 17–18 աշխարհի] + խնդրոյ omt վասն մերոյ F₅ 18 մեզ] + և A_g 18 զհաւատոյս] i. om I f. om S₁γ 18 մեր] մերոյ A_gEF₃γ om B 18 զդաւանութիւն] i. om A₁A_gCN₂N₉T 18 աղաթեայ] աղաթից E 19 ամենայն] i. + j E om g 19 աշխարհի] f. + u g 19 մերոյ] մեր B_{g2} 19 թագաւորութեանս] f. om K_g 20 հանդարտութեամբ] հանտարտութեամբ C 20 վարեցուք] + զկեանս մեր. ևս առաւել γ 21 և] omt երկնից արքայութեան F₅ 21 երկնից] երկնային B + սուրբ bS₁ 21 արքայութեան] կենացն B f. + ն C 21–22 արժանաւորեցուք] արժանասցուք B արժանաւոր լիցուք F₅ 22 Նմին] i. u g_gmS₁γ i. om M₂ 22 և] om A_gC 22 Տրդատ] f. + ն AA₁T 22 կայսերակերպ] f. + ն γ 22 թագաւորքն] եկեղեցականքն C f. om T 23 իշխանքն] omt հայք F₅ f. om T 23 եկեղեցականք] f. + ն AB_gK_gM₂m 23 և արքունականք] f. + ն AbEg_gIK_gM₂mS₁ om BT f. om CF₃ 23 հռոմայեցիք] հռովմայեցիք BbgM₂m f. + ն K 24 անկանէին] անգանէին AA₁BgM₂ 24 և] om F₃ 24 թողութիւն] i. + q B_gF₃gK_g 24 իւրեանց] om B_g 25 զաւգնութիւն] զաւգութիւն B i. om K_gM₂m f. + ի N₉ 25 պատերազմի] om $\rho_{ant} g$

23 և եկեղեցականք + mg^U N₂ 24 անգանէին 3⁰ q corr կ γ^A A

cross and [Gregory's] face, as if uniting with Christ himself with the kiss of lips. Then the Holy Emperor said, 'Oh blessed one among Fathers,¹²⁴ Holy Patriarch, that with your sleepless and restless behaviour resemble the watchers of the heavens and with [ceaseless] fasting are beyond all wise *vardapets*! We beg you, oh unwavering pillar of the whole world, teach us the confession of our faith and pray for the entire world and especially for our Kingdom, so that we may lead our universal dominion in peace and serenity and through such behaviour merit the higher life and the Kingdom of Heaven!'¹²⁵ And in the same manner, the emperor-like Trdat and all the kings and princes, clerics and men from the royal court, Armenians and Romans, all fell to the feet of St. Gregory and pleaded absolution from their sins and support in war.

¹²⁴ In Armenian the expression 'h hup'u' in loc. case is problematic in this context, meaning lit. 'in the fathers'. I have translated it as 'among the Fathers' according to the overall sense of the phrase.

¹²⁵ In this statement the author of TD intended to guarantee the orthodoxy of the Armenian faith by making Constantine declare it in his entire Empire, similar to Section 5.

21. Վասն որոյ և ես՝ Սեղբեսորոս, որ ականատես եղէ այսպիսի զարմանալեացս, որով պատուեաց Աստուած զպարթնն զայն մեծ, մեծաբեցի և ես զնա ըստ իմում կարի, տալով նմա զվականս իմ պատուական, որ էր լեալ սրբոյն Յակովբայ տեառն եղբարն, առաջին եպիսկոպոսի 341^ր Երուսաղէմի, | նաև զամենայն զարդս հայրապետական անձին իմոյ ի ժամ 5 ձեռնադրութեան, և զմատանին իմ խաչաձև, և զգաւազանն իմ գեղեցիկ ի գեղաղէշ ականց և ի մաքուր մարգարտաց յարիներալ, և զամենայն սպասք պատարագի սրբոյ սեղանոյս՝ զոսկեղէն և զսկիս և զմաղզմայս ի միափերթ ականց տպագիծնաց բազմակշռաց, և զմիթրն իմ սատակ և սպիտակ, որ էր փակեղն Յիսուսի, նաև զրժշկաբաշխ ձեռնս բազկաւքն 10 հանդերձ երկոցունց առաքելոցս՝ Պետրոսի և Պաւլոսի, (և զահեակ ձեռն Անդրէի առաքելոյն): Եւ լուսատու ակունս պայծառս և պատուական

21.1 Սեղբեսորոս] f. + u S₁ Սեղբեսորոս T 1-2 զարմանալեացս] զարմանելացս B զարմանալացս T 2 պատուեաց] պատուաց B 2 մեծ] om B 3 և] om F₅ 3 իմում] f. + u b 3 տալով նմա] om FF₅ 3 զվականս] զվականս m 4 Յակովբայ] յակովբայ F₅S₁ 4 առաջին] f. om EKM₂mS₁ 4 եպիսկոպոսի] f. + ն B_gCFK [...] N₉ 5 զարդս] f. om F₅ 5 զարդս հայրապետական] հայրապետական զարդս E 5 հայրապետական] հայրապետութեան A_g 5 ի ժամ] om B_g 6 զմատանին] զմատանիմ M₂ 6 խաչաձև] խաչանման S₁ 6 զգաւազանն] f. om T 7 գեղաղէշ] գեղաղէղ BF₅ գեղազեղ bS₁ գեղ աղեղականց E 7 ականց] ականաց g i. + j S₁ 7 մարգարտաց] մագարտաց E մարքարտաց F₅S₁ 8 սպասք] f. om A_gCF₅ 8 պատարագի] f. + u γ 8 սեղանոյս] f. ն CF սեղանիս γ 8 զոսկեղէն] + և զարծաթեղէն. զսկիս C f. + u E 8 և] om AA₁A_gFT 8 զսկիս] զսկիիս Ay զսկիի A_g i. ը E i. om F զսկիիս F₃ 8 զմաղզմայս] զմաղզմանս B զմաղզմայս b զմաղզման F₅ զմաղզմաս I 9 ի] om F₅ 9 միափերթ ականց] միափերթականց F₃ 9 ականց] i. + j S₁ 9 տպագիծնաց] + [...] γ 9 բազմակշռաց] միափերթաց F om F₅ 9 զմիթրն] [...] երկուց F զմեւ F₃ 9 իմ] om F₃ 9 սատակ] հստակ F₅ 9-10 սատակ և սպիտակ] սպիտակ B_g2F₃ պատուական γ 10 էր] f. om B_gC om K_g 10 փակեղն] փազեղն I 10 Յիսուսի] + փրկչին մերոյ A₁ om F₃ Քրիստոսի F₅ 10 ձեռնս] ձեռքն C ձեռք F₅ ձեռն T 10 բազկաւքն] f. om M₂m 11 երկոցունց] երկու BbEly երկուց CFF₅ բ. S₁ 11 առաքելոցս] f. ն CFF₃F₅γ առաքելոյս g 11 Պաւլոսի] + առաքելոցն F 11-12 և զահեակ ձեռն Անդրէի առաքելոյն] om AA₁A_gB_g2F₃N₂N₉T 11 ձեռն] ձեռն C ձեռն F 12 առաքելոյն] om CFF₅ 12 լուսատու] լուսաւոր F₃ 12 ակունս] i. + j S₁ 12 պայծառս և պատուական] պատուականս պայծառս I 12 պատուական] om FF₅

6 մատանին + i. q w^A I; զմատան + 6⁰ ին with a different hand m^L m 8 զսկիս + 4⁰ h w^A F₅

21. Because of this, I, Sylvester, having witnessed such great wonders with which the Lord honoured the Great Parthian, also exalted him according to my capacity, by giving him my venerable *orarium*, which was that of St. James, brother of the Lord, the first bishop of Jerusalem,¹²⁶ and all Patriarchal adornments which I wear during ordination: my cross-shaped ring, and the beautiful staff adorned with marvellous stones and pure pearls, and all the furnishings for the Holy table of the Eucharist: golden chalices and plates with one-piece, weighty topazolite gems and my *mitre* of pure white colour, that was Jesus' veil,¹²⁷ and the hands and arms of the two apostles Peter and Paul that dispense cures, as well as the left hand of Apostle Andrew,¹²⁸ and luminous, bright gems and precious gem-stone pearls, and other numerous priceless adornments

¹²⁶ Cfr Combefis 1690, 266 and Chapter 2, p. 108 for discussion.

¹²⁷ For the discussion of these liturgical and honourable insignia cfr Chapter 2, pp. 107–109. For the significance of presenting one's own personal clothing or objects of power when transferring authority, cfr Cutler 2005. The various liturgical objects and vestments given to St. Gregory are reminiscent of Vg § 189, p. 113.

¹²⁸ That these relics were given by the Pope to Gregory upon his visit to Rome is found also in Uxtanēs 1871, 108. Similar information can be read in the *Document on Borders*, cfr Alishan 1901, 98. Here, however, Gregory and Trdat receive 'the left arms of Peter and Paul and the right hand of Apostle Andrew, along with other numerous relics'. Not all mss mention the 'left arm of Apostle Andrew'. For discussion and the reconstruction of the text, cfr Chapter 3, pp. 239–240.

մարգարիտս ջուհարականս, և այլ բազում զարդս անգինս և անգիւտս
ամենայն աշխարհաց, զոր առաքեցի սուրբ խորանացն, որք ի Խորին Հայս
են, յորում էջ յայտնապէս միածին որդին Աստուծոյ և ոսկի [ուռամբ] 15
բախեաց զսանդարամ[ե]տս անդնդոց: Նաև սրբութեան սենեկին սանուն
իմոյ՝ սրբոյն Հռիփսիմէ, և մաւրն զգաստութեանց Գայիանէայ, և ամենայն
ջահագգեստ կուսանացն տամուծել արիւորդացն, դատերացն Հռոմայեցոց
և մարցն հայոց և վրաց, պայծառ և պանծալի պատրաստութիւն պարզեցի
պաշտգամաց կուսաստանի նոցա՝ ըստ արժանի սրբութեան նոցա: Նաև 20
վկայարանի սրբոյ Կարապետին Յովհաննու և Աթանագինէի առաքեցի
341^v ոսկի | ծածկոց ծալովի, և ապարաւջ սրբոյ սեղանոյն, և բազում սպասք

13 ջուհարականս] ճուհարականս AT om A₁ ճոհարակունս B ճոհարականս
bIS₁ ճովհարականս E ջոհարակունս FgKM₂m պայծառականս ջուհար y
13 անգինս] f. om BbES₁ 13 անգիւտս] անգիտս T f. om y 14 զոր] f. + u F₃
14 առաքեցի] առաքեաց CF₅ + ի CT 14 խորանացն] f. om F₃y 14 որք] f. om Bg₈g
om M₂m 14 Խորին] խորան F₅ 15 յորում] յոր A_g i. om T 15 ուռամբ] f. + ն F₃y
ուռամբ N₂ 16 բախեաց] բաղխեաց A₁ 16 զսանդարամ[ե]տս] զսանդարմեսս
B ի սանդարմեսս F₅ զսանդարամէտս N₂ զսանդարմեսս T 16 անդնդոց] i.
+ յ S₁ 16 Նաև] նաւ և A 16 սանուն] սանոյն BbEIS₁ սանին CFy սենեկինս
անուն F₃ տան F₅ 17 սրբոյն] սրբուն B om K 17 Հռիփսիմէ] f. + ա A
հռեփսիմէ b հռէփսիմէ E f. + ի F₅S₁Ty f. + այ gK_gM₂m 17 և մաւրն զգաստութեանց
Գայիանէայ] om B_g 17 մաւրն] f. om K_g 17 զգաստութեանց] i. u CFg₈M₂m i.
u + սրբոյն F զգաստութեան F₃ f. om gK_gM₂m 17 Գայիանէայ] գայիանէ C
գայիանայ F₃ 18 ջահագգեստ] ջահասգեստ Bg₈K_gM₂mN₂N₉ ջահագգեստ F₃
ջահասգեաց y 18 կուսանացն] f. om y 18 տամուծել] տամուծել C տամուծել
E տամտանել F₃ տամոծտել F₅ տամ օծիտս y 18 արիւորդացն] որիւորդոցն C
որիւորդացն F + և S₁ 18 դատերացն] դատեր C f. om y 18 Հռոմայեցոց] հռոմոց
AbT հռոմայեցոց A₁ հռոմվոց B հռովմայեցոց Cm հռոմոց EIN₉y հռոմոցն F₃
հռովմայեցոց gKM₂ հռովմոց N₂ հռոմայեցոցն S₁ 19 մարցն] մայրցն B մարացն
y 19–20 պատրաստութիւն պարզեցի պաշտգամաց] պատրաստութեամբ
պատշգամաց A_g 20 պաշտգամաց] պատշգամաց B_g om F₅ պատգամացն I
պաշտկամաց T 20 արժանի] [...] նաև B f. om I 20 սրբութեան] f. + g
CF₃K_g 21 վկայարանի] om A_g i. + q C 21 սրբոյ] f. + ն F₃ 21 Յովհաննու]
յովաննու AbCEFF₃F₅gIKM₂mTy յոհաննու A₁ հովհաննու B om և C յովանու
N₉ 21 Աթանագինէի] աթագինէի A f. om A_gA₁CFF₃N₂N₉T + հայրապետին A_g
22 ծալովի] om F₅ 22 ապարաւջ] ապրոջ S 22 և] [...] ի պէտս B + այլ bCEFF₅S₁y
omt և եղբարցն I

14 + որ m^L K; հայց corr հայս C 17 զգաստութեան + 1⁰ u w^A F₃ 19–20 + կամ
թէ հռոմայեցոց with a different hand և մարցն հայոց with the same hand mg^R A
21 կայարանի + i. վ w^A F₃ 22 սպաք + 3⁰ u w^A g; + բազմապատիկ but ras F₅

rarely found in the whole world, which I sent to the holy altars which are in Inner Armenia, where the Only Begotten Son of God descended, as is known, and with a golden cane struck the depths of hell.¹²⁹ Also for the Holy Chamber of my disciple St. Hrip'simē¹³⁰ and the mother of chastity Gayanē¹³¹ and of all the other [holy] Virgins, bearers of light, noble dames, daughters of Romans and mothers of Armenians and Georgians, I donated splendid and magnificent presents for the *niches* of their convent, worthy of their sanctity. And for the martyrion of the Holy Precursor John and At'anaginēs,¹³² I sent a golden, foldable covering and a cloth for the holy altar, and many other furnishings for

¹²⁹ Aa §735, Gregory has an 'awesome vision of a man' who comes with a big golden cane (Thomson, *Agathangelos*, 277 translates this as a 'golden hammer') and strikes the earth which produces a great rumbling that sounds all the way to the 'depths of hell'. The verbal parallels with Aa are evident. For the use of the word *sandaramet*, which I translated as 'depths of hell' following Thomson in AaE 1976, 277, see *ibid*, 479.

¹³⁰ To my knowledge TD is the only source that calls Hrip'simē a disciple of Sylvester. The purpose is, again, to reinforce the close relationship between the Armenian Church and that of Rome.

¹³¹ Gayanē is called so in MX 1865, 311. It is interesting to note that the title 'mother of all chastity' is applied to Goddess Anahit in Aa § 53, cited also in Russell 1987, 212.

¹³² According to Aa § 810 Gregory the Illuminator brings the relics of the Precursor and the Martyr At'anaginēs on his way back from Caesarea where he was ordained and builds *martyria* to keep these relics near the river Euphrates. There the Monastery of the Holy Precursor in Tarōn, one of the most celebrated pilgrimage sites in Medieval Armenia, was constructed. Other historians also mention the relics of these saints in Armenia, e.g. MX 1913, 3.2; PB 1987, 3.3, and YM 1941, 80.

ի պէտս եկեղեցոյն և եղբարցն: Որոց միաբանեալ՝ մեք, կայսրս և հայրապետս, մասնաւորեցաք ի սեղանն ի տարին երկուս տաղանդս ոսկոյ ի հարկացն Միջագետաց: Նա ևս առաւել առաք[եցաք] ընծայս բազումս 25 ընծանեաց սուրբ Աստուածածնին և Վարազայ վերնակրան եղբարցն և սուրբ հարն Ղևոնդ[ե]այ: Նաև ամենայն եպիսկոպոսացն և քահանայիցն և կրանաւորացն և կղերիկոսացն եկեղեցոյ, որք եկեալ էին զհետ Լուսաւորչին հայոց, ետու տուրս մեծամեծս և պատրաստեցի զամենայն պիտոյս նոցա ընդ ծով և ընդ ցամաք ճանապարհին, որ յարեւելս. նաւս նորս արքունականս 30 և դիոսկորանշանս, և հրոսակս պատրաստականս մինչև ի սահմանն հայոց:

22. Պարզեցի և նորապսակ պարթևիս մերոյ յիշատակ յախտենական ազգաց յազգս յԵրուսաղէմ քաղաքի իջևանք հայոց աղաւթականացն. զվկայարան սրբոյն Յակոբայ՝ զեղբարն Յովհաննու, զի յարքունական

23 եկեղեցոյն] f. + ն C եկեղեցեացն F₅ եկեղեցուն S₁ 23 Որոց] f. վ A_g [...] N₉ 23 միաբանեալ] + և BEly f. + p D_g 23 մեք] + և A₁bS₁ 23 կայսրս] f. om CF 24 մասնաւորեցաք] մասն առաքեցաք A_g 24 սեղանն] + հայոց D_g f. om γ 24 տարին] f. + ն m 24 երկուս] f. om CFF₅T 24 տաղանդս] f. om EI տաղանտ F₅γ դաղանդս T 24 ոսկոյ] ոսկի BEF₅ly 25 Միջագետաց] f. + ն CI + տացեն վանորէիցն D_g 25 Նա] նաև A_g 25 առաք[եցաք]] ընծայեցաք A_g առաք N₂ 25 ընծայս] ընծայս gI 26 ընծանեաց] ընծանեաց AgM₂γ ընծանաց F₃ ընծանաց m ընծայեաց S₁ 26 սուրբ] om B_gCF 26 Վարազայ] վարաքս F₅ f. g I 26 վերնակրան] + սուրբ A_g կրանաւորացն + և D_g 26 եղբարցն] եղբայրցն K 27 Ղևոնդ[ե]այ] ղևոնդիայ gKM₂m ղևոնդս N₂ ղևոնդէ γ 27 եպիսկոպոսացն] f. om F₅ 27 քահանայիցն] f. om AF₅T 28 կրանաւորացն] f. om BbEIF₅S₁T 28 կղերիկոսացն] f. om g_gKF₅M₂m կղերացն γ 28 եկեղեցոյ] f. + ն T 28 էին] են E 28–29 Լուսաւորչին] f. u F₃γ 29 ետու] տուաք D_g om F₃ 29 տուրս] + նոցա E 29 և] om CFF₅ ditt E 29 պատրաստեցի] + և C 29 պիտոյս] պէտս C զօրս և զպէտս γ 30 ցամաք] om նաւս նորս E + ամենայն K 30 որ] + ընդ A 30 յարեւելս] i. om AS₁ յարեւելս C f. p γ 30 նորս] f. om C f. ա I 31 դիոսկորանշանս] om մինչև C դիոսկորանշանս F₃ դիոսկորանշանս g_gKM₂m դիոս կորա նշանս N₂N₉ 31 և] om F₅ 31 հրոսակս] հրսուկս S₁ 31 պատրաստականս] f. om N₂N₉ 31 մինչև] f. om CgKM₂mN₂N₉ 31 սահմանն] f. u AA_gB_gCFF₅T 22.1 Պարզեցի] կարգեցի γ 1 և] om A_g 1 մերոյ] ditt γ 2 ազգաց] i. + j FF₅ ազգ γ 2 յազգս] i. om EF + և γ 2 յԵրուսաղէմ] + ի_{ant} AA₁A_gCFF₅F₅N₂N₉T i. om I 2 քաղաքի] f. om A_g om γ 2 իջևանք] f. om D_gI f. u E իջւականք F իջէվանք F₃ իջւան γ 2 աղաւթականացն] f. om CS₁γ 3 զվկայարան] i. om E f. + ն T 3 Յակոբայ] յակովբայ BgIM₂m 3 զեղբարն] i. om EC եղբարն T 3 Յովհաննու] յոհաննու AA₁bCEFF₅F₅S₁Ty + աստուածաբան աւետարանչի[f. + ն K_g] A_g յոհանու B i. + q I 3 յարքունական] + ի_{ant} AA₁CFF₅IN₂N₉T i. om Ey

23 կայրս + 3⁰ u w^A E 31 պատրական + 4⁰ աստ w^A N₂ 31 սահման + 6⁰ u w^A B

the needs of the church and the brothers. Along with these, we, the Emperor and the Patriarch, gave a share of two talents of gold from taxes of Mesopotamia each year for [the needs of] their table. Moreover, we sent multiple presents to those who have consecrated themselves to the Mother of God, and the religious brethren of Varag and to the Holy Father Լեւոն.¹³³ And to all the bishops and priests and monks and clerics of the church who had come with the Illuminator of the Armenians, I gave great gifts and prepared everything necessary for their voyage through the sea and land towards the East: new royal ships with signs of *dioskuroi*¹³⁴ and an armed contingent [to escort them] up to the borders of Armenia.

22. I also donated to our newly crowned Parthian, in eternal memory from nations to nations, lodging places in the city of Jerusalem¹³⁵ for Armenian pilgrims: the martyrium of St. James the brother of John, so that

¹³³ I have not been able to identify Լեւոն who seems to be related to the monastery of Varag. Perhaps there is a confusion with Bishop Leontius of Caesarea who ordained St. Gregory. On the monastery of Varag cfr Thierry 1989, 132–136. It is not clear whether those ‘consecrated themselves to the Mother of God’ are a different religious institution than the ‘religious brethren of Varag’. One of the structures within the complex of Varagavank’ is a church dedicated to the Mother of God (Ibid, 139–141) whose foundation may date as far back as the 7th century. Perhaps this is what the author of TD had in mind when mentioning the brethren who dedicated themselves to the Mother of God. Another Church dedicated to the Mother of God was part of the complex of the monastery of Upper Varag, an hour walk up the mountain from the lower convent.

¹³⁴ The word used in TD is a composite made up of Gr. Δίοσκουροι and Armenian *nšan*—sign. It is found in the Acts of Apostles 28.11, not exactly in this form, but as two separate words, describing the ship by which St. Paul sailed to Syracuse. In the Armenian Bible it is described as նշանաւորաւ Դիոսկուրացւոց. This source was independently indicated by myself (cfr Pogossian 2004B) and by Bartikian 2004, 103. Bartikian believes that a twelfth (or thirteenth) century author could not have known that the signs of *dioskuroi* were placed on ships for protection in the pre-Christian period, but that it would be more natural for him to think of St. Nicholas of Myra (whose relics were by then in Bari) as the protector of sailors. Thus, this word, according to Bartikian, proves once more that TD has a fourth century original core. However, the author of TD may have simply used this word based on what he read in the Bible. Moreover, I am not aware of any study on the use (or absence thereof) of these symbols on Byzantine ships in general and in the twelfth century, in particular. Further research may shed more light on this issue.

¹³⁵ The privileges in Jerusalem and their sources are discussed in detail in Chapter 2, pp. 109–112.

զանձուցն շինեսցեն եկեղեցիս և անցեն պարիսպ բարձր շուրջանակի և
 ի ներքս սրահս և սենեակս առանձնականս արանց և կանանց ի հայոց 5
 342^r եկելոցն: Եւ ռոճիկք նոցա և | ամենայն պիտոյք ի կալ և ի գնալն յարքունուստ
 լիցի: Պատրաստեցի և տեղի պատարագի սրբոյն Գրիգորի ի Յարութեան
 մեծի եկեղեցւոջն, և ի Գողգոթայ խաչելութեան, և զսնարից կուպայն և
 զմիջի կանթեղն մշտավառ. որ կան երեք կանթեղք ի վերայ գերեզմանին
 Քրիստոսի՝ յիշատակ լատինացոց և հայոց և հելլենացոց: 10

23. Գրեցի և հրովարտակս ընդհանրականս առ աւետարանչաց աթոռակալ
 պատրիարքունս, որ յարևելս, զի զհայոց հայրապետն համապատիւ տեսցեն

4 զանձուցն] f. om A_gF₅ 4 եկեղեցիս] f. om AA₁A_gB_gCF i. + q F₃ 4 և] om C 4 անցեն]
 անեն C 4 բարձր] om B_gCFF₅ 5 ներքս] ներքուստ F₅ 5 սենեակս] սենակս B
 սենեկս C սեղեանակս E + ի_{ant} F₃ սենակս I 5 կանանց] կանաց C 5 ի] om B
 6 եկելոցն] եկեղեցւոյն F₅ f. om γ 6 ռոճիկք] կերակուր B_g ռոճիք F₅N₉ ռոջիկ T
 6 պիտոյք] պիտոյիւք E f. + ն I f. q S₁ պէտքն γ 6 կալ] f. + ն A_g i. q B_gCF₃ f. om
 EI 6 գնալն] f. om F₅ 6 յարքունուստ] յարուստ B յարգունուստ C 7 լիցի] f. +
 ն b + նոցա γ 7 Պատրաստեցի] պարգևեցի B պատրաստեսցեն E 7 տեղի] i. +
 q CFS₁γ 7 պատարագի] f. ն m 7 սրբոյն Գրիգորի] om B_g 7 Յարութեան] om
 ի_{ant} BF₅S₁ հարութիւն F i. + q F₅ 8 մեծի] f. om F₅ 8 ի Գողգոթայ] Գողգոթայ
 AA_gT Գողգոթայ A₁FF₅ 8 խաչելութեան] զխաչելութիւն AA₁BT + տեղին A_gT
 i. + q bS₁ խաչելութիւն F₅ 8 զսնարից] զանարից I 8 կուպայն] կորայն A₁ +
 զերեզմանին] f. om m] քրիստոսի A_g կուբայն F₃ զոռպայն F₅ կուպայի g_gKM₂m
 դուպայն T 9 կանթեղն] f. om omt ի վերայ C կանդեղն E 9 մշտավառ]
 մշտվառ B միշտավառ F 9 որ] ուր F₃ 9 որ կան երեք կանթեղք] որ գ.
 կանթեղք են B_g 10 Քրիստոսի] + ի A om Ey 10 լատինացոց] լադինացոցս
 B լատինացոցս bS₁ լատինացոց CF լաթինացոց E լատինացոց F₅ դատինացոց
 gM₂mN₂ լադինացոց I լատենացոց K 10 և] om A_g 10 հելլենացոց] հելենացոց
 B հելլենացոց bS₁ հելենացոց EN₂ հելլենացոց F հոռումոց F₅ հելլենացոց KM₂m
 om և հելլենացոց γ 23.1 Գրեցի] գրե գիր F₅ 1 հրովարտակս] հորվարտագս
 C հրովարտաքս F₃I f. om S₁ 1 ընդհանրականս] ընթհանրականս ABbgKM₂my
 ընթանրականս C 1 առ] om m 1 աւետարանչաց] f. + ն A_gbIS₁T 1 աթոռակալ]
 աթոռակալաց B_g 2 պատրիարքունս] պատրիարգացն E [...] 23.3 մանաւանդ F
 պատրիարքունս F₅ f. + ն M₂m 2 որ] om γ 2 զի] om B 2 զհայոց] i. om g 2 զհայոց
 հայրապետն] զհայրապետն հայոց F₅ 2 հայրապետն] i. + q C հայրապետն S₁
 2-3 տեսցեն իւրեանց] ինքեանց տեսցեն omt զի յերկոտասան A_g

5 սենակս + 3⁰ և with a different hand w^A B 6 կալ 3⁰ կ corr q w^A C 6 յարուստ + 3⁰
 քուն with a different hand w^A B 8 կուբայն corr կուպայն mg^L A 9 միջի + i. q w^B F₅
 10 լադինացոցս 3⁰ դ corr un with a different hand w^A B 10 հելլենացոց + 3⁰ l within
 the word, with a different hand B 23.1 ընթհարականս + 5⁰ ն w^A B; աւետարչացն +
 6⁰ ան w^A T 2 որ + 2⁰ p with a different hand w^A B

they may build a church from the royal treasury and surround it with a high circular wall, and inside it separate spaces and rooms for men and women who come [as pilgrims] from Armenia. And their expenses and all the needs for staying and departing shall be paid by the royal court. I also prepared a place to celebrate the Liturgy for St. Gregory in the great Church of Resurrection and on the Golgotha of Crucifixion, and [a place] from the upper part in the Dome¹³⁶ and a lantern inside it that is always lit,¹³⁷ as there are three lanterns on top of the Sepulchre of Christ in the memory of Latins, Armenians and Hellenes.

23. And I wrote general edicts to Patriarchs who hold the Chairs [founded by] the Evangelists that are in the East, [proclaiming that] they should

¹³⁶ This expression is not clear in Armenian. The first word *qun̄ap̄ihg* (gen. pl. of *uñap̄*) means head, top, used mainly in plural, but with the sense of sing. as well (cfr Ciakciak). Therefore, the word may be translated into sing. The second word is *kn̄uqayn̄* nom. or acc. sing. of *kn̄uqay*, meaning again head, top, but here most likely in the sense of the Dome of the Holy Sepulchre which was referred to as *qoubbeh*, *alcuba* or *κύβος* in Greek, cf. Vincet-Abel 1914, 220. Thus, it seems to indicate that Constantine says: I prepared [*uyun̄ruṣun̄egh*] a place for the celebration of the Eucharist in the Great Church of the Resurrection and at the Golgotha of the Crucifixion and [I prepared a place in?] the Dome that is on high and a lantern [*qun̄ihg kn̄ap̄egh*, the latter in accus. sing.] that is inside. The reference to the Dome remains obscure. Some Agat'angelos group mss. have *qun̄ap̄ihg kn̄uqayh* which would indicate 'from the top part of the dome'. These are not the oldest mss and their variant is probably due to a deliberate scribal correction introduced at the level of the ancestor of only this group. Moreover, even this variant leaves the meaning of the phrase ambivalent. I have maintained the reading of the majority of the mss. in the Armenian text as *qun̄ap̄ihg kn̄uqayn̄* and provided as close a translation in English as possible.

¹³⁷ As the anonymous reader of this book has suggested, the lantern mentioned in TD is not a sure reference to the lamp of the holy fire which would miraculously be lit every Easter. While the meaning of TD's phrasing remains ambiguous, one aspect that gives weight to this argument is that TD tells that this lantern was *always* lit.

իւրեանց, մանաւանդ եթէ և նախագահ իսկ, վասն զի յերկոտասան
 առաքելոցն չորքն անդանաւր կատարեցան: Անդ կայ և պատկեր փրկչին,
 զոր առաքեաց Աբգարու, որ յառաջ քան զամենայն թագաւորս նա հաւատաց 5
 ի Քրիստոս Աստուած: Անդ կայ և փայտեղէն պատկեր սուրբ Աստուածա-
 ծնին, զոր տէրն տեառնագրեաց և աւրինեաց յաւուր փոխման Աստուա-
 ծամարն: Անդ կայ և խաչամասն Պատրոնիկէ, որ էր ի պարանոցի սրբոյ
 կուսին Հռիփսիմէ արիորդին. և այս մասն Հեղինէի և Կոստանդիանոսի,
 զոր մեք պարգնեցաք Տրդատայ: Անդ կայ և գեղարդն Ղունկիանոսի 10
 հարիւրապետի, որով խոցեցաւ կող փրկչին և բոխեաց ջուր և արին՝
 342^v նշանակ մկրտութեան և հաղորդութեան: Անդ է և աջն Յովսէփայ Արեմա-
 թացոյն, որ պատեաց և թաղեաց զՏէրն: Անդ է և շիշ իւրոյն զոր

3 իւրեանց] ինքեանց AA₁B_gCF₅T 3 եթէ] i. om AA₁F₅T om C 3 և] om B_g
 3 նախագահ] նախագլուխ F₅ 3 յերկոտասան] i. om BbS₁y 4 չորքն] f. om y
 4 անդանաւր] անտանոր A₁F₅g անդ ET անտանաւր F₃gKM₂my 4 փրկչին] +
 մերոյ Յիսուսի Քրիստոսի bS₁ 5 զոր] i. om S₁ 5 Աբգարու] աբկարու S₁ 5 որ]
 om F 6 Քրիստոս] քրիստոսի + աստուածութիւն F₃ 6 Աստուած] omt անդ
 կա և խաչամասն E 6 պատկեր] f. + ն F₃N₂N₉S₁T 6 սուրբ] om F₃T 7 զոր] +
 տիրամայրն եղեալ ամենամաքուր դիմացն, եթաց արտասուօք և աւրինեաց. և
 լոյս յերկնից խաչանման կաթեաց [կացեալ K] ի պատկերն յօր փոխման իւրոյ
 omt անդ կայ և խաչամասն A_g 7 և աւրինեաց] om BF₃ 7 յաւուր] f. + u B om
 I 7-8 փոխման Աստուածամարն] սուրբ աստուածածնին փոխման + ծնողի
 և մօր իւրոյ y 7-8 Աստուածամարն] մօրն իւրոյ F₅ սուրբ աստուածածնին S₁
 8 Պատրոնիկէ] f. + u C f. + ի F₅ 8 սրբոյ] om A_g f. + ն CFF₅ 8-9 կուսին] om
 A_gCFF₅ 9 Հռիփսիմէ] հռեփսիմէ bF₃ հռիփսիմեա + կուսին [+ն F] CF f. + ի EF₅
 հռիփսիմեայ gKM₂m 9 արիորդին] i. + j K 9 այս] f. լ F₅ 9 մասն] f. + u
 BbS₁ 9 Հեղինէի] f. om A_g Հեղինէայ F₅ 9 Կոստանդիանոսի] Կոստանդիանոսի
 E 10 մեք] մենք B մեք մէ C 10 Տրդատայ] + արքայի b 10 և] om K 10 գեղարդն]
 կեղարդն T 10 Ղունկիանոսի] om F₅ ղունգիանոսի gM₂m ղունկիանոսի K
 11 հարիւրապետի] f. + ն bFS₁y հարուրապետին F₃ աստուածամուխ F₅ 11 կող]
 f. + ն b 11 փրկչին] + յիսուսի bS₁ 11 բոխեաց] բխեաց A₁BgIKM₂mT 11 ջուր
 և արին] + ջուրն AB_{g2} արին և S₁ 12 նշանակ] + է AE 12 մկրտութեան և]
 + արինն AB_{g2} սուրբ A₁ 12 հաղորդութեան] omt անդ է և շիշ A_{g2} + ջուրն ի
 լուացումս աւագանին և արինն յարբումս խորհրդին y 12 է] om BF₅T կայ
 CF₃ 12 և] om g_gy 12 աջն] i. + j S₁ 12 Յովսէփայ] յովսէփայ b յովսէփու
 F₅ 12-13 Արեմաթացոյն] արեմաթացոյն A արեմաթացոյն A₁BbEFIKM₂mT
 արեմաթացոյն CF₃ արեմաթացոյն F₅ արեմաթացոյն S₁ արեմաթացոյն y 13 է]
 կա C 13 իւրոյն] եղոյն A₁ եղոյն C եղոյն gM₂my

6 պատեր + 3⁰ կ w^A B 7-8 աստուածամարն ras + ն{n}p{w} L^A B 9 ման + 2⁰ u
 w^A C 11 կոցեցաւ 1⁰ կ corr իւ w^A T

consider the Armenian Patriarch as their equal and even higher in rank than themselves, since from twelve apostles four died there.¹³⁸ And [In Armenia] there is the image of the Saviour which he sent to Abgar who among all kings was the first to believe in Christ the God.¹³⁹ There is the wooden image of the Holy Theotokos which the Lord himself outlined and blessed in the day of the Dormition of the Mother of God.¹⁴⁰ There is a piece of the [True] Cross of Patronike that was on the neck of the Holy Virgin Hrip'simē,¹⁴¹ and the other part of the Cross of Helen and Constantine which we donated to Trdat. There is the sword of the centurion Longinus with which was pierced the rib of the saviour whence blood and water issued: the water signifying the baptism and the blood—the communion.¹⁴² There is the right hand of Joseph of Arimathea, who wrapped up and buried the Lord.¹⁴³ There is the bottle of oil which the Lord blessed

¹³⁸ On the problems of identifying the four apostles, cfr Chapter 2, pp. 112–114.

¹³⁹ Traditions related to each relic and a discussion can be found in Chapter 2, pp. 114–118. Here I will simply list the relevant primary sources. Labubnay 1868, 6.

¹⁴⁰ MX 1865, 282–296.

¹⁴¹ Labubnay 1868, 12–17.

¹⁴² TD's mention of Longinus' sword being in Armenia directly contrasts with Latin traditions about it, especially the discovery of the Holy Lance during the siege of Antioch in 1095. Cfr Peters 1998, 213–221. The Holy Lance was believed to have been preserved at the Monastery of St. Gelard (Holy Lance) and the present-day complex of churches goes back to the 13th century (the earliest structures date to the 7th century, though), presently at the Museum of Ejmiacin. Cfr Cuneo 1988 and Sahinyan 1976. I have not been able to identify a written source about the transfer of the Holy Lance to Armenia pre-dating TD which could have been used by its author. The author's purpose here, as elsewhere, is to elevate the location of Armenia as a focal point of preservation of the most venerable relics. It must be also added here that the interpretation of the water and blood issuing from Jesus's rib as representing the mysteries of Baptism and Communion was a typical Armenian interpretation and contrasted with that of the Latin and Byzantine churches. From among numerous Armenian theologians who discuss the matter one may bring forth the Confession of Faith of the Armenian Church written by Nersēs Šnorhali and sent to Emperor Manuel Comnenus in NS 1871, 133–134 who cites various scriptural and patristic authorities to justify this theological position.

¹⁴³ Mt. 27.57–60; Mk 15.42–46; Lk 23.50–53. I have not been able to identify the source which talks about the preservation of Joseph's right hand in Armenia.

արինեաց տէրն և ետ ի ձեռն առաքելոցն, որովք հիւանդք ողջացան և մեղաւորք արդարացան, որպէս պատմէ սուրբն Մարկոս թափիչ և 15 աւետարանիչ: Անդ է և բովանդակ նշխարքն Մկրտչին, զոր Յովհաննէս աւետարանիչն եհան ի Հրէաստանէ յԵփեսոս՝ և Փերմէղիանոս եպիսկոպոսն եբեր ի Կեսարիայ, և սուրբն Ղևոնդէս սրբոյն Գրիգորի պարգևեաց: Նոյնպէս և զսրբոյն Աթանագինէ[ի], որ եղբայր էր Մարիամայ՝ մար Կրթանիսի և Արիստագիսի:

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24. Անդ են և Աստուածաբեալ սուրբ արքայն Տրդատ և Աստուածապետականն Գրիգոր զուարթունն, որոց տուաք հրաման, զի յամենայն զնացս ճանապարհաց իւրեանց, ուր և հանդիպեցին նշխարք սրբոց, առանց ամենայն հակառակութեան ամենայն ոք մասն պարգևեցէ նոցա որպէս

14 ետ] եղ $A_1 b C F F_5 I N_9$ 14 ի ձեռն] $om K_g$ 14 առաքելոցն] omt որպէս պատմէ A_1 14 որովք] $f. om A_g b C E F F_3 I S_1 y$ 14 ողջացան] առողջացան $A B_g F_3$ omt որպէս պատմէ C 15 արդարացան] արտարացան F_5 16 աւետարանիչ] $f. + \text{ն } C F F_5$ omt եհան F_5 16 և] $om A_g$ 16 բովանդակ] բաւանդակ $F T$ 16 նշխարքն] նշխար $A f.$ $om A_g B_{g2} T + \text{յովաննու } A_g F + \text{յովհաննու } K$ 16 Յովհաննէս] յոհաննէս $A A_1 B b E F I K y$ յոհանէս $M_2 m$ 17 եհան] եհան C 17 Հրէաստան] + և եբեր A_g + և տարաւ D_g $om F$ 17 յԵփեսոս] + $\text{Ի}_{ant} A_1 C F_3 N_2 T f. + \text{է } C F_5 i.$ $om F$ 17-18 և Փերմէղիանոս եպիսկոպոսն] $om C$ 17 Փերմէղիանոս] փելմիլիանոս A_1 փերմիանոս $B F_5 T$ փերմէլիանոս $E g M_2 y$ փիրմիլիանոս F դերմէլիանոս K 17-18 եպիսկոպոսն] $f. om A_1 F N_2$ 18 եբեր] բեր C 18 Կեսարիայ] $f. om C$ կեսարեա F_5 18 և] $om F_3$ 18 սուրբն] տէրն A $om F_3 f. om K$ 18 Ղևոնդէս] ղէոնդիէս A ղևոնդիէս C 18 սրբոյն Գրիգորի պարգևեաց] պարգևեաց սրբոյն Գրիգորի $F_5 g_g M_2 m$ պարգևեաց սրբոյն omt Աթանագինէս K ետ պարգևս սրբոյն Գրիգորի S_1 ետ սրբոյն Գրիգորի պարգևս y 18 պարգևեաց] պարգև B 19 Նոյնպէս] նոյնպէս B 19 զսրբոյն] սուրբ $A f. om F_3 i. om F_5 S_1 T$ սուրբն y 19 Աթանագինէ[ի]] $f. om A_1 C F N_2 N_9 T f. \text{այ } A_g F_5$ 19 որ] omt 24.1 անդ են y 19 եղբայր էր] էր եղբայր $A B_{g2} C F$ է եղբայր F_5 19 Մարիամայ] մարիամու $C F F_5$ 20 Կրթանիսի] վրդանիսի $A F_5 g$ վրթանասի $F_3 I$ վրդթանիսի N_9 վրդանէսի S_1 20 և] $om A E I$ 20 Արիստագիսի] արըսագիսի A առիստակիսի F արիստակիսի $F_3 F_5 M_2 N_9 y$ ռստակիսի $g K_g m$ արիստակէսի S_1 ռսակիսի T 24.1 Անդ] անդանոր omt տուաք հրաման B 1 են] է $A b C E F I S_1 T y$ $om F_5$ են $g K M_2 N_2$ om և y 1 սուրբ] $om F_5$ 1-2 Աստուածապետականն] աստուածապարգև F_5 աստուածապիտականն T 2 Գրիգոր] գրիգորիոս $A b E F_3 I y$ գրիգորոս S_1 2 զուարթունն] $f. om A$ 2 որոց] + անդանոր D_g 2 յամենայն] $i. om E F_5 S_1$ 3 ճանապարհաց] ճանապարհի F_5 3 իւրեանց] $om A$ իւրոց E 3 և] + հասանիցեն և A 3 հանդիպեցին] հանդիպին $A B b E I S_1 y$ + նոքա $E f. om F_5 g_g$ հանդիպեցէն K 3 սրբոց] $f. + \text{ն } A b E I S_1 y$ առցեն ի սրբոց նշխարիացն F_3 4 ամենայն] $om C D_g F_3$ 4 հակառակութեան] $f. + g A_g + \text{և } F_3$ 4 պարգևեցէ] տայցէ A 4 նոցա] $om A_g S_1$ omt վասն որոյ C

17 եզիպտոս $corr$ յեփեսոս $m^L S_1$

and gave to the Apostles and with which the sick were cured and the sinful became just, as St. Mark the evangelist and the launderer¹⁴⁴ tells. There are also all the relics of John the Baptist, which John the Evangelist took from Judaea to Ephesus and Bishop P'ermelianos brought to Caesarea, and Lord Levondēs donated to St. Gregory,¹⁴⁵ also [the relics] of At'anaginē, who was the brother of Mariam,¹⁴⁶ the mother of Vrt'anēs and Aristakēs.

24. And there are also the Holy King Trdat, filled with God, and the divine and always vigilant Gregory, to whom we gave a command that during their entire journey, wherever they come across relics of saints, everyone should give them a part without any opposition, just as we donated

¹⁴⁴ Possibly an allusion to Mk 6.13. The Armenian word used here as an epithet of Mark is *t'ap'ič'* which translates as 'launderer'. According to NBH 'some' were confused about Mark's profession because he makes a reference to this profession in one of his parables. But NBH sites only TD which indicates Mark's profession being a launderer.

¹⁴⁵ Aa §810, Vg §147; YM 1941, 75–77.

¹⁴⁶ Gregory's wife's name is told to be Mariam in MX 1913, 2.81, but I have not identified the source where At'anaginē is told to be Mariam's brother.

և մեք զբազուկս երկուց առաքելոցն պարզեցաք և այլ անթիւ մասունս: 5
 Վասն որոյ, յետ մեր վեհագոյն հրամանացս՝ հայոց հայրապետին կայ
 իշխանութիւն, գոր ինչ և կամեսցի, ըստ առաքելական [կանոնացն], կապել և
 արձակել յերկինս և յերկրի: Աւրինեալքն ի հայոց հայրապետէն աւրինեալք
 343⁷ եղիցին ի Քրիստոսէ և ի սրբոց առաքելոցս և ի մէնջ և յամենայն սրբոց, և
 բանադրեալքն ի նմանէ ի նմին կացցեն մինչև զոչասցին: Եւ հրաման հանէ 10
 հայոց հայրապետն ի հայս և ի հռոմս, ի վիրս և յաղուանս, յատորիս և ի
 պարսս, ի ծովէ մինչև ի ծով, ի գետոց մինչև ի ծագս աշխարհի:

25. Այս գիր միաբանութեան, և սիրոյ, և հաստատ հայրագրութեան
 հայոց, գրեցաւ հրամանաւ մերով՝ Կոստանդէայ կայսեր և [Սեդրեստրոսի]

5 և] om γ 5 զբազուկս] զբազումս E 5 երկուց] f. om Bb f. + u E երկոցունց
 F_{3g}K_gM_{2m} 5 առաքելոցն] f. u A_gbEIS_{1y} + Պետրոսի և Պաղոսի և զահեակն
 Անդրէի FF₅ omt վասն որոյ F₅ 5 այլ] + բազում AB_g om KN₉ 5 մասունս] f. +
 ն I f. p S₁ 6 որոյ] + և AF 6 մեր] մերոյ D_g 7 գոր ինչ և] զինչ և γ 7 և] ևս
 AF 7 կանոնացն] f. om A_g կանոնօքն F₃ կանոնացն N₂ 8 արձակել] արձակել
 T 8 յերկինս] + ի_{ant} A₁BbN₂S₁Ty 8 յերկրի] + ի_{ant} A₁BbCF₃IN₂N₉TS_{1y} յերկր B
 i. om Em des F₃ 8 Աւրինեալքն] աւրինեալն AN₂ 8 հայրապետէն] f. u A +
 հայոց F₅ 8 աւրինեալք] f. om AB_gCK_gM_{2m}T 9 եղիցին] լիցի A լիցին B_g f. om
 K 9 Քրիստոսէ] + և ի ամենայն սրբոց նորա S₁ 9 սրբոց] om ի_{ant} F₅ f. + u m
 9 առաքելոցս] f. ն CF₅T f. om K_g 9 և ի մէնջ] և ի մէջ B om C omt և բանադրեալքն
 S₁ 9 և] om A₁ 9 յամենայն] i. om EF_{5y} 9 սրբոց] + և ի մէնջ C 10 բանադրեալքն]
 բանադրեալն A + ին omt զոչասցին C 10 ի նմանէ] om A 10 կացցեն] կացեն A
 կայցցեն N₉ 10 զոչասցին] i. + g A զոչասցեն E 10 Եւ] om C 10 հանէ] հանցեն
 F₅ 11 հայրապետն] հայր C հայրապետին F հայրապետքն հայոց F₅ 11 և] om
 C 11 հռոմս] f. ն AI om ի_{ant} AA₁EgIKM_{2m} + և AgKM_{2m} հռոմս CK 11 վիրս]
 վրաց AE վերս K 11 յաղուանս] + ի_{ant} AF + և AA_gB_gC յաղվանս A յաղանս
 bgKM₂ f. om E + ի F աղուանս S₁ յաղվանս T 11 և] om BC 12 պարսս] f. om
 A_gBCEFF₅ 12 աշխարհի] f. + u A + և ի դրունս դրախտին D_g երկրի F₅ աշխարհէ
 I 25.1 Այս] + է bES₁ 1 գիր] + է AB_{1y} կտակ F₅ 1 և] om A₁N₉ 1 հաստատ]
 հաստատութեան A 1 հաստատ հայրագրութեան] հաստատութեան գրութիւն
 F₅ 1 հայրագրութեան] հայրենութեան B հայրենագրութեան bEIS₁T + և սիրոյ
 ի հետ D_g հայրենասիրութեան γ 2 հրամանաւ մերով] մերով հրամանաւ A_g
 մերով հրամանաւս b մերովս հրամանաւ S₁ 2 մերով] f. j FF₅ 2 Կոստանդէայ]
 կոստանդիանոսի AA_gB_{g2} կոստանդէա C կոստիանդիանոսի g կոստանդիէայ
 2 կայսեր] f. + u F₅ 2 Սեդրեստրոսի] սեդրեստրոսի N₂

8 արձակել + 6⁰ ա w^A N₉; յերկրի + ի_{ant} w^A I 9 + առ{ա}p{է}լ{n}gu m¹ M₂ 10 հանի
 + 3⁰ g w^A F 12 միչև + ն 2⁰ w^A A

the arms of the two Apostles¹⁴⁷ as well as many other innumerable relics. Because of this and upon our highest command the Armenian Patriarch has the authority to bind and loose in heaven and on earth whatever he wishes, according to Apostolic precepts. Those blessed by the Armenian Patriarch shall be blessed by Christ, and by the Holy Apostles, by us and by all saints, and those excommunicated by him should stay in that condition until they repent. And the Armenian Patriarch has [the authority to] command Armenians, Greeks, Georgians, Albanians, Syrians and Persians, from sea to sea, from the rivers¹⁴⁸ until the edge of the world.

25. This is the letter of concordance and love, of unwavering [tradition] of Armenian Fathers. It was written by our orders, of Emperor Constantine

¹⁴⁷ Some mss add the 'left arm of Apostle Andrew'. For a discussion cfr Chapter 3, p. 240.

¹⁴⁸ The rivers in question are not specified. The author may allude to the rivers of paradise.

պապի, ի մեծի սինհոդոսիս, ի տանի սուրբ առաքելոցս, լատին լեզուա-
մակագրեալ և արքունական մատանեաւ մերով կնքեալ և ստորագրեալ:
Եւ զհաւասարն այսմ թղթոյ և զմիաբանութեան թուղթն Տրդատայ և սրբոյն 5
Գրիգորի եղաք ի ջամբոն արքունի: Իսկ զայս զիրս աւանդեցաք ի ձեռս
ատենադարին հայոց արքային, մեծիմաստին Ագաթան[զ]ե[ղ]ոսի ի փառս
Աստուծոյ: Եւ Քրիստոսի Աստուծոյ մերոյ փառք յաւիտեանս յաւիտենից.
ամէն ամէն:

3 պապի] պապոյ A f. + u S₁ 3 մեծի] f. om A_gBET om ի_{ant} AB_{g2}C 3 սինհոդոսիս]
f. om AA₁A_gB_gF₅ սինհոդոսիս F սինհոդոսիս T 3 ի տանի սուրբ առաքելոցս] ի
սուրբ առաքելոցն տանի E 3 առաքելոցս] f. և CF₅ f. om γ 3 լատին] լադին
ABI դարին C 3 լեզուաւ] լեզուով γ 4 մակագրեալ] մակադրեալ AgM₂m
կնքեալ om և B omt զհաւասարն FF₅ մակագրել N₂N₉ 4 մատանեաւ] f. + u A
4 կնքեալ և ստորագրեալ] կնքել և ստորագրել A₁N₂N₉ om B 4 ստորագրեալ]
om C 5 զհաւասարն] i. om ABK f. om B հաւատարն gM₂m 5 թղթոյ] f. + u bS₁
թղթի Cy թխտոյ EF թխտի F₅ թխթոյ gM₂T 5 զմիաբանութեան] զմիաբանութիւն
Ay 5 զմիաբանութեան թուղթն] զիմ միաբանութիւնս ի հետ D_g 5 թուղթն] om
ATEI f. om C թուխտն FKT թուխթն F₅gM₂m 6 ի ջամբոն] իջմամբ + առն A ի
ջամբոն CN₉ ի ջափոն F ի ջափառն F₅ 6 արքունի] յարքունական + և Քրիստոսի
աստուծոյն մերոյ փառք յաւիտեանս. ամէն. des F₅ 6 զայս] միւս B + միւս b + և_{ant} E
omt ի ձեռն S₁ 6 զիրս] f. om A_gC 6 աւանդեցաք] փոխադրեալ B + և փոխադրեալ
b om S₁ 6 ի ձեռս] f. և AA_gbFEIS₁γ om B 7 ատենադարին] f. om S₁ 7 արքային]
թագաւորին + տրդատայ մեծի B թագաւորին + տրդատայ մեծ արքային և bS₁
7 մեծիմաստին] մեծին իմաստնոյն A մեծի իմաստնոյն bEI մեծի և իմատնեան
C մեծի իմաստնին F մեծ իմաստի gm մեծիմաստի KM₂ մեծ իմաստնոյն S₁γ մեծ
իմաստնին T om B 7 Ագաթա[ն]զե[ղ]ոսի] աթանգեղոսի A ագաթանկեղոսի
A₁BbEFN₉γ ագադանգեղոսի C + քաջ ճարտարագրչի և տարեալ հասոյց[om B] ի
հայս ի փառս քրիստոսի աստուծոյ մերոյ, որ է օրհնեալ յաւիտեանս յաւիտենից.
ամէն des D_g ագաթանկեղոյն I ագաթանկելոսի N₂ 8 Աստուծոյ] + որ է օրհնեալ
յաւիտեանս. ամէն des AFgIM₂my + հաւր. ամէն des A₁ des CE + որ է օրհնեալ
յաւիտեանս. ամէն. հայր մեր որ յերկինս ս[ուր]բ ե[ղիցի] des K + և Քրիստոսի
փառք յաւիտեանս des N₉ + որ է օրհնեալ des T

3 ras սուրբ առաքելոցս B 4 ստորագեալ + 6⁰ p w^B T 6 ջամբն + 4⁰ n w^B T

and of Pope Sylvester, at a Great Synod on the feast day of the Holy Apostles, written in Latin language and sealed and signed with our royal ring. And a true copy of this letter of concord of Trdat and St. Gregory was deposited in the royal *chambre*.¹⁴⁹ And we trusted this letter to the hand of the secretary of the Armenian King, the great sage Agat'angelos, for the glory of God. And eternal glory be to Christ our God. Amen, amen.

¹⁴⁹ The Armenian text uses the Old French loan word շաւփն (*jambr*) which I preserved in the translation.

APPENDIX A

MISPLACED TEXT-BLOCKS

Starting with 6.4 F_3 misplaces several text-blocks in the following order:

6.4 (fol. 11^r, col. 1, line 1) բազմաբիւր իշ → 6.20 մէջ երկուց ազգացս ...
7.17 (fol. 11^r, col. 2 line 20) ի վերայ ձեր ամենեցուն → 6.4 (fol. 11^r, col. 2
line 20){իշ}խանօքս ... 6.22–23 (fol. 11^v, col. 2, line 11) հաստատուն կացցէ
→ 7.17 (fol. 11^v, col. 2 line 20) կացուցի թագաւոր և իշխան ... 9.1 (fol. 12^v,
col. 2, line 10) և մեծափառ դշխոյս → 10.2–3 (fol. 12^v, col. 2, line 10) ի սրբոյ
կուսէն ... 12.3–3 (fol. 13^r, col. 2 line 12) յանցանէլն ընդ ծովս → 9.1 (fol. 13^r,
col. 2 line 12) [դշխոյս] մեր Մարսինտէս ... 10.2 (fol. 13^v, col. 2 line 15)
գտեղի ծննդեանն Քրիստոսի → 12.3 (fol. 13^v, col. 2 line 15) {ընդ ծովս}
Յունական ... 25.4 (desinit).

APPENDIX 1

PROVINCES OF THE EASTERN ROMAN EMPIRE LISTED IN TD

The list of Roman provinces that Constantine the Great places under King Trdat's command can also give hints as to the relationship between mss, as well as the quality of the text of some mss. In order to make the text fit in the rows of the table below I have made the following abbreviations. Whenever there was a mention of աշխարհ (always in the locative case) I indicated it with the word "Land" in the tables below.

It seemed logical that the most accessible and obvious source of geographical knowledge for the author must have been the *Ašxarhač'oyc'* (Geography) of Anania Širakac'i. In fact, the information that Noah built his Arc in the province of Phrygia is found there, although it is not clear whether the author used the long version or the short version of this text.¹ All those mss which do not have omissions in the list of provinces are faithful to this source when citing the location where Noah's arc was built. However, beyond this detail, the list of the Roman provinces does not follow that found in the *Ašxarhač'oyc'*. Bartikian has suggested that this list goes back to the "original core" of the TD which was the actual Pact of Alliance signed between Constantine and Trdat. I have discussed the problems related to such a reconstructions elsewhere. However, I agree with Bartikian that the list here must depend on a source that is similar to *Laterculus Veronensis*. Something like the *Notitia Dignitatum* is also a possibility. I do not think we can accept this list as a source on the situation of the Eastern Roman Provinces in the fourth century. All that can be said is that the author of TD had access to a source which listed Eastern Roman Provinces. However, he did not list all of them as found in *Laterculus Veronensis*, for example.

¹ Anania Širakac'i 1994, 23 (of the Long Version) and 345 (of the Short Version). According to Yeremian, the idea that Noah built his arc in Phrygia, and specifically in the city of Kibotos as in *Ašxarhač'oyc'*, came from the misunderstanding of the word *kibotos*, which could both refer to the arc (and this is what was understood), thus Arc of Noah, and to the wealth of Apamea, since it can also mean *chest*, *coffer*. Cfr the citation of Yeremian in Hewsén 1992, 102, note 48.

B FAMILY

The comparative lists below allow the conclusion that the ancestor of the B family must have had the enumeration of provinces as preserved in the majority of B family mss (here the third raw from the left). The other mss, such as dYy (the *d sub-group*) and SS₁ (which, as was seen above are sister mss) have either ommissions or a somewhat different order of provinces.

dYy	D	Bbb ₁ b ₂ DPP ₁ / EE ₁ IJ	S ₁	S
Africa Land	Africa Land	Africa Land	Africa	Africa
Egypt	Egypt	Egypt		
Palestine Land	Palestine Land	Palestine Land	Palestine Land	Palestine Land
Asia	Asia	Asia	Asia	<i>Great Assyria</i>
Mesopotamia Land	Mesopotamia Land	Mesopotamia Land	Mesopotamia Land	<i>Asia</i>
Great Assyria	Great Assyria	Great Assyria*	Great Assyria	<i>Mesopotamia Land</i>
Phoenicia	Phoenicia	Phoenicia Land	Phoenicia	
<i>Phrygia</i>	<i>Phrygia</i>	Cilicia	Cilicia	Cilicia
<i>Cilicia</i>	<i>Cilicia</i>	Phrygia Land, Noah's arc**	Phrygia, Noah's arc	Phrygia, Noah's arc
Pamphylia	Pamphylia	Pamphylia	Pamphylia	Pamphylia
Cappadocia		Cappadocia	Cappadocia	Cappadocia
Bithynia	Bithynia	Bithynia	Bithynia	Bithynia
Galatia	Galatia	Galatia	Galatia	Galatia
Pontus	Pontus	Pontus	Pontus	Pontus
Asia Land	Asia Land	Asia Land	Asia Land	Aisa Land
Honorias	Honorias	Honorias Land	Honorias	Honorias
Gates of Byzantion	Gates of Byzantion	Gates of Byzantion***	Gates of Byzantion	Gates of <i>Pontus</i>
Gates of the Huns	Gates of the Huns	Gates of the Huns	Gates of the Huns	Gates of the Huns

* The word-order for “Great Assyria” is different in some mss. Thus, in Bb₂D it is մեծ աւսոյնգ. This is the version found in all other mss (which contain Great Assyria). The rest, namely bb₁PP₁ invert the order resulting in: աւսոյնգ մեծաւղ.

** The group EE₁IJ omits the word “Land” in this location.

*** In all of the mss of this raw (and in general of the entire B family), Byzantion is spelled with the letter պ, typical for Western Armenian dialects. For the same reasons, դ in some mss has become տ. As a result of these changes stemming from the phonetical characteristics of the letters and the confusion between graphically similar letters q and դ, there is a great variation of corruptions in lieu of the toponym Byzantion, such as: պիզատոնց in BD, պիդատոնց in b, պիդատայ in b₁, պեդանտացոց in S₁ and պոնտացոց in S.

THE A FAMILY MSS

Group F

Within this group the most complete list is presented in ms F, which agrees with the majority of the A family mss regardless of group or sub-group affiliation. Ms L is damaged and illegible. One consistent feature in all the other mss is that they all omit Arabia and Mesopotamia at the beginning of the list, and Asia and Honorias towards the end. F₃ has the most lacunous text. This is proof that F₂ was not copied from F₃, otherwise it would also omit such toponyms as Great Assyria and Phoenicia. Moreover, there are various idiosyncratic spellings of these geographical names and corruptions which the English translation ‘hides’, such as բիդանացոց (bidanac’oc’) for Bythinians in F₁, բիւզանդաղոց for Byzantines in F₃, հոնւաց (of the Greeks) instead of հոնւաց (of the Huns) which completely changes the meaning of the text in F₂, etc.

F	F ₁	F ₄	F ₂	F ₃	F ₅
Africa Land	Africa Land	Africa Land	Africa Land	Africa Land	Africa Land
Arabia					
Mesopotamia					
Land					
Great Assyria	Great Assyria	Great Assyria	Great Assyria		Great Assyria
Phoenicia	Phoenicia	Phoenicia	Phoenicia		Phoenicia
Land	Land	Land	Land		Noah's arc
Cilicia	Cilicia, Noah's arc	Cilicia	Cilicia	Cilicia	
Phrygia, Noah's arc		Phrygia, Noah's arc	Phrygia Land, Noah's arc	Phrygia Land, Noah's arc	
Pamphylia	Pamphylia	Pamphylia	Pamphylia	Pamphylia	Pamphylia

F	F ₁	F ₄	F ₂	F ₃	F ₅
Cappadocia Land	Cappadocia Land	Cappadocia Land	Cappadocia Land	Cappadocia Land	Cappadocia Land
Bithynia	Bithynia	Bithynia	Bithynia	Bithynia	Bithynia
Galatia Land	Galatia	Galatia Land	Galatia Land	Galatia Land	Galatia Land
Pontus	Pontus	Pontus	Pontus	Pontus	Pontus
Asia Land					
Honorias					
Gates of Byzantion	Gates of Byzantion	Gates of Byzantion	Gates of Byzantion	Gates of Byzantion	Gates of Byzantion
Gates of the Huns	Gates of the Huns	Gates of the Huns	Gates of the Huns	Gates of the Huns	Gates of the Huns

THE AGAT'ANGELOS GROUP AND OTHER A FAMILY MSS

As already discussed above, the Agat'angelos group can be divided into to sub-groups, A_{g2} on the one hand and the *g sub-group* on the other. The list of provinces also follows this division. Moreover, as it was demonstrated the *g sub-group* maintained variants found in other A family mss against omissions or changes in the A_{g2} *sub-group*. The same can be said with regards to the list of provinces. The *g sub-group* agrees with most of the A family mss, whereas A_{g2} has some omissions.

F, g_g , N, N_{1-5} , N_{7-8} , T, T_1 , T_2 ,	A_{g2} sub-group	AA_1N_6
Africa Land	Africa Land	Africa Land
Arabia	Arabia	Arabia
Mesopotamia Land	Mesopotamia Land	Mesopotamia Land
Great Assyria		Great Assyria
Phoenicia Land		Phoenicia Land
Cilicia	Cilicia	Cilicia
Phrygia Land, Noah's arc	Phrygia Land, Noah's arc	Phrygia Land, Noah's arc
Pamphylia	Pamphylia	Pamphylia
Cappadocia Land	Cappadocia	Cappadocia Land
Bithynia	Bithynia	
Galatia (Land)*	Galatia	
Pontus	Pontus	Pontus
Asia Land	Asia Land	Asia Land

F, g _g , N, N ₁₋₅ , N ₇₋₈ , T, T ₁ , T ₂	A _{g2} sub-group	AA ₁ N ₆
Honorias	Honorias	Honorias
Gates of Byzantion	Gates of Byzantion	Gates of Byzantion
Gates of the Huns	Gates of the Huns	Gates of the Huns

* In g_g Galatia is not cited as a “Land”, whereas in all other mss it is. The AA₁N₆ version stems from a text where Galatia was cited as a “Land.” The omission of Bithynia and Galatia could be due to a homoeoteleuton (all these provinces are cited in genitive plural and often have the same case ending). Because of this omission in AA₁N₆ the word “Land” is attached to Cappadocia from its original location after Galatia.

AA₁N₆ do not exhibit other significant common variants in the text and I do not think that the common omission in this location gives enough proof to postulate a close relationship. Moreover, T₁ which is so closely related to A behaves just like the majority of the A family mss here, which means that in this location it preserves a better text than its sister A.

The version preserved in CC₁ occupies a middle position between A and B families. From the two mss C is deficient, as it omits several provinces. The list of the forefather of the C family can be reconstructed based on C₁. Below is the list of both mss side by side.

C	C ₁
Africa Land	Africa Land
Egypt	Egypt
	Palestine
Arabia	Arabia
Mesopotamia Land	Mesopotamia Land
Great Assyria	Great Assyria
Phoenicia Land, Noah’s arc	Phoenicia Land
	Cilicia
	Phrygia, Noah’s arc
Pamphylia	Pamphylia
Cappadocia	Cappadocia Land
Pontus	Pontus
Bithynia	Bithynia
Galatia Land	Galatia Land
	Asia Land

C	C ₁
	Honorias
	from Bithynia
	to Gates of the Huns

The omissions of C compared to C₁ can be explained by homoeoteleuton. However, the list is not complete at the end either. It is evident that C₁ has a superior text here.

In order to better compare the versions of the families and clearly demonstrate the intermediate position of the C group (based on ms C₁) the table below presents the best list from each family side by side.

B family	A family	C ₁	Reconstructed Archetypus
African Land	Africa Land	Africa Land	Africa Land
Egypt		Egypt	Egypt
Palestine Land		Palestine	Palestine Land
Asia	Arabia	Arabia	Arabia
Mesopotamia Land	Mesopotamia Land	Mesopotamia Land	Mesopotamia Land
Great Assyria	Great Assyria	Great Assyria	Great Assyria
Phoenicia Land	Phoenicia Land	Phoenicia Land	Phoenicia Land
Cilicia	Cilicia	Cilicia	Cilicia
Phrygia Land, Noah's arc	Phrygia Land, Noah's arc	Phrygia, Noah's arc	Phrygia Land, Noah's arc
Pamphylia	Pamphylia	Pamphylia	Pamphylia
Cappadocia	Cappadocia (Land)	Cappadocia Land	Cappadocia Land
Bithynia	Bithynia	<i>Pontus</i>	Bithynia
Galatia	Galatia (Land)	Bithynia	Galatia Land
Pontus	Pontus	Galatia Land	Pontus
Asia Land	Asia Land	Asia Land	Asia Land
Honorias Land	Honorias	Honorias	Honorias
Gates of Byzantion	Gates of Byzantion	<i>Bithynia</i>	Gates of Byzantion
Gates of the Huns	Gates of the Huns	Gates of the Huns	Gates of the Huns

What emerges is that all A family mss, except for C and C₁, omit Egypt and Palestine. On the other hand, the B family mentions Asia twice, once at the beginning of the list (the third in the sequence) and the second time towards the end of the list where it is cited as a “Land.” The B family

omits Arabia (which is replaced with the first mention of Asia). Based on evidence from all mss one may hypothesize that the archetypus did contain Egypt, Palestine (preserved in the B family and C₁) and Arabia (preserved in A family) and Asia was mentioned only once towards the end of the list. Moreover, it seems that the provinces are mentioned in the order moving from south west (Africa) to north east. Thus, to mention Asia after Africa and Egypt would not fit the geographical context, whereas placing it before Palestine would be much more logical and in line with the order of provinces in TD. The list of Eastern Roman provinces as could be found in the hypothetical archetypus is presented in the last columns (on the right) in the table above.

APPENDIX 2

GLOSSARY OF RARE LOAN-WORDS AND HAPAXES*

The glossary first provides the English transcription of the Armenian word in the form it appears in the text, reference to TD, its Armenian variants found in mss, whenever those present significant differences (further variants can be found in the apparatus), the case and number, the nominative singular form (sometimes hypothetical), then the possible origin of the word and a proposed translation.

- [y]aprišmēlinac' (9.7) յապրիշմեղինաց, յապրիշումեղինաց, substantive, gen. pl., nominative: ապրիշում, according to HAB from Pahlawi *aprēšum, Persian abrēšum, Syriac abrišum, all meaning **silk**. The word is attested in many other Armenian texts.
- awfrant'i (20.12) աւփրանթի, օփրանդի, օփրանդէի, substantive, gen. s., nominative *ofrand/op'rand*, from Old French *offrande*, meaning an **offering** to the church. Cfr NBH, HAB and Mildonyan 1980, 6.
- awk'sunakan (8.3–4) աւքունական/աւգունական, adjective used in the nom. sing., from Greek οξύς here referred to bright **purple colour**.
- bahuands (9.6) բահուանդս, substantive, acc. pl., nominative բահուանդ. According to HAB a hapax, attested only in TD, from Pahlavi *bāhūvand, Pers. bāzūband, meaning **bracelet or some other kind of jewelry for arms**.
- čap'ar (14.19) [h] չափար, substantive, acc. sing., nom. չափար. According to HAB from Arabic *čapar*, meaning **fence**.
- č'uxazgestk' (18.4) չուխազգեստք, չուխազգեստ, չուխայազգեստք, substantive, nom. pl., sing չուխազգեստ. According to HAB from Persian č'uxay, meaning a monk's (woolen) **habit**. Thus, this is a composite word from Persian č'uxay and Armenian *zgest*, meaning **dressed in monk's habit**.
- dawsičay (9.4) դաւսիճայ, must be a substantive in nom. sing. This hapax is not found in dictionaries. The word is used for describing Xosroviduxt. This is probably a loan word from New Persian, itself stemming from Pahlavi doshizag, which means **virgin, maiden**.¹

* In this list I have included unusual or rarely used loan words and excluded those which are commonly found in many other texts. For example, I have not included *adamantes* (diamond), *bambiš* (queen), etc.

¹ I am grateful to Dr. James Russell for his valuable help in deciphering this word. He also clarified that the loss of final 'g' is common in loan words from Pahlavi to New Persian.

dimos (18.12) դիմոս, substantive, nom. s. According to HAB, from Gr. δημόσιος, meaning the **treasury**, where public taxes are rendered. In TD the word seems to be used in the sense of a **public tax-collector**.

dimosakan (18.2) դիմոսական, adjective, not declined, deriving from the substantive դիմոս According HAB **pertaining to public taxes**.

dioskoranšans (21.31) դիոսկորանշանս, դիոսկուրանշանս, adjective, acc. pl., nominative: դիոսկորանշան—**with signs of dioskuroi**. This is a composite word made up of Gr. Διόσκουροι and Armenian *nšan*—sign. Not exactly in this form, but as two separate words, it is found in Acts of Apostles 28.11, describing the ship by which St. Paul sailed to Syracuse. In the Bible it is described as նշանաւորաւ Դիոսկուրացոց. The *Dioskuroi*, known also as *phosphoroi*, were considered to be the twin stars of dawn and sunset. But in fact, they were only the astronomical aspects of Planet Venus during these different hours of the day. They were considered to bring good luck to sailors and were often attached to the mast of ships for securing safe crossing of the seas. Cfr Carlier 1989.

duḷēs (9.8) դուլէս, դուլէսս, դուլէնս, դուլէնս, substantive, possibly in acc. pl. (in some variants the case ending *s* is omitted), nom. դուլէս. Not found in NBH, but HAB suggests that the nominative must be դուլայ (duḷay), which it defines as an unidentifiable hapax found in TD, and translates it as a type of precious cloth. This explanation, however, does not fit the context. It likely originates from Gr. δούλος—**slave** and refers to *Dalmatian slaves* in TD.

fratk' (6.15) ֆրատք, substantive, nom. pl. found only in F family mss. as a variant of frērēk', always in the sense of **brother**.

frēr (6.15; 14.1) ֆրէր, ֆրէր, substantive, once used in nom. pl. and once in nom. sing. From Old French *frère*, **brother**, used in TD exactly in this sense.

gramik (9.10) գրամիկ, գրամփիկ, substantive, nom. sing. Based on the content and the variant reading of *gramp'k* this word could be a corruption of Old French *grandfils*, **grandson**. It is not attested in NBH. HAB proposes (with a question mark) the meaning of 'adoptive son' which somewhat fits into the context of TD as well.

jambīn (25.6) [h] ջամին, ջամբին, ջափին, substantive, acc. sing., nom. ջաւ[բ]ն, from Old French *chambre*. Used in other Cilician sources, meaning **royal chamber, chancellor**.

jūharakans (21.13) ջուհարականս, ջոհարակունս, ճուհարականս, adjective, acc. pl., nom. ջուհարական. According to HAB from Arabic *jauhar*, itself a loan word from Pers. *gōhar*. The latter is a more common loan word in Armenian, usually written and pronounced as *gohar*. In both cases the meaning is the same: **gems (made of gems in this case)**.

kubayn (22.8) կուբայն, կուպայն, դուպայն, կուպայի, substantive, acc. sing. or gen. sing. (in some mss), nom. կուբայ. HAB suggests that it comes from Arabic *qubba*, meaning a **dome**. The loan word is used (according to HAB) only to denote the Dome of the Holy Sepulchre, as is the case in TD. Vincent-Abel 1914, 220 mentions that the Dome of the Holy Sepulchre was denominated as Gr. κύβος, Hebr. *qoubah*, Arab. *qoubbeh*.

kurtaks (16.7) [h] կուրտակս, կորդակս, կուրդակս, substantive, acc. pl., nom. կուրտակ/կորդակ. According to HAB a hapax to be interpreted as a type of a **military helmet**.

[z]**lanonawk** (8.11) [q]ղաննաւք, դաննաւք, substantive, instr. pl., nom. դանն. According to NBH from Gr. ὄργανον, i.e. **organ**. HAB proposes that TD has a different musical instrument in mind, as just before *lanonawk* it mentions *ergehon*, the Armenian word for *organ*. HAB interprets *lanon* as 'an eastern multi-string musical instrument' from Arabic qānūn, in its turn a loan word from Gr. κανών. The context of TD supports the HAB hypothesis and I have translated it as **lyre**, the closest approximation to qānūn.

margartamavčawk (8.4) մարգարտամաւճաւք/մարգարտամաւճաւք **margatamawčawk** adjective, instr. pl., nom. *մարգարտամաւիճ, a composite word from մարգարիտ an older loan word from Greek, meaning **pearl** and *mawič* Arabic *mewj* meaning **wave** (according to Hac'uni 1924, p. 238). Thus, the word can be translated as 'pearls [sown] in a wave pattern'.

piłagosac'n (7.3) պիղագոսացն, պիլագոսացն, պեղագոսացն, substantive, gen. pl., nominative: պիղագոս. NBH and HAB give պեղագոս as the correct form, from Gr. πέλαγος—**sea**. Besides TD, both dictionaries indicate that the word is found also in *Ašxarhac'oyc'* and other texts.

pretori (19.11) պռետորի, պրիտորի, substantive, gen. sing., nom. պռետոր/պրիտոր, from Lat. *praetorium*, found also as a loan word also in Gr. as πραι-τοριον. It is used in TD as an appellative for Apostle Peter, not attested elsewhere. I have therefore not translated this word but transcribed it as found in the Armenian form. During the late Roman period a *praetor* was a judiciary officer. This meaning seems to have reappeared in Byzantium in the ninth century and is attested also for the fourteenth century according to ODB.

[z]**Proton Armeniann** (10.3–4) զՊռոտոն Արմենիան(ն), adjective and substantive both in acc. sing. Both words are transcribed from the acc. sing. of the Greek πρῶτος (in this case it should be in fem. πρῶτη) and Ἀρμενία and some mss add also the preposition *z* used with the accus. in Armenian. The toponym in question is **First Armenia**.

přtay papays (19.1–2) պրտայ պապայս, պռտայ պապս, պոտսպապոյս, adjective and substantive, used as a noun, nom. sing., a corruption of Gr. πρωτοπαπᾶς, intending the highest, the first priest, the **pope**. Shirinian 2003, 85.

sanjaxac'n (16.6) սանջախացն, սանճախացն, substantive, gen. pl., nom. սանջախ/սանճախ, Turkish, *sanjaq* meaning **flag, banner**. Cfr HAB and NBH.

sant'(en)ēs (14.10) սանթէս, սանթենէս, սանթանէս, substantive, abl. sing., nom. *սանթ(էս) (?). Most likely from Old French *saint*. Not found in dictionaries.

signyawk (8.10) սիգնայաւք, սիւգնայաւք, substantive, instr. pl., nominative: սիգնաւ, found also as սիւգնաւ. From Lat. *signum*, used also in the Armenian translation of *Vita Silvestri*, as well as MX. **Flag, standard, banner**. Cfr HAB and NBH.

- sinkhtosawk'** (6.3) սինկղիտոսաւք, սինկլիտոսոք, սինկղետոսոք, substantive, instr. pl., nom. սինկղիտոս/սինկղիտոս, from Gr. σύνκλητος—**senator**, this word is commonly used in other Armenian texts, including the translation of *Vita Silvestri*, MX, etc. Cfr HAB and NBH.
- siwnhodosis** (25.3) [h] սիւնհոդոսիս, սիւնհոդոսիս, substantive, loc. sing., nominative: սիւնհոդոս, Gr. σύνοδος, **a great church council, a synod**. This is a commonly used word in various Armenian sources according to NBH.
- slehic'** (9.17) սլէհից, substantive, gen. pl., nominative: սլէհ, from Arabic *silāh*, arm. Cfr HAB and NBH.
- tamužel** (21.18) դամուժել/տամուժել, used as a qualifier (an adj.) for “ladies” and not declined, according to HAB from Old French damoiselle, Ital. damicella, damigella. TD implies this meaning, **a lady/girl of noble birth**.
- t'iwrakēs** (13.11) թիրակէս/ թիրակէզ, substantive, acc. sing., same in nom., from Gr. ἡ θηριᾶκη, **anti dote, anti-poison**.
- tpazionawk'** (8.9–10) տպազիոնաւք, substantive, instr. pl., nom. տպազիոն, from Gr. τοπάζιον, Lat. topazium., **a precious stone, topazolite**. The word is used in the translation of the Bible and other Armenian sources as well, according to HAB and NBH.
- velendi ara(n)c'n** (16.7) վեղենդի արացն, վաղինդահացն, վեղենդարացն, possibly one lemma, a substantive in gen. pl. It is not clear whether to read this as one word or two words. HAB suggests as nom. sing. վեղենդիար and supposes this word to be a corruption of Gr. σιλεντιάριος, a Byzantine court official, and considers that the Lat. *valentior* is only coincidentally similar.
- xrsukep'alawk'** (8.10) խոսուկեֆալաւք, խոսուկեփալօք, խոսուկեփաղօք, խոսուկեփալօք, adjective, instr. pl. According to HAB from Gr. χρυσοκέφαλος, composed of χρυσός and κεφαλή, thus **golden-headed**. Shirinian 2003, 85 suggests that the second element in the composite word is φάλος, a rare word ‘usually describing the peak of the Helmet of Homeric heroes’. Although both translations (golden-headed, or helmets with golden peaks) would fit the context, given that it is an enumeration of honourable military insignia bestowed by Constantine to Trdat, I am more inclined to agree with HAB, since as Shirinian notes φάλος is a rare word and we have no proof that the author of TD was so well-versed in Homer to have invented an Armenian composite word from a rare Greek word, even though this is not impossible. Thus, I have translated it as: **golden-headed**.

APPENDIX 3

LIST OF MSS WITH THE TEXT OF TD

*List of 71 Identified Mss with the
Text of TD According to Location*

The Maštoc' Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, **Matenadaran**, Yerevan (41 Mss)

516	1327	1863	2268	3461	6483	10200
639	1390	1865	2272	3526	6608	10236
673	1458	1868	2639	3825	7014	10728
732	1482	1869	2748	4135	7098	
1325	1484	1878	3072	4584	8305	
1326	1495	1920	3078	6354	8082	

With a Partial Text

1881 1889

From the Collection of the **Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem** (12 Mss)

169	309	343	1004	1415	1337
230	314	652	1296	1672	1861

From the Library of the **Mechitarist Congregation in Venice-St. Lazzaro** (6 Mss)

240 (57)	308 (694)	910 (1464)
283 (838)	309 (54)	915 (721)

From the Library of the **Mechitarist Congregation in Vienna** (3 Mss)

111 115 705

From the **Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France** (4 Mss)

118	304
199	315

From the **Vatican Apostolic Library** (3 Mss)

Vat Armeni 2

Borgiani Armeni 23

Borgiani Armeni 30

2 Mss Not Accessed

Collection of the Bzommar Monastery

92 627 (Antonian collection)

*54 Initially Fully Collated Mss in Alphabetical
Order, Including the Location and Date of Copying*

- A = VA₂, Sis, XVI c. (after 1586)
 A₁ = J1337, Cyprus, 1341
 B = J343, Constantinople, 1480 (TD in 1496)
 b = M1869, Eudokia, 1585–1589
 b₁ = M1868, Sebastea, 1585
 b₂ = M1865, Jerusalem, 1656
 C = VBA30, partially Leopoldis (Lvov) (not TD), 1721
 C₁ = M2268, Adana, 1683–1689
 D = P199, Constantinople, 1721
 d = P304, Amit' (Diarbekir), 1664
 E = V240, unknown, XV–XVI cc
 E₁ = M3461, Eudokia, 1662
 F = P118, Caffa, 1307
 F₁ = V283, Caffa (?), 1601
 F₂ = M1390, New Julfa, 1666
 F₃ = M516, place unknown, 1653, 1670
 F₄ = J1415, unknown, XVII c.
 F₅ = M8802, unknown, XVII c.
 g = M1920, Bačes, 1569
 g₁ = M3825, Xor Virap, 1671
 g₂ = M2639, Monastery of Amrdölu, 1672
 g₄ = M1458, Eĵmiacin, 1705
 I = M639, Samson (?), 1409
 J = M6608, unknown, XV c.
 K = M6354, unknown XVI and XVII cc.
 K₁ = M8305, unknown, XVIIc.
 K₂ = M1863, unknown, before 1676
 K₃ = V910, New Julfa, 1691
 L = M1495, Constantinople, 1674–1684
 M = J230, Jerusalem, 1678–1679
 M₁ = V915, Constantinople, finished at least 1700
 M₂ = J309, Jerusalem, 1617
 m = J314, Constantinople, 1649
 N = M1325, unknown, 1620
 N₁ = M1326, unknown, 1562
 N₂ = M4135, Monastery of St. John (near Tat'ew), XVc.

- N₃ = M1327, Halijor, 1653
 N₄ = M1878, village of Xnkac' in the "land" of Ajanan, XVc.
 N₅ = M10200, Trapizon, 1624, 1634, 1666.
 N₆ = J1004, Jerusalem, 1613
 N₇ = J1672, unknown, XVII c. (colophons from 1621 and 1623)
 N₈ = J1861, New Julfa, 1660
 N₉ = M732, unknown, 1322
 P = M1484, unknown, 1661–1671
 P₁ = M3072, unknown, XVIIc.
 S = M6483, Karin, 1757
 S₁ = J169, Jerusalem, 1756
 T = M7014, Jerusalem, 1652
 T₁ = M3078, Karkar, 1589–1608
 T₂ = M2748, Tarawn (?), 1624
 U = M7098, unknown, 1647, 1664
 U₁ = M3526, 1670
 Y = M1482, village Alip'ular, 1678
 y = M4584, Tigranakert (Amit', Diarbekir), 1668

*54 Fully Collated Mss According
to Families/Groups/Sub-Groups, Etc*

A Family (33)

C Group

- C = Vat Borgiani Armeni 30, partially Leopoli (Lvov) (not TD), 1721
 And partially C₁ (cfr contaminated mss)

F Group

- F = P118, Caffa, 1307
 F₁ = V283, Caffa (?), 1601
 F₂ = M1390, New Julfa, 1666
 F₃ = M516, unknown, 1653, 1670
 F₄ = J1415, unknown, XVII c.
 F₅ = M8802, unknown, XVII c.
 L = M1495, Constantinople, 1674–1684

T Group

- A = Vat Armeni 2, Sis, XVI c. (after 1586)
 T = M7014, Jerusalem, 1652
 T₁ = M3078, Karkar, 1589–1608

N Group

N = M1325, unknown, 1620

N₁ = M1326, unknown, 1562¹

N₂ = M4135, Monastery of St. John (near Tat'ew), XVc.

N₃ = M1327, Halijor, 1653

N₄ = M1878, village of Xnkanc' in the 'region' of Ajanan, XVc.

N₅ = M10200, Trapizon, 1624, 1634, 1666.

N₆ = J1004, Jerusalem, 1613

N₉ = M732, unknown, 1322

Agat'angelos Group (A_g)

g = M1920, Bałeš, 1569

g₁ = M3825, Xor Virap, 1671

g₂ = M2639, Monastery of Amrdōlu, 1672

g₄ = M1458, Ejmiacin, 1705

K = M6354, unknown XVI and XVII cc.

K₁ = M8305, unknown, XVIIc.

K₂ = M1863, unknown, before 1676

K₃ = V910, New Julfa, 1691

M = J230, Jerusalem, 1678–1679

M₁ = V915, Constantinople, finished at least 1700.

M₂ = J309, Jerusalem, 1617

m = J314, Constantinople, 1649

U = M7098, unknown, 1647, 1664

U₁ = M3526, 1670

B Family (16)**D Group**

d = P304, Amit' (Diarbekir), 1664

Y = M1482, village Alip'ufar, 1678

y = M4584, Tigranakert (Amit', Diarbekir), 1668

B_{g2}Group**D Sub-Group (D_g)**

B = J343, Constantinople, 1480 (TD in 1496)

b₁ = M1868, Sebastea, 1585

b₂ = M1865, Jerusalem, 1656

¹ This information on the date is found in the un-published Grand Catalogue which I was kindly allowed to consult by the Staff of the Manuscripts Division of the Matenadaran.

D = P199, Constantinople, 1721

b = M1869, Eudokia, 1585–1589

P = M1484, unknown, 1661–1671

P₁ = M3072, unknown, XVIIc.

S = M6483, Karin, 1757

S₁ = J169, Jerusalem, 1756

E Sub-Group

E = V240, unknown, XV–XVI cc

E₁ = M3461, Eudokia, 1662

I = M639, Samson (?), 1409

J = M6608, unknown, XV c.

Contaminated or Not Belonging to Any Definite Group (5)

A₁ = J1337, Cyprus, 1341 (A family, related to T and F, partial text because of lost folios)

C₁ = M2268, Adana, 1683–1689 (up to Section 18 A family C text-type, then B family E sub-sub group text-type)

N₇ = J1672, unknown, XVII c. (mostly N text-type, exemplar change to L text-type in Section 22)

N₈ = J1861, New Julfa, 1660 (distant, unclear N affiliation, numerous lacunae)

T₂ = M2748, Tarawn (?), 1624 (T and C/F contamination)

Sample-Collated (9 Total)

A Family (7)

J1296, unknown, XVIII c. (Agat'angelos group, A_{g2} sub-group M text-type)

J652, unknown, before 1768 (Agat'angelos group, A_{g2} group M text-type)

M1881, unknown, XVII c. (partial text, desinit 8.10, starts as Agat'angelos A_{g2} text-type, from Section 4 exemplar change to N Group text-type)

M1889, New Julfa, 1675 (partial text, desinit 9.1, N Group)

M10236, Van, 1700–1701 (N Group)

M10728, New Julfa, 1701–1702 (Agat'angelos group, A_{g2} sub-group K text-type)

W111 Trieste and Vienna, 1819–1829 (excerpt, incipit 17, Agat'angelos group)

B Family (2)

V309, Tiflis, 1871 (B family, P sub-sub group)

W115 Eudokia (?) 1634 (incipit 9.16, B family P sub-sub group)

Not Collated (6)

M2270 (Latinized, printed text, based on an A family text-type)

M673 (a copy of M2270, based on an A text-type)

P315 (excerpts, unclear affiliation)

V308 (a copy of VAT Armeni 2, A text-type)

VAT Borgiani Armeni 23 (excerpts, A text-type)

W705 damaged, illegible (unclear affiliation)

Not Accessed (2)

BZ92 (B text-type according to the catalogue)

BZA627 (A text-type according to the catalogue)

*List of Collated or Sample-Collated Mss According to Date***XIV c.**

F = P118, Caffa, 1307

N₉ = M732, unknown, 1322

A₁ = J1337, Cyprus, 1341

XV c.

I = M639, Samson (?), 1409

B = J343, Constantinople, 1480 (TD in 1496)

J = M6608, unknown, XV c.

N₂ = M4135, Monastery of St. John (near Tat'ew), XVc.

N₄ = M1878, village of Xnkanc' in the 'region' of Ajanan, XVc.

XVI c.

N₁ = M1326, unknown, 1562

g = M1920, Bašič, 1569

b = M1869, Eudokia, 1585–1589

b₁ = M1868, Sebastea, 1585

A = VA₂, Sis, XVI c. (after 1586)

XVII c.

T₁ = M3078, Karkar, 1589–1608

E = V240, unknown, XV–XVI cc

F₁ = V283, Caffa (?), 1601

N₆ = J1004, Jerusalem, 1613

M₂ = J309, Jerusalem, 1617

N = M1325, unknown, 1620

N₇ = J1672, unknown, XVII c. (colophons from 1621 and 1623)

- T₂ = M2748, Tarawn (?), 1624
 W₁₁₅ Eudokia (?) 1634
 m = J₃₁₄, Constantinople, 1649
 T = M₇₀₁₄, Jerusalem, 1652
 N₃ = M₁₃₂₇, Halijor, 1653
 b₂ = M₁₈₆₅, Jerusalem, 1656
 N₈ = J₁₈₆₁, New Julfa, 1660
 E₁ = M₃₄₆₁, Eudokia, 1662
 d = P₃₀₄, Amit' (Diarbekir), 1664
 U = M₇₀₉₈, unknown, 1647, 1664
 N₅ = M₁₀₂₀₀, Trapizon, 1624, 1634, 1666.
 F₃ = M₅₁₆, unknown, 1653, 1670
 P = M₁₄₈₄, unknown, 1661–1671
 F₂ = M₁₃₉₀, New Julfa, 1666
 y = M₄₅₈₄, Tigranakert (Amit', Diarbekir), 1668
 U₁ = M₃₅₂₆, 1670
 g₁ = M₃₈₂₅, Xor Virap, 1671
 g₂ = M₂₆₃₉, Monastery of Amrdölu, 1672
 M₁₈₈₉, New Julfa, 1675
 K₂ = M₁₈₆₃, unknown, before 1676
 Y = M₁₄₈₂, village Alip'ular, 1678
 M = J₂₃₀, Jerusalem, 1678–1679
 L = M₁₄₉₅, Constantinople, 1674–1684
 C₁ = M₂₂₆₈, Adana, 1683–1689
 K₃ = V₉₁₀, New Julfa, 1691
 K = M₆₃₅₄, unknown XVI and XVII cc.
 K₁ = M₈₃₀₅, unknown, XVIIc.
 F₄ = J₁₄₁₅, unknown, XVII c.
 F₅ = M₈₈₀₂, unknown, XVII c.
 P₁ = M₃₀₇₂, unknown, XVIIc.
 M₁₈₈₁, unknown, XVII c.

XVIII c.

- M₁ = V₉₁₅, Constantinople, finished at least 1700
 M₁₀₂₃₆, Van, 1700–1701 (N Group)
 M₁₀₇₂₈, New Julfa, 1701–1702
 g₄ = M₁₄₅₈, Ejmiacin, 1705
 C = VBA₃₀, partially Leopoli (Lvov) (but not TD), 1721
 D = P₁₉₉, Constantinople, 1721
 S₁ = J₁₆₉, Jerusalem, 1756
 S = M₆₄₈₃, Karin, 1757
 J₆₅₂, unknown, before 1768
 J₁₂₉₆, unknown, XVIII c.

XIX c.

- W₁₁₁, Trieste and Vienna, 1819–1829
 V₃₀₉, Tiflis, 1871

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